POEMS,

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN WRITTEN AT BRISTOL,

IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY,

By THOMAS ROWLEY, PRIEST, &c.

WITH A

COMMENTARY,

IN WHICH

THE ANTIQUITY OF THEM IS CONSIDERED,
AND DEFENDED.

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DEAN OF EXETER.

RENASCENTUR QUÆ JAM CECIDERE.
HOR. DE ARTE POETICA.

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Reader is informed, that the following Poems are printed verbatim from the former Editions, with the Errata corrected. The Preface, and Introductory Account, prefixed to those Editions, are added, on account of the variety of useful information which they contain. The order of the latter is transposed, that it may correspond with the present arrangement of the Poems.

The Glossary which accompanied the text in the former Editions, and was copied from MSS. in the hand-writing of Thomas Chatterton, is reprinted entire, in Roman characters. The additions and alterations

alterations in the preſent Edition, are diſtinguiſhed by Italics; and the ſame rule is obſerved in the alphabetical Gloſſary at the end of the Volume, which is greatly enlarged, both in words and references, of which the Reader will be more particularly informed in the Advertiſement prefixed to that Gloſſary.

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PREFACE

TO THE FORMER EDITIONS.

THE Poems, which make the principal part of this Collection, have for ſome time excited much curioſity, as the ſuppoſed productions of THOMAS ROWLEY, a prieſt of Briſtol, in the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV. They are here faithfully printed from the moſt authentic MSS. that could be procured; of which a particular deſcription is given in the *Introductory Account of the ſeveral pieces contained in this volume*, ſubjoined to this Preface. Nothing more therefore ſeems neceſſary at preſent, than to inform the Reader ſhortly of the manner in which theſe Poems were firſt brought to light, and of the authority upon which they are aſcribed to the perſons whoſe names they bear.

This cannot be done ſo ſatisfactorily as in the words of Mr. George Catcott of Briſtol, to whoſe very laudable zeal the Public is indebted for the moſt conſiderable part of the following collection. His account of the matter is this: "The firſt diſcovery of certain "MSS. having been depoſited in Redclift church, above three "centuries ago, was made in the year 1768, at the time of open-"ing the new bridge at Briſtol, and was owing to a publication "in *Farley's Weekly Journal*, 1 October 1768, containing an "*Account of the ceremonies obſerved at the opening of the old bridge*,

"taken,

" taken, as it was ſaid, from a very antient MS. This excited " the curioſity of ſome perſons to enquire after the original. The " printer, Mr. Farley, could give no account of it, or of the " perſon who brought the copy; but after much enquiry it was " diſcovered, that the perſon who brought the copy was a youth, " between fifteen and ſixteen years of age, whoſe name was " Thomas Chatterton, and whoſe family had been ſextons of " Redcliſt church for near one hundred and fifty years. His " father, who was now dead, had alſo been maſter of the free- " ſchool in Pile-ſtreet. The young man was at firſt very un- " willing to diſcover from whence he had the original; but, after " many promiſes made to him, he was at laſt prevailed on to ac- " knowledge, that he had received this, *together with many other* " *MSS*, from his father, who had found them in a large cheſt in " an upper room over the chapel on the north ſide of Redcliſt " church."

Soon after this, Mr. Catcott commenced his acquaintance with young Chatterton *, and, partly as preſents, partly as purchaſes, procured from him copies of many of his MSS. in proſe and verſe.

Other

* The hiſtory of this youth is ſo intimately connected with that of the poems now publiſhed, that the Reader cannot be too early apprized of the principal circumſtances of his ſhort life. He was born on the 20th of November 1752, and educated at a charity-ſchool on St. Auguſtin's Back, where nothing more was taught than reading, writing, and accounts. At the age of fourteen, he was articled clerk to an attorney, with whom he continued till he left Briſtol in April 1770.

Though his education was thus confined, he diſcovered an early turn towards poetry and Engliſh antiquities, particularly heraldry. How ſoon he began to be an author, is not known. In the *Town and Country Magazine* for March 1769, are two letters, probably, from him, as they are dated at Briſtol, and ſubſcribed with his uſual ſignature, D. B. The firſt contains ſhort extracts from two MSS, " *written three hundred years ago by one Rowley, a Monk*," concerning dreſs in the age of Henry II.; the other, " ETHELGAR, *a Saxon poem*," in bombaſt proſe. In the ſame Magazine for May 1769, are three communications from Briſtol, with the ſame ſignature, D. B. *viz.* CERDICK, *tranſlated from the Saxon*

Other copies were diſpoſed of in the ſame way, to Mr. William Barrett, an eminent ſurgeon at Briſtol, who has long been engaged in writing the hiſtory of that city. Mr. Barrett alſo procured from him ſeveral fragments, ſome of a conſiderable length, written

(in the ſame ſtyle with ETHELGAR), p. 233.—*Obſervations upon Saxon heraldry*, with drawings of *Saxon atchievements*, &c. p. 245.—ELINOURE and JUGA, *written three hundred years ago by* T. ROWLEY, *a ſecular prieſt*, p. 273. This laſt poem is reprinted in this volume, (p. 416. of this edition.) In the ſubſequent months of 1769 and 1770 there are ſeveral other pieces in the ſame Magazine, which are undoubtedly of his compoſition.

In April 1770, he left Briſtol and came to London, in hopes of advancing his fortune by his talents for writing, of which, by this time, he had conceived a very high opinion. In the proſecution of this ſcheme, he appears to have almoſt entirely depended upon the patronage of a ſet of gentlemen, whom an eminent author long ago pointed out, as *not the very worſt judges or rewarders of merit*, the bookſellers of this great city. At his firſt arrival indeed he was ſo unlucky as to find two of his expected Mæcenaſes, the one in the King's Bench, and the other in Newgate. But this little diſappointment was alleviated by the encouragement which he received from other quarters; and on the 14th of May he writes to his mother, in high ſpirits upon the change in his ſituation, with the following ſarcaſtic reflection upon his former patrons at Briſtol. "*As to Mr.* ——, *Mr.* ——, *Mr.* ——, &c. &c. *they rate literary lumber ſo low, that I believe an author, in their eſtimation, muſt be poor indeed! But here matters are otherwiſe. Had* Rowley *been a* Londoner *inſtead of a* Briſtowyan, *I could have lived by* copying *his works.*"

In a letter to his ſiſter, dated 30 May, he informs her, that he is to be employed "*in writing a voluminous hiſtory of* London, *to appear in numbers the beginning of* "*next winter.*" In the mean time, he had written ſomething in praiſe of the Lord Mayor (Beckford), which had procured him the honour of being preſented to his lordſhip. In the letter juſt mentioned he gives the following account of his reception, with ſome curious obſervations upon political writing: "The Lord Mayor received me as politely as a citizen could. But the devil of the matter is, there is no money to be got of this ſide of the queſtion.—But he is a poor author who cannot write on both ſides.—Eſſays on the patriotic ſide will fetch no more than what the copy is ſold for. As the patriots themſelves are ſearching for a place, they have no gratuity to ſpare.—On the other hand, unpopular eſſays will not even be accepted; and you muſt pay to have them printed: but then you ſeldom loſe by it, as courtiers are ſo ſenſible of their deficiency in merit, that they generouſly reward all who know how to dawb them with the appearance of it."

written upon vellum *, which he aſſerted to be part of his original MSS. In ſhort, in the ſpace of about eighteen months, from October 1768 to April 1770, beſides the Poems now publiſhed, he produced as many compoſitions, in proſe and verſe, under the names of Rowley, Canynge, &c. as would nearly fill ſuch another volume.

In April 1770 Chatterton went to London, and died there in the Auguſt following; ſo that the whole hiſtory of this very extraordinary tranſaction cannot now probably be known with any certainty. Whatever may have been his part in it; whether he was the author, or only the copier (as he conſtantly aſſerted) of all theſe productions; he appears to have kept the ſecret entirely to himſelf, and not to have put it in the power of any other perſon, to bear certain teſtimony either to his fraud or to his veracity.

The queſtion therefore concerning the authenticity of theſe

Notwithſtanding his employment on the Hiſtory of London, he continued to write inceſſantly in various periodical publications. On the 11th of July he tells his ſiſter that he had pieces laſt month in the *Goſpel Magazine*; the *Town and Country*, *viz.* Maria Friendleſs; Falſe Step; Hunter of Oddities; To Miſs Buſh, &c. *Court and City*; *London*; *Political Regiſter*, &c. But all theſe exertions of his genius brought in ſo little profit, that he was ſoon reduced to real indigence; from which he was relieved by death (in what manner is not certainly known), on the 24th of Auguſt, or thereabout, when he wanted near three months to complete his eighteenth year. The floor of his chamber was covered with written papers, which he had torn into ſmall pieces; but there was no appearance (as the Editor has been credibly informed) of any writings on parchment or vellum.

* One of theſe fragments, by Mr. Barrett's permiſſion, has been copied in the manner of a *Fac ſimile*, by that ingenious artiſt Mr. Strutt, and an engraving of it is inſerted (p. 452 of this edition.) Two other ſmall fragments of Poetry are printed (p. 427 and 430 of this edition.) See the *Introductory Account*. The fragments in proſe, which are conſiderably larger, Mr. Barrett intends to publiſh in his Hiſtory of Briſtol, which, the Editor has the ſatisfaction to inform the Publick, is very far advanced. In the ſame work will be inſerted *A Diſcorſe on Briſtowe*, and the other hiſtorical pieces in proſe, which Chatterton at different times delivered out, as copied from Rowley's MSS.; with ſuch remarks by Mr. Barrett, as he of all men living is beſt qualified to make, from his accurate reſearches into the Antiquities of Briſtol.

Poems muſt now be decided by an examination of the fragments upon vellum, which Mr. Barrett received from Chatterton as part of his original MSS., and by the internal evidence which the ſeveral pieces afford. If the Fragments ſhall be judged to be genuine, it will ſtill remain to be determined, how far their genuineneſs ſhould ſerve to authenticate the reſt of the collection, of which no copies, older than thoſe made by Chatterton, have ever been produced. On the other hand, if the writing of the Fragments ſhall be judged to be counterfeit and forged by Chatterton, it will not of neceſſity follow, that the matter of them was alſo forged by him, and ſtill leſs, that all the other compoſitions, which he profeſſed to have copied from antient MSS., were merely inventions of his own. In either caſe, the deciſion muſt finally depend upon the internal evidence.

It may be expected, perhaps, that the Editor ſhould give an opinion upon this important queſtion; but he rather chooſes, for many reaſons, to leave it to the determination of the unprejudiced and intelligent Reader. He had long been deſirous that theſe Poems ſhould be printed; and therefore readily undertook the charge of ſuperintending the edition. This he has executed in the manner, which ſeemed to him beſt ſuited to ſuch a publication; and here he means that his taſk ſhall end. Whether the Poems be really ancient, or modern; the compoſitions of Rowley, or the forgeries of Chatterton; they muſt always be conſidered as a moſt ſingular literary curioſity.

INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT

OF THE

SEVERAL PIECES CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N° 1.
BATTLE OF HASTINGS, N° 2.

IN printing the firſt of theſe poems, two copies have been made uſe of, both taken from copies of Chatterton's hand-writing, the one by Mr. Catcott, and the other by Mr. Barrett. The principal difference between them is at the end, where the latter copy has fourteen lines from ver. 550, which are wanting in the former. The ſecond poem is printed from a ſingle copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

It ſhould be obſerved, that the Poem marked N° 1, was given to Mr. Barrett by Chatterton with the following title; "*Battle "of Haſtings, wrote by Turgot the Monk, a Saxon, in the tenth "century, and tranſlated by Thomas Rowlie, pariſh preeſte of St. "Johns in the city of Briſtol, in the year* 1465.—*The remainder of "the poem I have not been happy enough to meet with.*" Being afterwards preſt by Mr. Barrett to produce any part of this poem in the original hand-writing, he at laſt ſaid, that he wrote this poem himſelf for a friend; but that he had another, the copy of an original by Rowley: and being then deſired to produce that

other poem, he, after a conſiderable interval of time, brought to Mr. Barrett the poem marked N° 2, as far as ver. 520 incl. with the following title; "*Battle of Haſtyngs by Turgotus, tranſlated by* "*Roulie for W. Canynge Eſq.*" The lines from ver. 521 incl. were brought ſome time after, in conſequence of Mr. Barrett's repeated ſollicitations for the concluſion of the poem.

ÆLLA, A TRAGYCAL ENTERLUDE.

This Poem, with the *Epiſtle*, *Letter*, and *Entroductionne*, is printed from a folio MS. furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, in the beginning of which he has written, "Chatterton's tranſcript. 1769." The whole tranſcript is of Chatterton's hand-writing.

GODDWYN, A TRAGEDIE.

This fragment is printed from the MS. mentioned p. xvi. in Chatterton's hand-writing.

THE TOURNAMENT.

This Poem is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

Sir Simon de Bourton, the hero of this poem, is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt founder of a church dedicated to *oure Ladie*, in the place where the church of St. Mary Ratcliffe now ſtands. Mr. Barrett has a ſmall leaf of vellum (given to him by Chatterton as one of Rowley's original MSS.), entitled, "*Vita de* "*Simon de Bourton*," in which Sir Simon is ſaid, as in the poem, to have begun his foundation in conſequence of a vow made at a tournament.

THE DETHE OF SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.

This Poem is reprinted from the copy printed at London in 1772, with a few corrections from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The perſon here celebrated, under the name of *Syr Charles Bawdin*,

Bawdin, was probably *Sir Baldewyn Fulford*, Knt. a zealous Lancaſtrian, who was executed at Briſtol in the latter end of 1461, the firſt year of Edward the Fourth. He was attainted, with many others, in the general act of Attainder, 1 Edw. IV. but he ſeems to have been executed under a ſpecial commiſſion for the trial of treaſons, &c. within the town of Briſtol. The fragment of the old chronicle, publiſhed by Hearne at the end of *Sprotti Chronica*, p. 289. ſays only; "Item *the ſame yere* (1 Edw. IV.) "*was takin Sir Baldewine Fulford and behedid att Briſtow.*" But the matter is more fully ſtated in the act which paſſed in 7 Edw. IV. for the reſtitution in blood and eſtate of Thomas Fulford, Knt. eldeſt ſon of Baldewyn Fulford, late of Fulford, in the county of Devonſhire, Knt. *Rot. Pat.* 8 Edw. IV. p. 1. m. 13. The preamble of this act, after ſtating the attainder by the act 1 Edw. IV. goes on thus: "And alſo the ſaid Baldewyn, the ſaid firſt yere "of your noble reign, at Briſtowe in the ſhere of Briſtowe, be-"fore Henry Erle of Eſſex, William Haſtyngs of Haſtyngs Knt., "Richard Chock, William Canyng Maire of the ſaid towne of "Briſtowe and Thomas Yong, by force of your letters patentes "to theym and other directe to here and determine all treeſons "&c. doon withyn the ſaid towne of Briſtowe before the vth day "of September the firſt yere of your ſaid reign, was atteynt of "dyvers treſons by him doon ayenſt your Highnes &c." If the commiſſion ſate ſoon after the vth of September, as is moſt probable, King Edward might very poſſibly be at Briſtol at the time of Sir Baldewyn's execution; for, in the interval between his coronation and the parliament which met in November, he made a progreſs (as the Continuator of Stowe informs us, p. 416.) by the South coaſt into the Weſt, and was (among other places) at Briſtol. Indeed there is a circumſtance which might lead us to believe, that he was actually a ſpectator of the execution from the minſter-window, as deſcribed in the poem. In an old accompt of the Procurators of St. Ewin's church, which was then

the

the minſter, from xx March in the 1 Edward IV. to 1 April in the year next enſuing, is the following article, according to a copy made by Mr. Catcott from the original book.

" Item *for waſhynge the church payven ageyns Kynge Edward 4th is comynge.* } iiij d. ob.

ENGLYSH METAMORPHOSIS.

This Poem is printed from a ſingle ſheet in Chatterton's hand-writing, communicated by Mr. Barrett, who received it from Chatterton.

BALADE OF CHARITIE.

This Poem is alſo printed from a ſingle ſheet in Chatterton's hand-writing. It was ſent to the Printer of the *Town and Country Magazine*, with the following letter prefixed:

" To the Printer of the Town and Country Magazine.

" SIR,

" If the Gloſſary annexed to the following piece will make the " language intelligible; the Sentiment, Deſcription, and Verſifi- " cation, are highly deſerving the attention of the literati.

" July 4, 1770. D. B."

VERSES TO LYDGATE.
SONGE TO ÆLLA.
LYDGATE'S ANSWER.

Theſe three ſmall Poems are printed from a copy in Mr. Catcott's hand-writing. Since they were printed off, the Editor has had an opportunity of comparing them with a copy made by Mr. Barrett from the piece of vellum, which Chatterton formerly gave

gave to him as the original MS. The variations of importance (excluſive of many in the ſpelling) are ſet down below *.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.
ECLOGUE THE SECOND.
ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

Theſe three Eclogues are printed from a MS. furniſhed by

* *Verſes to Lydgate.*
In the title, for *Ladgate*, r. *Lydgate.*
ver. 2. r. *Thatt I and thee.*
3. for *bee*, r. *goe.*
7. for *fyghte*, r. *wryte.*
Songe to Ælla.
The title in the vellum MS. was ſimply "*Songe toe Ælle*," with a ſmall mark of reference to a note below, containing the following words—"*Lorde of the caſtelle of* "*Bryſtowe ynne daies of yore.*" It may be proper alſo to take notice, that the whole ſong was there written like proſe, without any breaks, or diviſions into verſes.
ver. 6. for *braſtynge*, r. *burſtynge.*
11. for *valyante*, r. *burlie.*
23. for *dyſmall*, r. *honore.*
Lydgate's anſwer.
No title in the vellum MS.
ver. 3. for *varſes*, r. *pene.*
antep. for *Lendes*, r. *Sendes.*
ult. for *lyne*, r. *thynge.*

Mr. Barrett had alſo a copy of theſe Poems by Chatterton, which differed from that, which Chatterton afterwards produced as the original, in the following particulars, among others:

In the title of the *Verſes to Lydgate.*
Orig. *Lydgate* — Chat. *Ladgate.*
ver. 3. Orig. *goe.* — Chat. *doe.*
7. Orig. *wryte.* — Chat. *fyghte.*
Songe to Ælla.
ver. 5. Orig. *Dacyane.* — Chat. *Dacya's.*
Orig. *whoſe lockes*— Chat. *whoſe hayres.*
11. Orig. *burlie.* — Chat. *bronded.*
22. Orig. *kennſt.* — Chat. *hearſt.*
23. Orig. *honore.* — Chat. *dyſmall.*
26. Orig. *Yprauncynge.* Chat. *Ifrayning.*
30. Orig. *gloue.* — Chat. *glare.*

Mr.

Mr. Catcott, in the hand-writing of Thomas Chatterton. It is a thin copy-book in 4to. with the following title in the firſt page. "*Eclogues and other Poems by* Thomas Rowley, *with a Gloſſary* "*and Annotations by* Thomas Chatterton."

There is only one other Poem in this book, viz. the fragment of "*Goddwyn, a Tragedie,*" which ſee below, p. 279.

ELINOURE AND JUGA.

This Poem is reprinted from the *Town and Country Magazine* for May 1769, p. 273. It is there entitled, "*Elinoure and Juga.* "*Written three hundred years ago by T. Rowley a ſecular prieſt.*" And it has the following ſubſcription; "D. B. Briſtol, May, "1769." Chatterton ſoon after told Mr. Catcott, that he (Chatterton) inſerted it in the Magazine.

The preſent Editor has taken the liberty to ſupply [between hooks] the names of the ſpeakers, at ver. 22 and 29, which had probably been omitted by ſome accident in the firſt publication; as the nature of the compoſition ſeems to require, that the dialogue ſhould proceed by alternate ſtanzas.

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE.
ON THE SAME.

The firſt of theſe Poems is printed from a copy made by Mr. Catcott, from one in Chatterton's hand-writing.

The other is taken from a MS. in Chatterton's hand-writing, furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, entitled, "*A Diſcorſe on Briſtowe, by* "*Thomas Rowlie.*" See the Preface, p. x. n. *.

EPITAPH ON ROBERT CANYNGE.

This is one of the fragments of vellum, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett, as part of his original MSS.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.

The 34 firſt lines of this Poem are extant upon another of the vellum fragments, given by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett. The remainder is printed from a copy furniſhed by Mr. Catcott, with ſome corrections from another copy, made by Mr. Barrett from one in Chatterton's hand-writing. This poem makes part of a proſe-work, attributed to Rowley, giving an account of *Painters, Carvellers, Poets,* and other eminent natives of Briſtol, from the earlieſt times to his own. The whole will be publiſhed by Mr. Barrett, with remarks, and large additions; among which we may expect a complete and authentic hiſtory of that diſtinguiſhed citizen of Briſtol, Mr. William Canynge. In the mean time, the Reader may ſee ſeveral particulars relating to him in *Cambden's Britannia,* Somerſet'. Col. 95.—*Rymer's Fœdera,* &c. ann. 1449 & 1450.—*Tanner's Not. Monaſt.* Art. BRISTOL and WESTBURY.—*Dugdale's Warwickſhire,* p. 634.

It may be proper juſt to remark here, that Mr. Canynge's brother, mentioned in ver. 129, who was lord mayor of London in 1456, is called *Thomas* by Stowe in his Liſt of Mayors, &c.

The tranſaction alluded to in the laſt Stanza is related at large in ſome proſe Memoirs of Rowley, of which a very incorrect copy has been printed in the *Town and Country Magazine* for November 1775. It is there ſaid, that Mr. Canynge went into orders, to avoid a marriage, propoſed by King Edward, between him and a lady of the Widdevile family. It is certain, from the Regiſter of the Biſhop of Worceſter, that Mr. Canynge was ordained *Acolythe* by Biſhop Carpenter on 19 September 1467, and received the higher orders of *Subdeacon, Deacon,* and *Prieſt,* on the 12th of March, 1467, O. S. the 2d and 16th of April, 1468, reſpectively.

ON HAPPIENESSE, BY WILLIAM CANYNGE.

ONNE JOHNE A DALBENIE, BY THE SAME.

THE GOULER'S REQUIEM, BY THE SAME.

THE ACCOUNTE OF W. CANYNGE'S FEASTE.

Of theſe four Poems attributed to Mr. Canynge, the three firſt are printed from Mr. Catcott's copies. The laſt is taken from a fragment of vellum, which Chatterton gave to Mr. Barrett as an original. The Editor has doubts about the reading of the ſecond word in ver. 7, but he has printed it *keene*, as he found it ſo in other copies. The Reader may judge for himſelf, by examining the *Fac ſimile* in the oppoſite page.

With reſpect to the three friends of Mr. Canynge mentioned in the laſt line, the name of *Rowley* is ſufficiently known from the preceding poems. *Iſcamm* appears as an actor in the tragedy of *Ælla*, p. 158. and in that of *Goddwyn*, p. 279; and a poem, aſcribed to him, entitled "*The merry Tricks of Laymington*," is inſerted in the "*Diſcorſe of Briſtowe*." Sir *Theobald Gorges* was a knight of an ancient family ſeated at Wraxhall, within a few miles of Briſtol [See *Rot. Parl.* 3 H. VI. n. 28. *Leland's Itin.* vol. VII. p. 98.]. He has alſo appeared above as an actor in both the tragedies, and as the author of one of the *Mynſtrelles ſonges* in *Ælla*, p. 211. His connexion with Mr. Canynge is verified by a deed of the latter, dated 20 October, 1467, in which he gives to truſtees, in part of a benefaction of £. 500 to the Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, "*certain jewells of* Sir *Theobald Gorges*, Knt." which had been pawned to him for £. 160.

PRELIMINARY

NOTE OF REFERENCE
TO THE
FOLLOWING SHEETS.

THE Reader is referred to page 453, for the Additional Evidence in favour of theſe Poems, which came too late to be inſerted in its proper place, and contains a letter written by Mr. Thiſtlethwaite, who was an intimate friend of Chatterton, nearly of the ſame age, and, like him, had a turn for poetry. Mr. Bryant, in his very able defence of theſe Poems, lately publiſhed, page 492, contraſts a Poem written by Mr. Thiſtlethwaite, called *The Conſultation*, with one by Chatterton, entitled *The Conſuliad*, and gives a preference to the former compoſition.

PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION.

THE poems of Rowley, ſo long and ſo impatiently expected, have now made their appearance in the world; and, by being collected in one volume, have afforded ample ſcope to the lovers of ancient poetry, and to the critics in ancient language, to judge of their merit and authenticity.

The public is already informed, that the principal materials which compoſe the volume, were collected by the laudable induſtry and indefatigable zeal of Mr. George Catcot of Briſtol, who availed himſelf of an early acquaintance with young Chatterton, to procure from him tranſcripts of theſe poems; and by the ſame means, Mr. Barrett of Briſtol was enabled to enlarge the collection, reſerving to himſelf ſuch pieces in poetry and proſe, as related particularly to the hiſtory of Briſtol, which he has for ſome time been preparing for the preſs, and (it is hoped) will ſoon communicate to the public.

The uncommon merit of theſe poems could not eſcape the penetrating genius of Chatterton from the firſt moment of their diſcovery: his mother and ſiſter are ſtill living, to atteſt the earneſtneſs with which he collected, peruſed, decyphered, and tranſcribed thoſe ancient parchments, which had been depoſited in his father's houſe before he was born: his friends, to whom

he firſt communicated them, beheld, with equal pleaſure and ſurpriſe, a ſuperiority in the language and ſtile, in the ſentiment and numbers of this poetry, diſtinguiſhing it from every other ſpecimen of the fifteenth century hitherto produced. This ſuperiority, together with the uncommon circumſtances attending the diſcovery of theſe parchments, created doubts or ſuſpicions concerning their authenticity; and the few detached ſpecimens then circulating in private hands, were inſufficient to determine the judgment of the critics upon this point.

In this ſituation they attracted the notice of their learned editor, who was neither inſenſible of their merit, nor a ſtranger to the doubts which had ariſen concerning them; but (as a friend to learning, and a lover of ancient poetry) "was deſirous that they "ſhould be printed; and therefore readily undertook the charge "of ſuperintending the edition, chuſing at that time, for many "reaſons, to decline giving his opinion on the queſtion of their "authenticity, which he left to the determination of the unpre-"judiced and intelligent reader."

If the evidence did not appear at that time ſufficient to determine his judgment in their favour, it may be preſumed at leaſt that his opinion was ſuſpended in an equal balance; and that he would not have produced to the world any compoſition, which he thought to be ſpurious, or which was likely to appear ſo in the judgment of the public.

On a ſubſequent examination, he has changed his opinion of this poetry; and, from ſome words and phraſes which appeared doubtful to him in point of antiquity, he has condemned the whole collection as ſpurious, declaring them, in his Appendix, "not "to have been written by any ancient author, but entirely by "Thomas Chatterton." Should his opinion be deciſive with the public, have we not great reaſon to lament the untoward fate of this excellent poet, whoſe merit whilſt living was unknown to, or at leaſt unnoticed by his contemporaries; whoſe works were conſigned to oblivion by the zeal of his friend and patron Canning for their preſervation; and who, being afterwards raiſed from

a ſlumber

a ſlumber of three centuries by the fortunate hand of Chatterton, and uſhered into the world under the patronage of this eminent critic, ſhould now feel that hand exerted againſt him, which had lately been ſo inſtrumental in reſtoring him to a ſecond life?

But although the weight of Rowley's antagoniſts may be great, and the number of his advocates few, yet the genuineneſs of theſe poems is not given up by the literary world; legal as well as poetical juſtice requires, that he ſhould be allowed to ſpeak for himſelf before ſentence is finally pronounced againſt him; and therefore, with permiſſion of the critics, we will pay the ſame reſpect to his merit, which he paid to that of his favourite Ella,

> And rowze hym uppe before the judgment daie,
> To ſaie what he as Clergyond can kenne,
> And howe hee ſojourned in the vale of Men.
>
> Entroductionne to Ella.

It may be expected that the exiſtence of the poet ſhould be proved, before his works are made the ſubject of a comment, though the authenticity of the poetry does not depend upon this circumſtance: for the preſent queſtion is not, whether the author was called Rowley or Chatterton; but, whether the poetry itſelf was compoſed by a learned prieſt in the fifteenth century, or by an illiterate charity-boy of the preſent age. Mr. Tyrwhit and Mr. Warton have adopted the latter ſuppoſition, in which they have been followed by many reſpectable perſons, who have not given themſelves the trouble to examine this poetry with a critical impartiality, being ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with the idea that refined ſentiment, poliſhed diction, and harmony of numbers (ſo eminently conſpicuous in theſe compoſitions) are the peculiar features, and ſole property of modern poetry. What weight may be due to this opinion, will appear from the following obſervations.

It is to be remarked, in the firſt place, that every circumſtance

relating to this uncommon diſcovery ſeems to reduce us to this alternative; either to believe that they were really copied by Chatterton from parchments found in Redcliff church, or that they were written by himſelf, and produced to the world under that falſe title. Rowley has hitherto appeared as the reputed author, and ought not to be diſpoſſeſſed, till ſome other perſon can produce a better title: not that a deficiency of evidence in ſupport of Rowley's claim, will neceſſarily eſtabliſh that of Chatterton: for the æra of the poems may be later than the fifteenth, and earlier than the eighteenth century: They might not have been written either by that learned prieſt, or this illiterate youth. The difficulties, which on one ſide of the queſtion are great, on the other are inſurmountable. The ſubject of ſome of theſe poems ſeems to claim a determinate æra, and, as far as the knowledge and atteſtation of Chatterton are concerned, they can relate to no other period or author. He perſiſted in aſſerting their authenticity, except in one inſtance, which will be accounted for hereafter; and never ſeriouſly laid claim to any of them as written by himſelf. If the fact was otherwiſe, the truth is gone to the grave with him, alike concealed from the knowledge of the world, from his intimate friends, his family, and neareſt relations.

In the former editions we may ſee ſome general lineaments of this extraordinary youth; but, as the facts and circumſtances attending his progreſs through a very ſhort and unhappy life, will ſupply many topics of argument to illuſtrate the preſent ſubject; it may not be improper to produce the reſult of a moſt exact and diligent enquiry, made by a gentleman of great credit and veracity, from Chatterton's mother and ſiſter, and from ſuch of his ſurviving friends, who were enabled to give him information on this ſubject.

His mother ſays, that he was born November 20th, 1752, and baptized at Redcliff church the 1ſt of January following: That he firſt went to ſchool at five years of age, was admitted into Colſton's charity-ſchool Auguſt 3d, 1761, was bound apprentice

to

to Mr. John Lambert, attorney of Briſtol, for ſeven years, on the 1ſt of July, 1767, removing the ſame day from the ſchool to his maſter's houſe. The inſtruction in Colſton's ſchool was confined to writing, reading, and arithmetic: the hours appointed for it, during the ſummer half year, were from ſeven to twelve, and from one to five: in the winter, two hours leſs each day. He was always in bed by eight of the clock, and never permitted to be abſent, except on Saturdays and ſaints days, from between one and two till ſeven or eight at night. When he firſt went to ſchool, he was obſerved to be of ſlow apprehenſion and uncommonly dull; was above five years old before he knew his letters; his writing-maſter, Mr. Love, who ſucceeded Chatterton's father as maſter of the ſchool in Pile-ſtreet, thought it impoſſible to make him learn them; and he had a fancy to be taught his letters by his mother, from the illuminated initials in an old vellum French MS. treatiſe on muſic; and which moſt probably came from Redcliff church: ſhe taught him afterwards to read, from a black-lettered Teſtament (as ſhe called it) meaning a Bible. But before he left that ſchool he grew fond of reading, and borrowed from Mr. Long, Mr. Shircliff, and particularly from Mr. Green, who had the largeſt collection of any bookſeller in Briſtol (and to whom he was obliged for Speght's Chaucer,) ſuch books as their ſhops produced; but he knew nothing of the parchments taken from Redcliff church, nor of their contents, till he had left Mr. Colſton's ſchool. The office-hours at Mr. Lambert's were from ſeven in the morning till eight at night; and Mr. Lambert, who atteſts the regularity of his attendance, ſays that he was never but once known to be out of the houſe after ten of the clock at night: but he then went to bed very late, and roſe very early, ſeldom ſpending more time with his mother and ſiſter than from eight to nine in the evening. He left Mr. Lambert in April 1770, and went to London, where it is ſuppoſed he put an end to his miſerable life in the month of Auguſt following.

As to the parchments, Mrs. Chatterton ſays, that her huſband's uncle,

uncle, John Chatterton, was choſen ſexton of Redcliff church March 25, 1725, and dying in that office in 1748, was ſucceeded by Humphrey Perrot, who died May 1756; that her huſband keeping a writing-ſchool in Pile-ſtreet, the uncle furniſhed him with many old parchments for covering the boys copy-books, a little before the death of Mr. Gibbs, vicar of Redcliff, which parchments were taken out of ſome ancient cheſts in the room over the north porch of Redcliff church, (now empty, and ſtill to be ſeen in that room:) That the charity-boys belonging to the ſchool in Pile-ſtreet brought theſe parchments to her huſband's houſe, and that they filled a large mawnd baſket: That many of them had ſeals, the figure of a pope or biſhop in a chair; others had no ſeals: That her huſband put them in cupboards in the ſchool, for the purpoſe of covering the boys writing-books; the beſt of them were put to that uſe, and the reſt remained in the cupboard: ſhe thinks her huſband read ſome of them, but does not know that he tranſcribed any, or was acquainted with their value: Being particularly fond of muſic, he employed his leiſure hours in writing it for the cathedral, of which he was a ſinging-man: He had been employed in London in engroſſing deeds for the attorneys, and was probably acquainted with the old hands; he had alſo been writing-uſher to a ſchool where the claſſics were taught, and thereby knew a little of the Latin tongue: he died Auguſt 1752, about three months before his ſon was born.—She ſays that the parchments in queſtion, at the time of her huſband's death, were contained in a cupboard in the ſchool-room, where they remained as long as the widow continued in the houſe, which was an indulgence granted her for ſome time after her huſband's death. On her removal from thence, ſhe emptied the cupboard of its contents, partly into a large long deal box, where her huſband uſed to keep his cloaths, and partly into a ſquare oak box of a much ſmaller ſize; carrying both, with their contents, to her lodgings, where, according to her account, they continued neglected and undiſturbed, till her ſon

firſt diſcovered their real value; who, having examined their contents, told his mother "that he had found a treaſure, and was ſo glad nothing could be like it:" That he then removed all theſe parchments out of the large long deal box under the bed, in which his father uſed to keep his cloaths, into a ſquare oak box of a ſmaller ſize: That he was perpetually rummaging and ranſacking every corner in the houſe for more parchments, and, from time to time, carried away thoſe he had already found, by pocketsfull: That one day, happening to ſee Clarke's Hiſtory of the Bible covered with one of thoſe parchments, he ſwore a great oath, and, ſtripping the book, put the cover into his pocket, and carried it away; at the ſame time ſtripping a common little Bible, but finding no writing on the cover, replaced it again very leiſurely. Twenty Bibles were preſented to the charity-boys of Pile-ſtreet, of which Chatterton was maſter, by the Reverend Mr. Gibbs, vicar of Redcliff church, under whoſe appointment Chatterton acted, which Bibles were afterwards covered with the parchments taken from the room over the porch. Upon his being informed by his mother from whence, and by what means, his father firſt procured theſe parchments, he went himſelf to the place, and picked up four more, which, if Mrs. Chatterton remembers right, Mr. Barrett has at this time in his poſſeſſion. Mr. Barrett confirms this teſtimony, with regard to Chatterton's bringing parchments to him, which he took from the room over the porch, who alſo ſaid that he had been there more than once; but Mr. Barrett obſerves that theſe parchments contained deeds of land, &c. in Latin, and that Chatterton deſired Mr. Barrett to read them to him, as he neither underſtood the language nor character in which they were written.

Mrs. Newton his ſiſter, being aſked if ſhe remembers his having mentioned Rowley's poems, after the diſcovery of the parchments; ſays, that he was perpetually talking on that ſubject, and once in particular, (about two years before he left Briſtol) when a relation, one Mr. Stephens of Saliſbury, made them

them a viſit, he talked of nothing elſe; which Mr. Stephens has ſince confirmed, as to the general tenor of the converſation, though, at ſuch a diſtance of time, he does not charge his memory with particulars: That he uſed to read Rowley very often to her, and ſometimes his own poems; but, as the latter were almoſt wholly ſatirical, the mother and grandmother grew uneaſy, fearing that they ſhould involve him in ſome ſcrape; after which he chiefly read Rowley to her; one of the poems on our lady's church (but which of the two ſhe does not know) he read from a parchment, and (as ſhe believes) the battle of Haſtings alſo; but is not certain. Being aſked if ſhe remembered any particular paſſages that he had read, ſhe replied "The language was ſo old, that I could not "underſtand them: they were all to me a mere blank, I had no "kind of reliſh for them. This my brother uſed ſometimes "to perceive, would grow angry, and ſcold at me for want of "taſte; but what I ſickened my poor brother with, I remem-"ber very well, was my inattention to the Battle of Haſtings, "which before he uſed to be perpetually repeating." When he was communicative, he would read the play of Ella to his ſiſter; and ſhe recollects his having mentioned the names of Turgot and John Stow: ſhe never ſaw him copying any of theſe parchments at his mother's, but concluded that he did it at Mr. Lambert's office; where once, and once only, ſhe thinks that ſhe ſaw him tranſcribing one of them: ſhe deſcribes theſe parchments as *curled* and *crumpled*, and *green about the edges*.

This account, which was given by Mrs. Newton to ſome re-ſpectable friends who lamented the untimely fate of her brother, and compaſſionated the ſituation of her family upon that occaſion, is confirmed and illuſtrated by the following letter, which ſhe wrote ſome time ſince, to the author of a pamphlet, entitled "*Love and Madneſs*," and which he has thought fit to publiſh in that work.

"Conſcious

" Conſcious of my own inability to write to a man of letters, " and reluctant to engage in the painful recollection of the parti- " culars of the life of my dear deceaſed brother; together with " the ill ſtate of health I've enjoyed ſince it has been required of " me, are, Sir, the real cauſes of my not writing ſooner. But I " am invited to write as to a friend: inſpired with the ſacred name, " I will forget the incorrectneſs of my epiſtle, and proceed.

" My brother very early diſcovered a thirſt for pre-eminence. " I remember, before he was five years old, he would always pre- " ſide over his playmates as their maſter, and they his hired ſer- " vants. He was dull in learning, not knowing many letters at " four years old, and always objected to read in a ſmall book. He " learnt the alphabet from an old folio muſick-book of my father's, " my mother was then tearing up for waſte paper; the capitals at " the beginning of the verſes, I aſſiſted in teaching him. I recol- " lect nothing remarkable till he went into the ſchool, which was " in his eighth year, excepting his promiſing my mother and me " a deal of finery, when he grew up, as a reward of her care. About " his tenth year he began (with the trifle my mother allowed " him for pocket-money) to hire books from the circulating li- " brary, and (we were informed by the uſher) made rapid progreſs " in arithmetick. Between his eleventh and twelfth year, he wrote " a catalogue of the books he had read, to the number of ſeventy: " Hiſtory and divinity were the chief ſubjects: his ſchoolmates " informed us, he retired to read at the hours allotted for play. " At twelve years old, he was confirmed by the biſhop: he made " very ſenſible ſerious remarks on the awfulneſs of the ceremony, " and his own feelings and convictions during it. Soon after this, " in the week he was door-keeper, he made ſome verſes on the " laſt day, I think about eighteen lines; paraphraſed the ninth " chapter of Job; and, not long after, ſome chapters in Iſaiah. " He had been gloomy from the time he began to learn, but we " remarked he was more chearful after he began to write poetry. " Some ſatirical pieces we ſaw ſoon after. His intimates in the

" ſchool were but few, and they ſolid lads; and, except the next " neighbours' ſons, I know of none acquaintance he had out. He " was fourteen the twentieth of November, and bound apprentice " the firſt of July following. Soon after his apprenticeſhip, he " correſponded with one of his ſchoolmates, that had been his bed- " fellow, and was, I believe, bound to a merchant at New-York. " He read a letter at home, that he wrote to his friend, a col- " lection of all the hard words in the Engliſh language, and re- " queſted him to anſwer it. He was a lover of truth from the " earlieſt dawn of reaſon, and nothing would move him ſo much " as being belied. When in the ſchool, we were informed by the " uſher, his maſter depended on his veracity on all occaſions. Till " this time he was remarkably indifferent to females. One day " he was remarking to me the tendency ſevere ſtudy had to ſour " the temper, and declared he had always ſeen all the ſex with " equal indifference, but thoſe that nature made dear: he thought " of making an acquaintance with a girl in the neighbourhood, " ſuppoſing it might ſoften the auſterity of temper ſtudy had " occaſioned; he wrote a poem to her, and they commenced " correſponding acquaintance. About this time the parchments " belonging to my father, that were left of covering his boys " books, my brother carried to the office. He would often ſpeak " in great raptures of the undoubted ſucceſs of his plan for fu- " ture life. He was introduced to Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcot; " his ambition increaſed daily. His ſpirits were rather uneven, " ſometimes ſo gloom'd, that for many days together he would " ſay very little, and that by conſtraint. At other times exceed- " ing chearful. When in ſpirits, he would enjoy his riſing fame; " confident of advancement, he would promiſe my mother and " me ſhould be partakers of his ſucceſs. Mr. Barrett lent him " many books on ſurgery, and I believe he bought many more, as " I remember to have packed them up to ſend to him when in " London, and no demand was ever made for them. About this " time he wrote ſeveral ſatirical poems; one in the papers, on

" Mr. Catcot's putting the pewter plates in St. Nicholas tower.
" He began to be univerſally known among the young men. He
" had many cap acquaintaince, but I am confident but few in-
" timates. At about ſeventeen, he became acquainted with Mr.
" Clayfield, diſtiller in Caſtle-ſtreet, who lent him many books
" on Aſtronomy. Mr. Cator likewiſe aſſiſted him with books on
" that ſubject; from thence he applied himſelf to that ſtudy. His
" hours in the office, were from eight in the morning to eight in the
" evening. He had little of his maſter's buſineſs to do, ſometimes
" not two hours in a day, which gave him an opportunity to pur-
" ſue his genius. He boarded at Mr. Lambert's, but we ſaw
" him moſt evenings before nine, and would, in general, ſtay to
" the limits of his time, which was ten. He was ſeldom two
" evenings together without ſeeing us. I had almoſt forgot to
" add, we had heard him frequently ſay that he found he ſtudied
" beſt toward the full of the moon; and would often ſit up all
" night and write by moon-light. A few months before he left
" Briſtol, he wrote letters to ſeveral bookſellers in London, I be-
" lieve, to learn if there was any probability of his getting an
" employment there, but that I cannot affirm, as the ſubject was
" a ſecret at home. He wrote one letter to Sir Horace Warpool,
" and, except his correſpondence with Miſs Rumſey, the girl I
" before mentioned, I know of no other. He would frequently
" walk the college green with the young girls that ſtatedly paraded
" there to ſhew their finery, but I really believe he was no debau-
" chee (though ſome have reported it): the dear unhappy boy had
" faults enough; I ſaw, with concern, he was proud, and exceed-
" ingly imperious; but that of venality he could not be juſtly
" accuſed with. Mr. Lambert informed me, not two months
" before he left Briſtol, he had never been once found out of the
" office in the ſtated hours, as they frequently ſent the footman
" and other ſervants there to ſee; nor but once ſtayed out till
" eleven; then he had leave, as we entertained ſome friends at
" our houſe at Chriſtmas.

" Thus, Sir, have I given you, as before the Great Searcher of " hearts, the whole truth, as far as my memory has been faithful, " the particulars of my dear brother. The taſk has been painfull, " and, for want of earlier recollection, much has been, nay, the " greateſt part has been loſt. My mother joins with me in beſt " reſpects; which concludes me,

" *Briſtol,* " S I R,
" *Somerſetſhire-ſquare,* " Your very humble ſervant,
" *Sept.* 22, 1778. " MARY NEWTON."

As the genuineneſs of the letter cannot be doubted, and the writer, like her brother, ſeems attached to the cauſe of truth, it will furniſh the reader with the following facts.

Firſt, that there did exiſt, and come into young Chatterton's poſſeſſion, parchments belonging to his father, which were left of covering the boys books, and which were carried by him to Mr. Lambert's office; which parchments appear, by other accounts, to have been taken from the room over the porch of Redcliff church.

Secondly, that Chatterton very early diſcovered a thirſt for pre-eminence; that his temper was proud and imperious; that his ambition made him ſpeak in great raptures of the undoubted ſucceſs of his plan for future life.

Thirdly, that he could not be charged with venality.

Fourthly, that he was a lover of truth from the earlieſt dawn of reaſon, and nothing would move him ſo much as being belied: his maſter depended upon him on all occaſions.

Every one of theſe facts militates in the ſtrongeſt manner againſt the idea of forgery in theſe poems; it being highly incredible that a perſon of this turn of mind could be at the trouble of preparing and diſguiſing parchments, to give them the appearance of antiquity; and of tranſcribing on them, in a hand affecting to be ancient, not only the poems contained in this volume, but alſo ſeveral others yet unpubliſhed, together with many treatiſes in proſe upon various

various ſubjects.—That he who commenced a poet at twelve years of age, and from his earlieſt days ſhewed ſo great a thirſt for pre-eminence, ſhould ſo far ſacrifice his own credit, as to deny himſelf to be the author of poems, ſuperior to thoſe which he had confeſſedly written.—That he who was above venality, and ſo great a lover of truth, ſhould make himſelf a living lie; and impoſe upon his neareſt relations and the whole world, a forgery which tempted him with no proſpect of honour or advantage, unleſs any could be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the reputed antiquity of theſe poems.

The ſuppoſition of a forgery under ſuch circumſtances, is irreconcileable with every idea of rational conduct, and much more ſo with the genius and diſpoſition of this extraordinary youth.

The account given by Mr. William Smith of Briſtol (who was one of Chatterton's intimate acquaintance, and to whom he addreſſed a ſhort letter; ſee Love and Madneſs, p. 172, fourth edition) is more circumſtantial in other reſpects: He ſays, that Chatterton read Rowley's poems to him at the time that he was apprentice to Mr. Lambert, and not before; that he ſometimes read whole treatiſes, ſometimes parts only, and that very often; that is, he read ſome ancient pieces of writing, which came from the room over the north porch in Redcliff church; he does not know that they were all by Rowley, but never heard him mention any other ancient poet: That theſe MSS. were upon vellum; that he had ſeen a dozen of them; ſome with the heads of kings and popes: That he had very often ſeen him tranſcribe theſe parchments at Mr. Lambert's office; and that he had read them to him, when he had juſt tranſcribed them; but Mr. Smith had at that time no taſte for ſuch things.—The account which young Chatterton gave him of theſe parchments was, that he received them from his mother, as belonging to his father, who had them originally from Redcliff church; that being in his mother's poſſeſſion, ſome were turned into thread-papers, ſome into patterns, ſome into dolls, and applied to ignoble uſes; that he accidentally diſcovered their value, by finding

finding ſome writing on one of theſe thread-papers, which was very old, the hand being different from common hands, and the ſubject treated in an uncommon manner; and that, being of an inquiſitive and curious turn, he queſtioned his mother concerning them, how and whence they came.—That Chatterton was fond of walking in the fields, and particularly in Redcliff meadows; of talking with him about theſe MSS. and reading them to him: "You and I (ſays he) will take a walk in Redcliff "meadow, I have got the cleverest thing for you that ever was: "It is worth half a crown to have a ſight of it only, and to hear "me read it to you." He would then produce and read the parchment. He uſed to fix his eyes in a kind of reverie on Redcliff church, and ſay, "this ſteeple was once burnt by light-"ning: This was the place where they uſed formerly to act "plays." He ſpoke of all theſe parchments as ancient; ſome as Rowley's, but whether all, he does not know. He never offered to claim them as his own, nor ſo much as dropped the leaſt hint that way: He never ſeemed deſirous that any one ſhould ſuſpect, much leſs believe them to be written by him. He had no reaſon to be obliged to any man for character: He was one of the moſt extraordinary geniuſes Mr. Smith ever ſaw or heard of: He never dropped the leaſt hint of any deſign to print the contents of theſe parchments, though he was remarkably fond of publiſhing: He had no knowledge either of Greek or Latin, but expreſſed a deſign to teach himſelf Latin; which idea Mr. Smith diſcouraged, as an impracticable and uſeleſs attempt; but adviſed him to try at French: It does not appear, however, from any part of his hiſtory, that he attempted either. Mr. Smith concludes his teſtimony, with wiſhing that he had been acquainted formerly with the value of theſe things; as he could have got them all of Chatterton with a word's aſking.

This teſtimony of Mr. Smith is clear and expreſs with regard to Chatterton's poſſeſſing, reading from, and tranſcribing the contents of theſe ancient parchments; to his never claiming

claiming them, or any other compoſition as his own, which he did not actually write; and though, from the exalted ideas he entertained of Chatterton's abilities, he thought him capable of any thing ſhort of inſpiration, yet he would not admit the idea of his being the author of this poetry; though this muſt have been the higheſt compliment to Chatterton, and the moſt convincing proof of the wonderful extent of his abilities.

Mr. Thomas Cary, formerly clerk to Mr. Cruger, late member for Briſtol, an intimate friend and acquaintance of Chatterton, and a great admirer of his abilities, and who lamented his death in an elegy ſubjoined to the publication of Chatterton's Miſcellanies, p. 241, and to whom alſo he addreſſed a letter: (See Love and Madneſs, p. 171;) yet did not think him capable of writing theſe poems, nor did he doubt their having been written by Rowley, as appears by the following letter, addreſſed by him to Mr. George Catcot, in anſwer to his enquiries on that ſubject:

"SIR,

"It being your requeſt that I ſhould give you my opinion of the "authenticity of Rowley's MSS., I can only ſay that I have fre- "quently heard Chatterton make mention of ſuch writings being "in his poſſeſſion ſhortly after his leaving ſchool, when he could "not be more than fifteen years of age; and, that he had given "Mr. Barrett and Mr. Catcot part of them. Not having any taſte "myſelf for ancient poetry, I do not recollect his ever having "ſhewn them to me; but that he often mentioned them, at an age, "when (great as his capacity was,) I am convinced he was inca- "pable of writing them himſelf; I am very clear in, and confeſs it "to be aſtoniſhing, how any perſon, knowing theſe circumſtances, "can entertain even a ſhadow of a doubt of their being the works "of Rowley. Of this I am very certain, that if they are not "Rowley's, they are not Chatterton's: This, I think, I am war- "ranted in aſſerting, as, from my intimacy with him, I had it in "my power to, and did obſerve the progreſs of his genius from "his

" his infancy to the fatal diſſolution. His abilities, for his age, " were beyond conception great, but not equal to the works of " Rowley, particularly at the age that he produced them to light. " I think I need ſay no more, to convince any rational being of " their being genuine; in which perſuaſion I reſt,

" *Briſtol,* " S I R,
" *Auguſt* 14*th,* " Your moſt obedient ſervant,
" 1776. " THOMAS CARY."

Mr. Shiercliffe, a bookſeller, now living in Briſtol, ſays, that in the year 1748, being at Mr. Miller's (who was a painter, but afterwards retired from buſineſs) when he was painting old Parrott's epitaph, (which Parrott cauſed to be put up in the cemitery of Redcliff church, many years before his death) Mr. Miller deſired Mr. Shiercliffe to put a flouriſh at the bottom of it, which he accordingly did; and old Parrott coming in at that time, ſeemed much pleaſed with it: In the courſe of the converſation, Mr. Parrott ſaid, he had found a great curioſity, and carried them to ſee it, in a place over the porch of Redcliff church. There were many old writings on vellum, which Mr. Shiercliffe did not underſtand: At this diſtance of time he cannot poſitively ſay, whether the name of Rowley was mentioned, but thinks it was. On Mr. Parrott's death, ſome of his papers came into the hands of one Mr. Morgan at Briſtol, a curious man, and a great lover of antiquities, although no ſcholar. Mr. Barrett is now poſſeſſed of his papers, amongſt which is the following curious note concerning Redcliff church.

" Over the north porch is a long ſexangular room, in which " were formerly kept the archives belonging to the church. The " trunks and boxes are ſtill remaining, with many hundred old " deeds in them, where I have been furniſhed with many curi- " ous materials."

Mr. Morgan has been dead above fifteen years; he was contemporary with Chatterton's father, but it is not ſaid that he

was

was acquainted with him. Mr. Morgan's not mentioning the poetry among theſe old records, might be owing to his not being able to decypher them, as they are written in a hand not very eaſy to be read; or they might have been given to Chatterton's father before Mr. Morgan had acceſs to the room.

It appears then from the foregoing moſt authentic evidence, that certain ancient manuſcripts on parchment did exiſt, and were in the poſſeſſion of Chatterton's parents, before the time of his father's death; that the ſon took them into his cuſtody ſoon after July 1767, that he tranſcribed ſeveral of them at Mr. Lambert's office, and read them to his ſiſter and Mr. Smith, ſome from the original MSS. and others from his own copies; that he expreſſed uncommon delight at the diſcovery of this treaſure, which he communicated to a few friends only, and even to them partially; that he never laid claim to them as written by himſelf, except in one inſtance; and, notwithſtanding his great vanity, love of authorſhip, and high opinion of his own abilities, he neither denied what he had written himſelf, nor claimed the works of others: It muſt be obſerved alſo, that he was particularly jealous of ſuch, among his contemporaries, who were rivals to him in poetry or fame, or who preſumed to find fault with or undervalue his poetical compoſitions.

If it be conſidered likewiſe, how ſlowly Chatterton's abilities opened on his firſt going to ſchool; how conſtantly his time was employed there; it will be found (notwithſtanding the ſurpriſing progreſs which he made afterwards) that two years and nine months ſpent with Mr. Lambert (part of which was employed in copying books of precedents for his maſter) was not more than ſufficient for the buſineſs of tranſcribing theſe parchments, endeavouring to underſtand their contents, reading Chaucer, tranſcribing Speght's Gloſſary, and acquiring a competent knowledge of the meaning of ancient words: not to mention the hours which he dedicated to reading plays and romances, and writing ſatires and lampoons againſt thoſe who had offended him, beſides that

part of his time which was given to a ſet of youths, who, like himſelf, had a genius for poetry, and a turn for diſſipation.

They who are willing to think Chatterton's time and abilities equal to all that is attributed to him, muſt conſider the great compaſs and variety of knowledge neceſſary to qualify him for ſo extenſive a forgery. He muſt have been converſant, to a certain degree, with the language of our ancient poets, with the meaning and inflexion of their words, and with the rules of grammar which they obſerved: He muſt have formed a vocabulary from their works, which muſt have been previouſly read and underſtood by him, as the groundwork of his imitation, and undoubtedly the moſt difficult part of the undertaking.

To adopt the ideas, to ſupport the ſtyle and phraſeology of a language in which he had never before written, and with which he could have very little acquaintance, and to execute this with a propriety and ſpirit ſuperior to all the poetry which that age had produced, muſt appear an impracticable attempt; and though his words ſhould ſpeak the language, they would never convey the ſentiments, of a poet writing in the fifteenth century. Even poſſeſſed of all theſe qualities, the want of literature muſt have confined his genius within very narrow limits; for it required a knowledge of hiſtory and antiquity, to record ancient facts and local cuſtoms; and, without the aſſiſtance of the Greek and Latin poets, the author could not have been furniſhed with ſo many claſſical ideas.

In all theſe inſtances Chatterton appears to have been deficient; he knew no language but his mother-tongue, nor any kind of literature but what he gleaned from the books which he could borrow of the Briſtol bookſellers; whoſe collections were neither ſelect nor numerous: His choice, after he began to exerciſe his pen, was generally determined to poetry, novels, and romances: He was never obſerved by Mr. Lambert, or any other friend, to be engaged in any regular or ſerious courſe of ſtudy; his mind

being too deſultory for cloſe application; and it appears in general, by the ſubjects and ſtile of his poems, that they followed the courſe of his natural inclination, which was much given to ſatire; and of his conduct and opinions, which were early tinctured with irreligion. On theſe topics, his pen following the dictates of his heart, the ſentiments flowed with eaſe: But how muſt his mind have laboured under the burthen of deſcribing pathetically the pleaſures of virtue, and the rewards of religion; which are ſo frequently mentioned in theſe poems, though they had not made their proper impreſſion on his heart? But, not to detain the reader any longer on ſuch diſquiſitions, let us begin our examination of theſe poems with the title-page, and name of the author.

May we not aſk, then, what could tempt Chatterton to produce his poetry under the name of *Rowley?* If ambition, and a deſire of poetic ſuperiority, were his predominant paſſions, (as his ſiſter and moſt intimate friends have aſſerted) why ſhould he deprive himſelf of an honour juſtly due to his merit, by concealing his name? If, from a modeſt diffidence of his abilities, (which was never a part of his character) he wiſhed to know in ſecret the powers of his virgin muſe, why did he not ſend her into the world, to make her way to fame, by aſſuming the name of Chaucer, Lidgate, Occleve, or ſome other of our moſt reſpectable ancient poets? What reaſon can be aſſigned for his chuſing the name of *Rowley* in preference to all others? A name at preſent entirely unknown in Briſtol, and never particularly diſtinguiſhed there; except that, at the time when theſe poems are ſuppoſed to have been written, one Thomas Rouley, a merchant, was ſheriff of the town. His epitaph is ſtill extant in St. John's church, inſcribed in Gothick letters, on a braſs plate, as follows:

Hic jacet Thomas Rouley quondam mercator ac vicecomes hujus ville de Briſtoll. qui quidem Thomas obiit xxiii die mēs Januarii Anno Dni millmo cccclxxviii. et Margareta uxor ej⁹. que obiit die menſis Anno Dni millmo cccclxx quar aīab⁹ ꝑpitiet⁷ De⁹ Amen.

This is probably the only record or monument which could have furniſhed him with the name of Rowley; but the inſcription was in Latin, which he did not underſtand, and the Gothick letters made it ſtill more difficult to be decyphered; and who knows whether he ever ſaw the inſide of that church or the inſcription? But, ſuppoſe him poſſeſſed of that information, what aſſiſtance could it afford him, or what foundation could it lay for raiſing on it ſo large a ſuperſtructure of hiſtory and facts, making him the friend of Canning, and of biſhop Carpenter, &c. Theſe, with many other hints and references to his life and connections, which are interſperſed through theſe poems, could ſerve only to embarraſs him in his ſubject, and to lead to the detection of his forgery. Rejecting therefore ſuch improbable ſuppoſitions, let us endeavour to procure information from the poems themſelves, and from other records concerning this extraordinary man. If we give credit to Chatterton's notes, prefixed to the Ballad of Charity, he was born at Norton Malreward, near Briſtol, educated at the convent of St. Kenna, at Keynſham, and died at Weſtbury; but theſe facts being unſupported by other authentic proofs, can only carry ſuch weight with the reader, as he may be diſpoſed to give them: It appears, however, from the poems themſelves, and from their reſpective titles, that he was *a Prieſt*, (or, as he is juſtly called in the title prefixed to the Ballad of Charity, *a gode Prieſt*,) his profeſſion being plainly enough pointed out in the ſtory of William Canning, where he ſays of himſelf,

But

But I ne did once think of wanton thoughte,
For well I minded what *by vow I hete.*

This *hete*, or promiſe, was the vow of chaſtity, taken at his ordination; the record of which, as far as it relates to the orders of Acolythe, appears in the epiſcopal regiſter of Wells, wherein Thomas Rowle, Bathon and Wellen dioces, was admitted to that order, with others, by John Olonens' epiſc (biſhop of Oleron in France) officiating for John (Stafford) biſhop of Bath and Wells, in the pariſh-church of Crukerne, in Somerſetſhire, May 30th 1439; and this date agrees very well with the other circumſtances of his life. The name of *Rowley* was not uncommon at that time in the dioceſe, for the ſame regiſter mentions *John Roley* of Glaſton, and *Richard Roley*; the former ordained deacon in 1454, the latter ſubdeacon and deacon in the ſame year, and prieſt in 1455. One *Richard Rowleigh* appears, by biſhop Booth's Epiſcopal Regiſter at Exeter, to have died vicar of North Molton in Devonſhire, 1469; p. 26. b; poſſibly the ſame perſon who is mentioned in the Wells Regiſter. The Worceſter Regiſter mentions *John Rowley*, ordained an Acolythe, by Biſhop Carpenter, in the conventual church of Tewkeſbury 1457: *Thomas Rolegh*, batchelor of laws, was admitted to the rectory of Bekyngton, in the dioceſe of Bath and Wells, preſented by Thomas St. Mauro (Seymour) knight, Jan. 23d 1478: The ſaid *Thomas Rolegh* (elſewhere in the ſame regiſter ſpelt *Rowleigh*) was inſtituted to the rectory of North Tawton, in Devonſhire, September 20th, 1479. Reg. Courtenay, p. 87. a. In an inquiſition de jure patronatus of this rectory, holden on the 20th of September preceding, entered in the ſame regiſter, p. 80. a. he is ſaid to be "alibi beneficiatus quia rector eccleſiæ parochialis de Bekyngton "Bathon & Wellen dioces." He ſoon after reſigned, and took again the living of Bekynton; for the Wells regiſter ſays, that he was inſtituted to the pariſh-church of Bekynton, March 28th, 1480, on the reſignation of *Mr. Thomas Rolegh*, batchelor of laws,

laws, the laſt rector, at the preſentation of the above knight, (Sir Thomas Seymour.) He was ſtill poſſeſſed of North Tawton, in 1491, being mentioned as one of the jury, in an inquiſition de jure patronatus, April the 15th, in the ſame year.

The æra of this *Thomas Rolegh* ſeems rather too late for our poet. It would be endleſs to ſearch for Rowley's ſuperior orders in other regiſters.—In the note prefixed to the Battle of Haſtings, he is ſtiled *Pariſh Prieſt of St. John's in Briſtol*; a fact not authenticated by the Worceſter regiſter. In the title to the Battle of Haſtings, and in the preface to the account of the Court Mantle, printed by Chatterton in the Town and Country Magazine, March 1769, he is called a monk; which is not very probable. Theſe different accounts ſeem rather to ariſe from want of proper information, than from a pre-concerted forgery, which would have dictated a more uniform ſtory. Rowley's memoirs of Canning, reprinted by Mr. Warton, make him confeſſor to William Canning, and to his ſon Robert. Other unpubliſhed accounts of him, in Mr. Barrett's hands, ſay, that Rowley and Canning were educated together, at the convent of the White Fryars (i. e. the Carmelites) at Briſtol; where their friendſhip firſt commenced: Both theſe memoirs make Rowley to have ſurvived his friend, and yet no notice is taken of him in Canning's will.

It muſt alſo be obſerved, that the ſpirit of Rowley's poetry is perfectly conſonant to his clerical character: There is ſuch a rectitude and purity in all his ſentiments, ſuch delicacy in his expreſſions, ſuch a conſtant attention to improve every incident to moral or religious inſtruction, that we diſcover the ſource whence theſe principles flowed, as well as the profeſſion that habituated him to this turn of thought. But how different was the character and conduct of Chatterton? The compaſſion due to the errors of his education, and to the undeſerved diſtreſs of his ſurviving family, forbid all enlargements on this topic, which are not neceſſarily connected with the preſent argument. But it muſt

muſt not be concealed, that ſoon after his coming into Mr. Lambert's family, when his poetic life began, he gave himſelf up to ſceptical and irreligious ideas, of which his poem to Happineſs, written in 1769, and lately publiſhed, and his profane will, intended to ridicule that laſt neceſſary and religious act in a man's life, are but too ſufficient proofs.

Could a youth, thus eſtranged from the pure principles of religion and morality, enſlaved to his paſſions, ſtung with diſappointment, diſguſted both with himſelf and mankind, (could he, I ſay) recommend thoſe precepts of benevolence, morality, and religion, which abound in theſe poems, unmixed with any indelicate ſentiment or expreſſion, which might wound the chaſteſt ear, or offend the moſt religious heart?

Much leſs was he qualified, either by age or experience, to point out the motives of human conduct; the progreſs, operation, and effects of the paſſions, which are delineated with ſo much juſtice and delicacy in this poetry, and can be deſcribed by thoſe only, who have ſagacity to trace, and a nice judgment to obſerve upon their effects!

But the advocates for Chatterton would make him not only a prodigy in poetry, but in literature alſo: For the one, he was greatly indebted to nature, but the other could only be acquired by time and ſtudy; and yet, we are to ſuppoſe, that, without the aſſiſtance of language, grammar, or books, (except the few which he picked up at Briſtol) and without any inſtructor but his own genius, he wrote all theſe poems, and ſeveral proſe compoſitions, beſides other fugitive pieces, on various ſubjects, in leſs than three years, under all the diſadvantages of his ſituation and circumſtances. The boldneſs of this ſuppoſition, in favour of Chatterton, can only be equalled by one no leſs hardily advanced to the diſcredit of Rowley, viz. that it was impoſſible for the fifteenth century to produce an Engliſh prieſt qualified to be the author of theſe poems.

In reſpect to literature, the argument is confeſſedly in favour of Rowley, and no leſs deciſive againſt Chatterton; and as

to

to the powers of genius and poetry, they are not confined to one period or century. Each may have its characteriſtical ſtyle; but poets and writers will ariſe in every age, far excelling the reſt of their contemporaries, and becoming exceptions to a general rule: The ſuperiority of Rowley's poetry is therefore no concluſive argument againſt the authenticity of it. If learning was little cultivated in that age, we muſt not infer that it did not at all exiſt; and that no man, at that time, could have a taſte for claſſical learning and antient poetry, becauſe thoſe branches of literature were then generally neglected. Some have even doubted, whether any Engliſh prieſt, of the fifteenth century, was learned enough to read Homer in the original; but Mr. Warton * has removed that doubt, by obſerving, that the knowledge of the Greek tongue was introduced into England in the twelfth century, by Theobald, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was himſelf a Greek prieſt—That Adhelm, of Malmſbury, went to Canterbury on purpoſe to learn that language of him—That copies of Homer, and of other Greek books, imported by that prelate, were extant even in archbiſhop Parker's time—That on the revival of literature in England after the Norman conqueſt, many claſſics were tranſcribed for the uſe of monaſteries—and that Greek books found their way into our libraries at the time of the Cruſades; Groſthead, biſhop of Lincoln, having tranſlated Dionyſius the Areopagite, and Damaſcenus, in 1230; and encouraged the knowledge of the Greek tongue, by a tranſlation of Suidas, and by preferring John of Baſingſtoke for his abilities in that language.—In the twelfth century, John of Saliſbury frequently quotes Homer with propriety; and hath one obſervation concerning him, which could only reſult from a moſt intimate acquaintance with that poet: "Homerus in illo celeberrimæ perfectionis opere dedignatus eſt "noſſe *Fortunam*, adeo quidem ut in nullâ parte tanti carminis "nominetur."——Policrat. 111—8. p. 144.

* Diſſert. 2d.

John

John Free, who tranſlated ſome of Xenophon's diſcourſes, ſome books of Diodorus Siculus, and a tract of Syneſius, out of Greek into Latin, was nominated biſhop of Bath and Wells in 1465, but died before conſecration. See Bale, and Bayle in voce Phræa.

And though inſtances of poetic genius were then rare in England, yet hiſtory has taken notice of ſome, not leſs extraordinary than Rowley. Joſeph Iſcanus is ſtiled, by Mr. Warton, a miracle of his age, for claſſical compoſitions:—"Joſephus Iſcanus omnium poetarum ſui temporis (abſit invidia dicto) facile primus, tantæ eloquentiæ, majeſtatis, eruditionis homo fuit, ut nunquam ſatis admirari poſſim, unde illi in tam barbarâ et rudi ætate facundia accreverit; uſque adeo omnibus numeris terſa, elegans, rotunda." See Leland de Scriptor. Britann.

To this character, given by Leland, of a poet who flouriſhed at the beginning of the thirteenth century, may be added his obſervation on Joſephus's poem "De Bello Trojano," which the reader may apply to Rowley's Battle of Haſtings: Leland firſt diſcovered a copy of this poem in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford, but it was imperfect; when he was ſtudying in Paris, two years after, he found another copy of the ſame poem, in the library of St. Victor, imperfect likewiſe; not long after, he met with a third copy of the ſame poem, in the poſſeſſion of a noble Pariſian "ſed ſub fine mutilum:" At laſt, when he viſited the Engliſh libraries, by order of king Henry the Eighth, he found in that of Thorney Abbey an entire copy of this poem. What a valuable acceſſion would it be to our ancient poetry, if a third, or even a fourth copy of *the Battle of Haſtings* could be diſcovered, to ſupply the imperfection of the two poems now extant!

To give a parallel inſtance in the French language: Proſper Marchand, in his Dictionary, *V. Vitry*, after giving his reader two old French Poems, with a Latin verſion of them, by Nic. de Clemangis, adds, "L'ordre, l'arrangement, la clarté, la diction, et *ſurtout la Meſure des vers de ces deux pieces Françoiſes*, ſont ſi nettes, ſi exactes, et SI APPROCHANT DE NÔTRE POESIE MODERNE,

quoi qu' écrites, l'une par Philippe de Vitry mort des 1361, et l'autre par Pierre d'Ailly mort vers 1425, que, ſi Deſpreaux les avoit connuës, il eſt a croire qu'il leur auroit accordè preferablement à Villon, la gloire.

——— d'avoir ſçu les premiers
Debrouiller l'art confus de nos vieux Romanciers.
Boileau Art Poetique, v. 110.

The works of Chaucer abound with claſſical alluſions, and the Engliſh poems of that age are founded on Greek and Roman hiſtory: Mr. Warton ſuppoſes that Lidgate might have ſeen a Latin verſion of Homer, made in 1360, and ſays that it was alſo tranſlated into French verſe about the year 1430.

As nothing, therefore, but a general want of literature, could have prevented the readers of thoſe days from having recourſe to the original poets, the force of the objection is chiefly this; that if Rowley was the author of this collection, he muſt have been a very uncommon genius both for poetry and literature.

Beſides the claſſical alluſions, borrowed from antient poets, there are many hiſtorical facts, local cuſtoms, and manners of the age referred to, which it was impoſſible that Chatterton, or indeed any other modern writer, could have ſo accurately deſcribed. And even in thoſe ſubjects which confeſſedly came within the reach of Chatterton's literary powers, his works are eaſily diſtinguiſhable from Rowley's by his ſtyle and language, his ſentiments and manner of expreſſion, by the choice of his ſubjects, his mode of treating them, and his total want of plan and method. The two volumes printed under the reſpective names of theſe two poets, point out this difference in the ſtrongeſt colours, convincing the reader, that the ſtyle of Chatterton never riſes to the dignity of Rowley; nor does Rowley deſcend to the mediocrity of Chatterton.

Exceptions, indeed, have been made to ſingle words and phraſes; ſome of which have been unjuſtly charged as plagiariſms from modern poets; and anachroniſms have been imputed, where none did

did really exiſt.—Not one of theſe poems has ever been brought to the teſt of a critical enquiry; and yet judgment has been haſtily and partially pronounced againſt them all, more from the authority of opinion, than the reſult of examination. It was unfortunate for our poet, that Lauder and Macpherſon had ſo much exerciſed the attention of the public: Critical jealouſy is therefore doubly armed againſt all future claims to poetic antiquity, and, from an eaſy credulity, is driven to the oppoſite extreme of ill-founded ſcepticiſm; flying from ſmaller difficulties, to embrace real inconſiſtencies; and loſing all the beauties of the poetry, in the idea of combating the authenticity of it.

The learned editor has brought this queſtion to a fairer iſſue, "by denying the language of this poetry to be that of the fifteenth "century." So reſpectable a critic is entitled to a reply; but it muſt be deferred to the cloſe of theſe obſervations, that the attention of the reader may not be diverted, by verbal criticiſm, from that chain of external and internal evidence, which will ariſe in the courſe of a regular commentary on the poems; a method which ſeems adapted to do juſtice to the various excellencies of our poet, and to carry conviction to the mind of the reader, in a more pleaſing and forcible manner than could have been done by a mere argument.

The reader will candidly pardon the length of the following remarks, when he conſiders the ſingularity, both in the ſtyle and ſentiments, of theſe poems—that they frequently want illuſtration, and have never yet received the aſſiſtance of a commentator—that the ſenſe of the author is not unneceſſarily tortured with conjectural criticiſm, but the greateſt regard is paid to the text, which, indeed, is too perfect to want much correction. Should this firſt and imperfect attempt prove ſucceſsful, in removing ill-grounded prejudices, and unjuſt ſuſpicions of forgery; it may be the future lot of ſome more able pen to place the merit and beauties of this poetry in a more conſpicuous light, and give that credit to the author, which he deſerves to hold amongſt the firſt poets of our

nation, Chaucer, Shakeſpear, and Milton, eſpecially as he has given ſuch ſtriking proofs of his genius in every ſpecies of poetry wherein thoſe great maſters have remarkably excelled.

In order to do juſtice to the wonderful extent and variety of Rowley's genius, we muſt view him in the different lights of an Epic, Dramatic, and Lyric Poet; as a Paſtoral Writer, a Moral and Critical Satyriſt: and, that the poems may correſpond with this enquiry, I have taken the liberty to tranſpoſe their order, which can be attended with no inconvenience, the poems being, for the moſt part, entirely unconnected with each other. If the arrangement in the former edition was not accidental, it might either have followed the order of the manuſcripts, or the method obſerved in the publication of Virgil, where the eclogues are placed firſt, and the epic poem laſt; for the additional pieces which follow the Battle of Haſtings, relating to the Hiſtory of Canning, or written by him, may be conſidered only as an appendix to Rowley's works. The introductory account is too intereſting to have any part of it omitted, and is therefore preſerved entire, although changed in order.

The literature which diſtinguiſhes theſe poems, being one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of their belonging to Rowley, and not to Chatterton, the Battle of Haſtings is placed at the head of the collection, to ſhew how intimately the author was acquainted with Homer's Iliad; how evidently he formed theſe two poems on that model; and how cloſely he follows his original in the ſimplicity of his narration, in the deſcription of events, in the wounds and death of his heroes, as well as in his ſimilies and alluſions; many of which are direct copies from Homer, in others the principal idea is retained, though the circumſtances and application are diverſified, and again in others only a diſtant reſemblance is preſerved: There appears, however, in many of them, a ſpirit which exceeds and improves upon Homer's idea. They who can aſſert that theſe ſimilies are copied from verſions, and not from the original poet, cannot have taken the trouble of comparing them with any one of Homer's tranſlators.

Indeed

Indeed the aſſertion confutes itſelf; for, among the many Homerical images in theſe two poems, it is not eaſy to find a line, a phraſe, or even an epithet, which can fix the charge of plagiariſm on the author, who has ſtudiouſly endeavoured to adhere to the unaffected ſimplicity and force of thought, with the unadorned energy of expreſſion, ſo characteriſtical of the Greek poet; but he frequently differs from Pope, even in expreſſing the ſame idea, and almoſt always excels him. The reader is referred, for the truth of theſe aſſertions, to the ſubſequent quotations; which will convince him, that the author of the Battle of Haſtings neither wanted, nor was indebted to Mr. Pope's tranſlation, much leſs to thoſe of Chapman, Hobbes, or Ogilby, for the beauty of his images and the powers of his expreſſion.

The abilities of our author in Dramatic Poetry, are diſplayed in the Tragedies of Ella and Godwin, in the Maſque of the Tournament, and the Briſtol Tragedy; where we ſee him well acquainted with the hiſtory and antiquities of his own country, and with the cuſtoms and manners of the age in which he lived; a perfect maſter of the human heart, an accurate judge of the operation and effects of the paſſions, and no leſs happy in his manner of expreſſing them.

His powers in Lyric Poetry are confeſſedly ſo great, that the age wherein he wrote has been judged unequal to the production of them; but, as the deciſion of this queſtion belongs to a future part of theſe obſervations, it may be ſufficient to ſay at preſent, that the Minſtrells Songs in Ella, with thoſe in the Tournament, the Song to Ella, and the Chorus in Godwin, contain the moſt maſterly exertions of the Lyric Muſe.

As a Mythological Poet, the Engliſh Metamorphoſis exhibits his powers of embelliſhing the fables of our ancient hiſtorians, with a delicacy of deſcription unknown to that age, and of gracing, with a dignity and magnificence of deſcription, the incredible tales and unmeaning bombaſt of old romance.

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Virgil in the ſimplicity of their ideas reſpecting rural life; and to have cloſely followed the latter in his expreſſive complaints on the miſeries of civil war.

His merit as a Moral Writer is extended over all his works.—Every incident is improved for the inſtruction of his reader, and the moſt uſeful leſſons of wiſdom and virtue drawn from the moſt trivial circumſtances; and though he never condeſcends to an improper levity on grave and religious ſubjects, yet he knew how to enforce his lectures of morality by the keenneſs of his wit; and with a natural vein of pleaſant humour to ridicule the dull pedant, the bad poet, the proud and uncharitable abbot: Under this deſcription are included the two letters addreſſed to Mr. Canning, and the Ballad of Charity.

Laſtly, as a Panegyriſt, he has avoided fulſome flattery in celebrating the praiſes of his patron and friend: He was happy in his ſubject, and with great art has ſhewn the character to advantage, by introducing other Briſtol worthies, whoſe reſpective merits are mentioned, in order to do honour to the town, and to ſerve as a foil to the ſuperior virtues of Mr. Canning.

To theſe general remarks on the ſubjects of the poems, ſome obſervations may be added on their metre, to ſhow the correſpondence of Rowley's meaſures with thoſe which were uſed by the preceding and contemporary poets. Some of the earlieſt of them compoſed in couplets either of eight or ten ſyllables: Of the former kind, are Gower's Confeſſio Amantis, ſome few of Lidgate's Poems, Chaucer's Dreme, Houſe of Fame, and the Romaunt of the Roſe. The firſt poem on our Lady's Church is the only one which Rowley has written in couplets, or in this meaſure: The greateſt part of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, and his Legend of Good Women, are in the decaſyllabic couplet; but, in general, Lidgate's, Occleve's, Rowley's, Spenſer's, and a great part of Chaucer's poetry, is written in ſtanzas of ſeven, eight, or nine decaſyllabic lines, to which Rowley generally adds a tenth, and cloſes it with an Alexandrine.

All theſe may be ranked under the title of *Rithme Royal*; of which Gaſcoigne, in his inſtructions for Engliſh verſe, has given the following deſcription:

" Rithme Royal is a verſe of ten ſyllables, and ſeven ſuch verſes " make a ſtaffe, whereof the firſt and thirde do anſwer acroſſe in " the terminations and rime; the ſecond, fourth, and fifth, do " likewiſe anſwer eche other in terminations; and the two laſt " combine and ſhut up this ſentence; this hath been called Rithme " Royal, and ſurely it is a royal kind of verſe, ſerving beſt for " grave diſcourſes *."—Signum, V. 1. b.

The different number of lines contained in the ſtanza makes no material alteration in the ſtructure of this verſe, the ſtanza always concluding with a couplet: In that of ſix lines, the four firſt rime alternately; in that of nine, wherein Spenſer has compoſed his Fairy Queen, the ſixth line rimes to the final couplet, and the ſeventh to the fifth: Rowley having added another line to the ſtanza, the eighth rimes with the ſixth. Chaucer has a ballad in the ten-line ſtanza, which begins,

" The long nightis." See Urry's edit. p. 538.

But the ſtanzas are irregular, and the rimes differently diſpoſed. Spenſer, in his Ruins of Rome, &c. and Gaſcoigne in ſome of his poems, put fourteen lines in a ſtanza. Rowley has compoſed in the ſtanza of ten lines " the Battle of " Haſtings; the Tragedies of Ælla and Godwin; the En-" gliſh Metamorphoſis; the Tournament; and the two firſt " Eclogues;" for the third is a mixture of many metres.—" The Challenge to Lidgate" has no Alexandrines †, there are none in the firſt poem on the Battle of Haſtings, and but few

* Mr. Warton has miſquoted this paſſage, and made the ſtaffe to conſiſt of ten inſtead of ſeven lines; which would correſpond exactly with the greateſt part of Rowley's Poetry. See Hiſtory of Poetry, vol. ii. p. 165, note.

† Gaſcoigne ludicrouſly calls the long verſe of twelve and fourteen ſyllables (probably meaning the Alexandrine,) *poulters*, i. e.—poulterers, *meaſure, which giveth twelve for one dozen, and fourteen for another.* Sign. V. 11.

in

in " the Tournament;" and theſe poems conſtitute by far the greateſt part of his works. In the ſtanza of nine lines, Rowley has written no poem; Spenſer's Fairy Queen is in that meaſure. In the ſtanza of eight lines " The letter to the digne Maiſter " Canning, and the ſecond poem on our Lady's Church," correſpond with Chaucer's Monks and Plowman's tales, Scoggan's Ballades, Spenſer's Britain's Ida, Muiopotmos, and Virgil's Gnatt, —This is *la balade*, or the ballad meaſure, under which denomination Mr. Warton alſo includes the ſeven-line ſtanza of Chaucer's ballads, and many other pieces of ancient Engliſh poetry. In this metre are Rowley's " Eleanor and Juga, the Introduction " to Ella, the Ballad of Charity, and Canning's poem on Hap- " pineſs."

Specimens of the ſix-line ſtanza appear in " the Epiſtle to " Mr. Canning, the Prologue to Godwin, the firſt Minſtrells Song " in the Tournament, thoſe of the Three Minſtrells in Ella, &c. " and in the Storie of William Canning."—Chaucer has no poem of this metre, but Spenſer uſes it in his Calendars for January, Auguſt, October and December, in his Tears of the Muſes, and in Aſtrophel. In the ſhorter ballad meaſure, viz. the four-line ſtanza, of eight and ſix ſyllables alternately, are, " The Briſtol " Tragedy, and Lidgate's Anſwer to Rowley's Challenge." This is the metre of Spenſer's Calendar for July, of Chevy Chace, and of many ancient tragical ballads. The ſeveral Minſtrells Songs formed in ſtanzas, come under no general rule; but inſtances of them all may probably be found in our ancient poetry. This general conformity, therefore, of Rowley's meaſure to that of other ancient Engliſh poets, though diverſified in ſome few inſtances, is an additional circumſtance in favour of the authenticity of this poetry.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

BEFORE we enter on the ſubject, or even on the title of "The Battle of Haſtings," we muſt diſprove Chatterton's claim as author of the former poem; which he ſaid *was written by himſelf for a friend* *, though he produced the ſecond part to Mr. Barrett ſome time afterwards, as the copy of an original from Rowley. This claim (the only one he ever made to any of the poems) was moſt probably a ſubterfuge, to avoid the preſſing importunity of Mr. Barrett for a ſight of the original; which he would not, and poſſibly could not then produce; for on every other occaſion he uniformly aſſerted the originality of theſe poems, to his mother, ſiſter, and to all his friends. In one of his letters to his ſiſter, lately printed in the pamphlet entitled *Love and Madneſs*, p. 177, he ſpeaks of copying Rowley as a real author: "Had Rowley been a Londoner, inſtead of a Briſtowan, "I could have lived by copying his works." He wrote alſo a ſatire on his Briſtol friends, for not ſupplying his neceſſities when he left that city, in 1770; to which his ſiſter alludes in her letter, wherein ſhe ſays, "About this time he wrote ſeveral ſatirical "poems, one in the papers, on Mr. Catcot's putting the pewter "plates in St. Nicolas Tower." In this poem, he thus addreſſes Mr. George Catcot:

* See the Introductory Account.

If ever obligated to thy purſe,
Rowley diſcharges all, my firſt great curſe;
For, had I never known the *antique lore*,
I ne'er had ventur'd from my peaceful ſhore,
To be the wreck of promiſes and hopes,
A boy of learning, and a bard of tropes.

The antique lore can only mean Rowley's MSS. copies of which Mr. Catcot had purchaſed of him; and ſo much had they engaged his time, and captivated his imagination, that he forſook the buſineſs of an attorney for the amuſements of a poet, and became the very character deſcribed by Mr. Pope.

A prentice born his parents' ſoul to croſs,
Who penn'd a ſtanza, when he ſhould engroſs.

But it is beyond all poſſible conſtruction to ſuppoſe, that *antique lore* meant his own forgeries, or poems written by himſelf on ſubjects of ancient hiſtory, independent of any original, which might be a guide to his fancy, or an inducement for his imitation: Mr. Warton has done too much honour to this haſty and improbable aſſertion, by admitting it as an objection to the authenticity of the poems. If it was the deſign of this youth to prepare them for the deception of the world; If he was ſo artful, and ſo determined in his plan, as to impoſe upon his own family, and moſt intimate friends, how ſhall we account for his ready acknowledgment of the forgery to Mr. Barrett, which muſt effectually defeat all his future ſchemes, and prevent him from making any further advantage of the curioſity of his friends? It would be allowing very little ſagacity in Mr. Barrett, to ſuppoſe, that on comparing the two poems, he would not diſcover from the hiſtory, ſtile, language, ſentiments and metre, that they were both the work of the ſame pen, both far beyond the knowledge and poetic abilities of an illiterate charity-boy at the age of ſeventeen. If Chatterton's claim is urged by Mr. War-

ton * in behalf of the former of theſe poems, why is he not equally worthy of credit when he diſclaims the latter? His teſtimony, therefore, may be pleaded with equal force, either to eſtabliſh or condemn the authenticity of them both, and proves either too little or too much. The reader will ſcarcely heſitate which part he ſhall take of this dilemma; and, without injuring the cauſe of Rowley, we may make this conceſſion, (of which Mr. Warton may avail himſelf) that whenever Chatterton's claim to the former poem can be eſtabliſhed, the critics will not deny him the honour of the latter; as it will appear moſt probable, from many circumſtances, that both were the work of the ſame poet. They are not diſtinguiſhed from each other as a firſt and ſecond part, as one continued hiſtory of the battle, but are numbered 1 and 2, as different relations of the ſame fact: Accordingly each poem has its proper exordium, and begins with introducing the forces into the field on the day of battle. The latter poem is undoubtedly a more elegant compoſition, more adorned in its deſcription of the different characters and preparations made by the two armies, the embaſſy ſent, and the treaty carried on between Harold and William; and though the events, and indeed many of the perſonages, are different, yet the hiſtory and ſtile, the language and metre are the ſame; the ſimilies ſeem to be derived from one common ſource, and their choice and arrangement to have been the work of the ſame poet.

The title prefixed to this poem by Chatterton, as it appears in the introductory account, is alſo liable to critical diſcuſſion. —It is not proved that Rowley was pariſh-prieſt of St. John's; and Turgot is erroneouſly ſaid to have lived in the tenth century, though he was not born till the eleventh. Theſe may be miſtakes of Chatterton, which do not affect the authenticity of the poem: and they will be more pardonable, becauſe Mr. Warton himſelf has anticipated the æra of Turgot by an en-

* See Mr. Warton's obſervation, in his additions to vol. ii.

tire century, in order to prove that he could not have been the author of the poem, notwithſtanding he had in another paſſage truly fixed the time of his death to 1115. Turgot therefore was not only living, but alſo well qualified by his age, abilities, and ſituation, to have penned a *Hiſtory* at leaſt, if not a *Poem*, on this ſubject; and it will appear probable, from ſome local circumſtances, that Rowley made uſe of that writer's materials.

The former of theſe poems is affectedly penned in the perſon of Turgot; for the expreſſion

I *tho' a Saxon*, yet the truth will tell,

cannot with any propriety be applied to Rowley, who was no Saxon; but it was ſtrictly true of Turgot, who, according to Simeon of Durham, "Proſapiam traxit de genere Anglorum non infimo." De geſtis Regum, p. 206. To this likewiſe Rowley ſeems to allude in the ſecond poem, when, invoking the Spirit of Turgot, he ſays,

Thou ſonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme,
Send mee *agayne* a dryblette of thie lyghte,
That I the deeds of Englyſhmenne maie wryte. v. 588.

alluding to the aſſiſtance he had received from him in the preceding poem.

This connection between Turgot and Rowley may be further illuſtrated by the ſimilies and alluſions in both poems, relating to the North of England, and particularly to the neighbourhood and Church of Durham: "The groves of that city, the ſhrine of St. "Cuthbert and the tapers that burned round it, the tower of "Standrip, the abbey of *Godric*, (or Finchall) and the names of "Aſlem and Adhelm," the former a Monk of Durham, the latter a ſon of a great benefactor to that church. There is another circumſtance, little attended to, which pleads ſtrongly in favour of the antiquity of theſe notices relating to the neighbourhood and Church of Durham; I mean Chatterton's early aſſuming and continuing

continuing the ſignature of *Dunelmus Briſtolenſis* to all ſuch of his publications as he did not chuſe to authenticate with his own name. In every other view, Durham muſt have been as remote from him in thought, as it was in ſituation; and to theſe ſubjects Rowley himſelf muſt have been an entire ſtranger, unleſs he had either travelled into that country, or had been made acquainted with the particulars of its hiſtory. This connection alſo appears in the partiality ſo notoriouſly ſhewn (in the former poem more eſpecially) to the Engliſh cauſe; and the frequent opportunities taken by the poet to reflect on and depreciate the characters of the Normans. This language might well ſuit with the æra and principles of Turgot, but would be very unſeaſonable in the mouth of Rowley, at a time when the ancient animoſities between the Saxons and Normans had ſubſided under a ſucceſſion of Norman and Anjouvin princes, and diſſenſions no leſs violent had ariſen between the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

It is not aſſerted, however, that theſe materials of Turgot were poetical; for Rowley, in his letter to Canning, places him with the hiſtorians, Aſſer, Bede, and Ingulf; and though Lidgate's anſwer ſeems to ſpeak of him as a poet, yet even there the words are applicable to him as an hiſtorian, and in that light more ſuitable to his general character, and to the information which Rowley might have received from him; for he is ſpoken of by our ancient writers as no leſs eminent for his literature, than for the dignity of his ſtation in the church. It may be proper to compare the anecdotes of Rowley, with the account given of him by Simeon of Durham: Amongſt "the ſkill'd paincterrs and carvellers," who either were natives of Briſtol, or adorned it by their art, Turgot is thus mentioned by Rowley:

"Turgottus, borne of Saxonne parents in Briſtow Towne, a "Monk of the church of Dureſme.—He was well ſkylledd in "tynges, & wrotten maynte of Rolles, as yee maie ſee ynne mie "yellowe Rolle—He dyd deceaſe MXCVIII beynge buryed in "Dureſme church."

The

The death of Turgot is here placed too early by ſeventeen years; and his being a native of Briſtol, though poſſible, is not very reconcileable with Simeon's account, who ſays, That the Danes having deſtroyed the monaſteries in the North of England, Aldwin, prior of Winchelcumb, in Glouceſterſhire, attended with two Monks of Eveſham, Elfuin and Reinfrid, travelled to Wirmouth*, in the biſhoprick of Durham, about the year 1073, to rebuild thoſe monaſteries†. They were joined in that work, as the hiſtorian obſerves, by many "ex remotis Angliæ partibus quorum "unus erat Turgotus poſtea Scotorum Epiſcopus." As he is ſaid, therefore, to have come from a remote part of England, and Aldwin was prior in Glouceſterſhire, he might have been a native of Briſtol; and indeed Rowley's invocation of his Spirit, in the ſecond poem, ſuppoſes it to haunt,

"or rowle in ferſley wythe ferſe Severnes tyde."

B. H. 2. v. 595.

becauſe it was the place of his former abode. Turgot, however, could not have ſtaid long enough at Briſtol to write its hiſtory and antiquities, which, with Rowley's notes (or emendals as he calls them) is ſtill extant in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion, and ſome part of it, in the original, upon vellum. Simeon further ſays of Turgot, that being confined by William the Conqueror in the caſtle of Lincoln, as one of the hoſtages for the fidelity of that country, he eſcaped to Grimſby, where, putting himſelf on board a ſhip bound to Norway, he was introduced to King Olaus as a youth of learning, and was appointed a ſpiritual inſtructor to that monarch; and having acquired great credit and riches there, on his return to England was ſhipwrecked with all his ſubſtance, hardly eſcaping with his life. Being recommended by Walcher, biſhop of Durham, to Aldwin the prior of that church, he became a Monk, and ſucceeded Aldwin in that office in 1087. He laid the firſt ſtone of

* Leland's Collect. tom. i. p. 383.—Hemingford, p. 460.

† Hoveden, p. 455. b.—Warton's Anglia Sacra, T. i. p. 785.

the

the new church at Durham, with Malcolm King of Scots, and Biſhop William, 3 Id. Auguſt 1093 *. Capgrave ſays, that he was confeſſor to Margaret, Malcolm's Queen. He was promoted to the archbiſhoprick of St. Andrew's, by Henry the firſt, in 1106; but diſputes ariſing between that ſee and York, on account of juriſdiction, he retired to Durham, where he fell ſick, and died on the 2d Kal. Sept. anno 1115 †; and, agreeably to his moſt earneſt wiſh, was interred near the ſhrine of St. Cuthbert. Whilſt he was prior of Durham, he wrote a hiſtory of that church, which his continuator, (Simeon before mentioned) a Monk of the ſame convent, would have paſſed on the world for his own performance. Beſides this Hiſtory of Durham, he is ſaid to have written "Annales "ſui Temporis, and the Hiſtory of Malcolm, King of Scots, and "Margaret his Queen." This latter was penned in Engliſh, according to Hector Boethius, who celebrates the author's veracity and eloquence: "Non minori elegantiâ quam pietate & veritate;" and Bale, alluding to the ſame work, ſays, "Linguâ quidem ma-"ternâ, ſed elegantiâ quadam Demoſtheniâ, veritate ſincera ‡." We muſt therefore admit the ability of Turgot to contribute to this work, and allow him ſome ſhare in the compoſition, though the parts of each author cannot preciſely be aſcertained.

* Hemingford's Hiſtory, p. 464.

† Eadmer, p. 117.—Cron. Mailros, p. 164.—Warton's Anglia Sacra, tom. i. p. 785.

‡ Dr. Cave thinks it indiſputable, that Turgot wrote in Latin, though Bale and Pitts, by miſtaking a paſſage in Hector Boethius, ſay that he wrote in Engliſh; but he does not pretend to know, whether this work be extant or no. Hiſt. Liter. tom. ii. p. 378, old edit.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

N°. 1.

O CHRYSTE, it is a grief for me to telle,
How manie a nobil erle and valrous knyghte
In fyghtynge for Kynge Harrold noblie fell,
Al ſleyne in Haſtyngs feeld in bloudie fyghte.
O ſea! our [a] teeming donore han thy floude,
Han anie fructuous [b] entendement,
Thou wouldſt have roſe and ſank wyth tydes of bloude,
Before Duke Wyllyam's knyghts han hither went;

[a] *Prolific benefactreſs.* [b] *Uſeful meaning.*

Whoſe

This poem opens with an ejaculation not unlike that of Earl Percy over Douglas:

O Chriſt, my very heart doth bleed
With ſorrow for thy ſake.

And, like Homer, our poet laments the fate of thoſe heroes who fell in the battle,

Πολλὰς δ' ἰφθίμους ψυχὰς Ἄϊδι προΐαψεν. Il. A. l. 3.

The ſouls of many chiefs untimely ſlain.

V. 5. This addreſs to the ſea is no leſs juſt than poetical. He calls it *our teeming donor*, or prolific benefactreſs, alluding to thoſe two great ſources of wealth derived from it, our commerce and fiſhery. Thus Homer, more than once, calls the ſea Πόντον ἰχθύοεντα. See Il. I. v. 4. and T. v. 378. And to theſe the expreſſion of *Fructuous entendement*, in the following line, alludes: A phraſe much more ancient than Rowley's time; for Occleve ſtiles Chaucer *Mirror of fructuous Entendement.*

It

Whoſe cowart arrows manie erles ſleyne,
And [c] brued the feeld wyth bloude as ſeaſon rayne. 10

And of his knyghtes did eke full manie die,
All paſſyng hie, of mickle myghte echone,
Whoſe poygnant arrowes, typp'd with deſtynie,
Caus'd manie wydowes to make myckle mone.

[c] *Embrued.*

Lordynges,

It would be doing the greateſt injuſtice to the poet, to confine his idea to the Streights of Dover; for with how much greater dignity and propriety may the expreſſion be applied to the ocean ſurrounding this iſland, which (according to the poet's wiſh) ſhould have announced the impending fate of the kingdom in tides of blood. We cannot, therefore, adopt the alteration ſuggeſted in the errata to the gloſſary of the former edition,

O ſea-o'erteeming Dovor!

not only for want of authority, but alſo becauſe the epithet will not admit that ſenſe. The Angloſaxon word *Teman* conveying no other idea, than that of prolific fruitfulneſs; without the leaſt reference to ſize, bulk, or ſituation, any further than theſe are implied in the idea of fecundity. In this ſenſe Shakeſpear uſes *overteemed*, in the deſcription of Hecuba in Hamlet.

——— and for a robe,
About her lank and all *o'erteemed* loins
A blanket in the alarm of fear caught up. Act 2d, ſcene the laſt.

Hecuba's loins are ſaid to have been lank with *overteeming*, or too frequently bearing children.

V. 9. The *cowart arrows* are not meant to convey a reflection on the ſoldiers who diſcharged them, unleſs archery ſhould be thought a daſtardly method of fighting, in compariſon of cloſe engagement; but the poet probably alluded to the direction in which they were aimed; for, inſtead of being pointed horizontally at the breaſt of the enemy, the arrows were ſhot in an oblique aſcent, ſo as to fall upon the Engliſh unprepared, and unguarded againſt ſuch an attack; the Romans, indeed, held the Parthians to be cowards on that account; but where was the diſhonour of ſhooting their arrows in ſuch a direction as was likely to do moſt execution?

Lordynges, avaunt, that chycken-harted are,
From out of hearynge quicklie now departe;
Full well I [d] wote, to ſynge of bloudie warre
Will greeve your tenderlie and mayden harte.
Go, do the weaklie womman inn mann's [e] geare,
And [f] ſcond your manſion if grymm war come there.

Soone as the erlie maten belle was tolde,
And ſonne was come to byd us all good daie,
Bothe armies on the feeld, both brave and bolde,
Prepar'd for fyghte in champyon arraie.
As when two bulles, deſtynde for Hocktide fyghte,
Are yoked bie the necke within a ſparre [g],

[d] *Know.* [e] *Dreſs.* [f] *Abſcond from, quit.* [g] *Bar, encloſure.*

Theie

V. 15. The addreſs to Lordynges is a very common introduction to ancient ballads.

Herkeneth Lordyngs, a word I you pray. Pardoner's Tale.
Luſteneth Lordings, both young and old. Warton i. p. 57.
Liſteneth Lordings in good intent. Sir Thopas.

with innumerable other inſtances.

V. 16. So in Sir Charles Bawdin, v. 331.

From out of hearing of the King
Departed then the ſledde.

V. 19. See v. 300, and v. 101 of the 2d poem.

V. 21. The battle begins in this poem at the 3d ſtanza, but in the other, the prelude and epiſodes employ twelve ſtanzas. The reader will obſerve how far inferior this deſcription of the morning is to the ſame morning, as repreſented in the other poem, v. 211.

V. 24. *Champyon* is here uſed as an adjective, and in Ella, v. 832. the *champyon* crowne. In the ſecond poem, v. 690, and perhaps elſewhere, it is a ſubſtantive; and in the prologue to Godwin, v. 12. it is a verb; but ſuch liberties are not uncommon with our ancient poets.

V. 25. The Hocktyde games are alluded to more than once, as affording a variety of diverſion. Here bulls are baited: At v. 348, maſtiff dogs are ſet to fight: In the ſecond poem, v. 576, Corniſh wreſtlers, and v. 412, the nappy ale at thoſe games is

Theie rend the erthe, and travellyrs affryghte,
Lackynge to gage the ſportive bloudie warre;
So lacked Harroldes menne to come to blowes,
The Normans lacked for to wielde their bowes,

Kynge Harrolde turnynge to hys leegemen [h] ſpake;
My merrie men, be not caſte downe in mynde;
Your onlie lode [i] for aye to mar or make,
Before yon ſunne has donde his welke [k], you'll fynde.
Your lovyng wife, who erſt dyd rid the londe
Of Lurdanes [l], and the treaſure that you han,
Wyll falle into the Normanne robber's honde,
Unleſſe with honde and harte you plaie the manne.

[h] *Subjects.* [i] *Praiſe, honour.* [k] *Finiſhed his courſe.* [l] *Lord Danes.*

Cheer

made the ſubject of the poet's praiſe. This feſtival is known to have been originally inſtituted in commemoration of Ethelred's ſlaughter of the Danes all over England, and the obſervance of it continued, in the midland parts of England, even to Sir Henry Spellman's time. It was originally celebrated on the 13th of November, according to Huntingdon; in later times it was not confined to any particular day, but was kept during ſome part of the ſummer.

V. 32. The appellation of *merrie men* is frequent with our ancient poets, in the ſpeeches made by lords and warriors to their followers and ſoldiers. There is a tranſpoſition of the words in this ſpeech of Harold, which renders it obſcure; the meaning may be thus expreſſed:

——You, who erſt
Did rid the land of the Lord Danes, will find
Your loving wife and treaſure which you had
Will fall into the Norman robber's hand.

V. 34. This expreſſion probably means the ſetting of the ſun: To *don* and to *doff*, i. e. *do on* and *do off*, were phraſes in uſe before Rowley's time; for the former word occurs in Richard the IId's *Forme of Cury*, lately publiſhed by Mr. Pegge; ſo v. 51 of this poem, Harold *donde* hys ſaie, or put on his *ſagum*, or military cloak; and the ſun is here ſaid to have *donde his welke*, or put on his clouds; i. e. he was wrapped in, or ſurrounded by them; for *welken* ſignifies *clouds*; ſee Junius in voce: Or, to ſpeak in other words, "before the rays of the ſun were obſcur'd or loſt." Unleſs it ſhould be thought that *donde* means *downde*, i. e. before the ſun had gone down on the ſky; in that caſe a different interpretation muſt be given of v. 51, and

Cheer up youre hartes, chaſe ſorrowe farre awaie,
Godde and Seyncte Cuthbert be the worde to daie.

And thenne Duke Wyllyam to his knyghtes did ſaie;
My merrie menne, be bravelie everiche [m];
Gif I do gayn the honore of the daie,
Ech one of you I will make myckle riche.
Beer you in mynde, we for a kyngdomm fyghte;
Lordſhippes and honores echone ſhall poſſeſſe;
Be this the worde to daie, God and my Ryghte;
Ne doubte but God will oure true cauſe bleſſe.
The clarions [n] then ſounded ſharpe and ſhrille;
Deathdoeynge blades were out intent to kille.

And brave Kyng Harrolde had nowe donde [o] his ſaie;
He threwe wythe myghte amayne [p] hys ſhorte horſe-ſpear,
The noiſe it made the duke to turn awaie,
And hytt his knyghte, de Beque, upon the ear.

[m] *Every one.* [n] *Trumpets.* [o] *Put on his military cloak.* [p] *Great force.*

His

donde his ſaie will then ſignify, that Harold had done or finiſhed the ſpeech which he made in the preceding ſtanza.

The ſpeech itſelf is conciſe and pertinent; but it may be doubted whether *God and St. Cuthbert* was the parole of the Engliſh army on that day; at leaſt it is unnoticed by the hiſtorians, and ſeems rather to be a partiality of Turgot for his favourite ſaint; who, though highly honoured in the neighbourhood of Durham, probably was not equally reverenced in the South of England. But Duke William's parole, of *God and my right*, ſeems to be better founded, as it was his conſtant appeal, and that of his advocates and hiſtorians: So ſays William of Malmſbury; [p. 101.] "*Dux clarâ voce ſuæ parti, utpote juſtiori Deum affuturum pronuncians,*" and again "*inclamato Dei auxilio*;" ſo likewiſe the author of Geſta Wilelmi Ducis; "*Præſertim cum juſtæ cauſæ præſidium cæleſte non deſit.*" The ſpeech made for him by Henry Huntingdon on this occaſion, reminds his ſoldiers of their conqueſts over the Franks, and upbraids Harold for the treachery of his behaviour to him.

V. 52. Harold begins the battle by throwing his ſhort-horſe-ſpear, the principal and moſt convenient part of the Saxons offenſive weapons; for it is ſaid, v. 92,

"The

His criſtede[q] beaver dyd him ſmalle abounde[r]; 55
The cruel ſpear went thorough all his hede;
The purpel bloude came gouſhynge to the grounde,
And at Duke Wyllyam's feet he tumbled deade:

[q] *Creſted helmet.* [r] *Benefit, or ſervice.*

So

The Engliſh nete but ſhort horſe-ſpears could wield.

But they were armed alſo with bills, which they uſed (laying down their lance) when they came to cloſe engagement; for it is obſerved, poem 2d, v. 591,

Harold, who ſaw the Normanns to advance,
Seizd a huge byll, and layd hym down hys ſpeare;
So dyd ech wite laie downe the broched launce,
And groves of bylles dyd glitter in the ayre.

V. 55. *Dyd him ſmalle abounde*, i. e. did him little ſervice. See the application of this word juſtified in the anſwer to the appendix. Homer makes the ſame obſervation.

Οὐδ' ἄρα χαλκείη κόρυς ἔσχεθεν. Il. M. 184.

And in another paſſage,

——————Οὐδ' ἠρκεσε θώρηξ
Χάλκεος—— Il. N. 371—397.

Vain was his breaſt-plate to repell the wound. Pope, B. xiii. 468.

So Virgil,

Nec miſero clypei mora profuit enſi. Æn. xii. v. 541.
Nor could the plated ſhield ſuſtain the force. Dryden.

Spenſer has alſo a ſimilar line.

Ne plate, ne male, could ward ſuch mighty throwes.
Book ii. c. 5. ſt. 9.

The ſame actions being frequently repeated in a battle, it requires the poet's ſkill to vary them in deſcription. Rowley not only copies, but exceeds Homer in this reſpect; as for inſtance,

His proof ſteel armour did him little ſhielde. v. 294.
His ſheelde of wolfs ſkinn did him not attend. v. 467.
Nete did hys helde out brazen ſheelde availe. p. 2. v. 322.
Nor was ytte ſtopped by his coate of mayle. v. 324.
Ah! what avayled the lyons on his creſte. v. 279.
Ah neete avayl'd the braſs or iron thonge. v. 337.

V. 56. De Beque fell like Echepolus in the Iliad:

Ἤριπε

So fell the myghtie tower of Standrip, whenne
It felte the furie of the Daniſh menne. 60

O Afflem, ſon of Cuthbert, holie Saynćte,
Come ayde thy freend, and ſhewe Duke Wyllyams payne;
Take up thy pencyl, all hys features painćte;
Thy coloryng excells a ſynger ſtrayne.

Duke

Ἤριπε δ', ὡς ὅτε πύργος ἐνὶ κραλερῇ ὑσμίνῃ. Il. Δ. v. 462.

So ſinks a tower, that long aſſaults had ſtood
Of force and fire, its walls beſmeared with blood.
Pope, B. iv. v. 528.

V. 59. By *the tower of Standrip*, muſt be meant Staindrop, in the biſhoprick of Durham, the only place of that name in England; for though there is neither the appearance nor tradition of a caſtle there, a tower might have antiently ſtood on that ſpot, and have been deſtroyed by the Danes; an event too inconſiderable to be recorded by hiſtorians, though perhaps important enough to be preſerved in that neighbourhood by tradition. The manor of Staindrop, which was given by King Canute to the Monks of Durham, anno 1020, was granted in 1130, by Algar prior of Durham, to Delphin filius Uctredi. See Leland's Collectanea, tom. i. p. 378 & 390.

V. 61. The invocation of Aflem (another anecdote relating to Durham) ſeems to be made in the perſon of Turgot, who was his friend and contemporary Monk in the monaſtery of Durham; but Rowley could have no connection with him, for he was ignorant even of the time of his death; though he gives the following character of him in his liſt of ſkyllde painters and carvellers.

" Aflem a Monke of St. Cuthberte, wythe beforeſayde Turgotte Briſtowe borne,
" a moſt ſkyllde paynćterr & poett; whann he dyedd is uncouthe."

Rowley has done him credit as a painter, which in theſe days was a rare accompliſhment; but we are probably to underſtand by it the art of illuminating manuſcripts, which was chiefly poſſeſſed by the Monks. He ſays alſo that Aflem was born at Briſtol, but probably on no better authority than his aſſertion concerning Turgot.

Duke William is ſaid in both theſe poems, and in the Minſtrells Song in the Tournament, to have been armed with a croſs-bow, and with bows and arrows, the uſual weapons of the Normans; in which they were remarkably expert; [v. 71.] William's bow was proportionable to his ſtrength: He is here ſaid to have taken his *brazen croſs-bow* in his hand, and elſewhere, a *ſtrong arblaſter*, [poem 2d. v. 303,] by which

Duke Wyllyam ſawe hys freende ſleyne piteouſlie,
Hys lovynge freende whome he muche honored,
For he han lovd hym from puerilitie[s],
And theie together bothe han bin ybred:
O! in Duke Wyllyam's harte it rayſde a flame,
To whiche the rage of emptie wolves is tame.

He tooke a braſen croſſe-bowe in his honde,
And drewe it harde with all hys myghte amein,
Ne doubtyng but the braveſt in the londe
Han by his ſoundynge arrowe-lede bene ſleyne.
Alured's ſtede, the fyneſt ſtede alive,
Bye comelie forme knowlached[t] from the reſt;
But nowe his deſtind howre dyd aryve,
The arrowe hyt upon his milkwhite breſte:
So have I ſeen a ladie-ſmock ſoe white,
Blown in the mornynge, and mowd downe at night.

[s] *Childhood.* [t] *Known, or diſtinguiſhed.*

With

which is meant the ſame weapon. But in other paſſages he is ſaid to have had a *long ſtrunge bow.* Tournament v. 45; *an enyronned bow.* ib. v. 50; an *ironne-woven bow.* v. 68; and an *yron interwoven bowe.* B. H. p. 2. v. 232. Theſe were bows in the common form, from which the arrows were directed ſlanting upwards; whereas from the croſs-bows they were levelled horizontally. In the preſent inſtance, William only killed a beautiful milk-white horſe of Alured. The poet, however, takes occaſion from his colour to introduce an alluſion, not unlike that made by Homer on the death of Gorguthio. Il. Θ. v. 306. It wants, however, that elegance and ſpirit which his correct pen has given to the ſimilies in the other poem.

V. 79. The Lady-ſmock here alluded to is mentioned by Shakeſpear amongſt the ſpring-flowers.

When daiſies pied and violets blue,
And cuckow-buds of yellow hue,
And *lady-ſmocks* all ſilver white,
Do paint the meadows with delight.
Love's Labour Loſt, act 5th, ſcene the laſt.

V. 83.

With thilk [u] a force it dyd his bodie gore,
That in his tender guttes it entered,
In veritee a fulle clothe yarde or more,
And downe with flaiten [x] noyſe he ſunken dede.
Brave Alured, benethe his faithfull horſe,
Was ſmeerd all over withe the gorie duſte,
And on hym laie the recer's lukewarme corſe,
That Alured coulde not hymſelf aluſte [y].
The ſtandyng Normans drew theyr bowe echone,
And broght full manie Englyſh champyons downe.

[u] *Such.* [x] *Undulating, or terrible.* [y] *Free, or diſengage himſelf.*

The

V. 83. The arrow is ſaid to have entered the horſe's guts

A *full cloth yard* or more.

This expreſſion occurs likewiſe in Chevy-Chace:

An arrow of a *cloth yard long*,
Up to the head drew he.

So Edgar in King Lear:

That fellow handles his bow like a crow-keeper;
Draw me a *clothier's yard.*

And Drayton ſays of Robin Hood's bowſmen, B. 26.

They not an arrow drew but was a *cloth yard long.*

It does not follow, however, that this expreſſion was borrowed from Chevy-Chace, though that ballad was extant before Rowley's time; but the above references ſhew that the arrows of that time were generally a yard in length, of ſuch meaſure as was uſed by the *clothiers*, and diſtinguiſhed, probably, from meaſures of a different kind applied to other goods.

V. 84. The *flaiten noiſe* and the *flotting crie* of the Engliſh army, which rouſed the Normans from their prayers, [Poem 2d, v. 42,] may ſignify that undulatory ſound which is cauſed by reſpiration; but Ray, amongſt his South and Eaſt country words, explains *flaite* to affright or ſcare.

There is an interval of 320 lines between Alured's fall from his horſe and his appearing again remounted in the battle; theſe different and diſtant exhibitions of the ſame warrior may be conſidered as a dramatic beauty, and the ſame is done with reſpect to the Welſh hero Howel ap Jevah.

V. 91.

The Normans kept aloofe, at diſtaunce ſtylle,
The Engliſh nete [z] but ſhorte horſe-ſpears could welde;
The Engliſh manie dethe-ſure dartes did kille,
And manie arrowes twang'd upon the ſheelde.
Kynge Haroldes knyghts deſir'de for hendie [a] ſtroke,
And marched furious o'er the bloudie pleyne,
In bodie cloſe, and made the pleyne to ſmoke;
Theire ſheelds rebounded arrowes back agayne.
The Normans ſtode aloofe, nor hede [b] the ſame,
Their arrowes woulde do dethe, tho' from far of they came.

[z] *Nothing.* [a] *Hand to hand.* [b] *Heeded, or regarded.*

Duke

V. 91. The Norman ſoldiers are deſcribed here, and in the following poem, (agreeably to the accounts of our hiſtorians) as keeping their diſtance, and annoying the Engliſh army with their arrows; but no great uſe is made of this advantage, for at the end of two ſtanzas, the poet makes the battle cloſe on every ſide. In the 2d poem, however, he has been much more indulgent to the ſingle combatants, for it is not till the 571ſt line, that

Duke William gave command each Norman knight
Should onward go, and dare to cloſer fight.

V. 92. It is obſerved, that whilſt the Engliſh fought at a diſtance

They nete but ſhort horſe-ſpears could welde;

but when the Normans cloſed, they changed their weapons,

And lifted up their bills with mickle pride. v. 123.

This agrees with the diſpoſition of the Engliſh army, as deſcribed by William Malmſbury, p. 101:—"Pedites omnes *cum bipennibus* conſerta ante ſe ſcutorum teſ-"tudine impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt." A circumſtance, which (as he obſerves) would have given them the victory, if the Norman ſtratagem of a pretended flight had not cauſed the Engliſh to open their phalanx.

In Strutt's Deſcription of the ancient Cuſtoms and Manners of the Engliſh, vol. ii. pl. 20, Guy Earl of Warwick and Sir Pandulf are repreſented fighting with

 ſpears;

Duke Wyllyam drewe agen hys arrowe ſtrynge [c],
An arrowe withe a ſylver-hede drewe he;
The arrowe dauncynge in the ayre dyd ſynge,
And hytt the horſe Toſſelyn [d] on the knee.
At this brave Toſslyn threwe his ſhort horſe-ſpeare;
Duke Wyllyam ſtooped to avoyde the blowe;
The yrone weapon hummed in his eare,
And hitte Sir Doullie Naibor on the prowe [e]:
Upon his helme ſoe furious was the ſtroke,
It ſplete his bever, and the ryvets broke.

Downe fell the beaver [f] by Toſslyn ſplete in tweine,
And onn his hede expos'd a punie wounde,
But on Deſtoutvilles ſholder came ameine,
And fell'd the champyon to the bloudie grounde.

[c] *Or bowſtring.* [d] *Rather Joſslyn.* [e] *Brow, or head.* [f] *Helmet.*

Then

ſpears; and it is ſaid, "after they went togedre with axes." The two combatants are repreſented in the latter of theſe ſituations; Sir Guy's weapon is a long ſword at the end of an handle, Sir Pandulf's is like an halberd. This drawing is taken from John Rous.

V. 106. Duke Wyllyam ſtooped to avoyde the blowe.

So did Hector: ——ὁ δ' ἐκλίνθη. Il. H. v. 254.
And Meriones: ——ἠλεύατο χάλκεον ἔγχος
Προσσω γὰρ κατέκυψε—— Il. Π. v. 610.
Who ſtooping forward, from the death withdrew.
Pope, B. xvi. v. 740.

V. 113. On Deſtoutvilles ſholder came ameine.

So Homer,

Τὸν βάλε δεξιὸν ὦμον ὃ δ' ὕπτιος ἐν κονίῃσι.
Κάππεσεν ὀιμώξας—— Il. Π. v. 289.
His ſhoulder blade receives the fatal wound,
The groaning warrior pants upon the ground.
Pope, B. xvi. v. 344.

Then Doullie myghte his boweſtrynge drewe,
Enthoughte to gyve brave Toſslyn bloudie wounde,
But Harolde's aſenglave [g] ſtopp'd it as it flewe,
And it fell bootleſs [h] on the bloudie grounde.
Siere Doullie, when he ſawe hys venge [i] thus broke,
Death-doynge blade from out the ſcabard toke.

And now the battail cloſde on everych ſyde,
And face to face appeard the knyghts full brave;
They lifted up theire bylles with myckle pryde,
And manie woundes unto the Normans gave.
So have I ſene two weirs at once give grounde,
White fomyng hygh to rorynge combat runne;
In roaryng dyn and heaven-breaking ſounde,
Burſte waves on waves, and ſpangle in the ſunne;
And when their myghte in burſtynge waves is fled,
Like cowards, ſtele alonge their ozy bede.

[g] *Lance.* [h] *Uſeleſs.* [i] *Vengeance.*

Yonge

V. 125. The ſimile of the two wears, reſembles Homer's deſcription of the Winter torrents; but the idea is improved by our poet's contraſting the noiſy foaming wear, with the ſubſequent tranquillity of the ſtream ſtealing along its oozy bed.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε χείμαῤῥοι ποταμοὶ κατ' ὄρεσφι ῥέοντες
Ἐς μισγάγκειαν συμβάλλετον ὄβριμον ὕδωρ
Κρηνέων ἐκ μεγάλων κοίλης ἔντοσθε χαράδρης.—Il. Δ. v. 452.

As torrents roll, encreas'd by murmuring rills,
With rage impetuous down their ecchoing hills,
Sweep to the vale, and pour along the plain,
Roar through ten thouſand channels to the main.

Pope, B. iv. v. 516.

Yonge Egelrede, a knyghte of comelie mein,
Affynd [k] unto the kynge of Dynefarre [l],
At echone tylte and tourney he was ſeene,
And lov'd to be amonge the bloudie warre;
He couch'd hys launce, and ran with mickle myghte
Ageinſte the breſt of Sieur de Bonoboe;

[k] *Related.* [l] *Dynevawr Caſtle.*

He

V. 132. The king of Dynefarre was one of the princes of South Wales. The caſtle near Carmarthen, called in Welſh *Dyne vawr*, or *Dinas vawr*, i. e. the *great caſtle* (of which the beautiful ruins are yet to be ſeen in Mr. Rice's park at Newton) was formerly the habitation of the princes of that country; to one of theſe Egelrede was probably allied by marriage, though neither the name nor particular relation is ſpecified. The caſtle was erected into a barony, in favour of William Earl Talbot, in 1780, with remainder to his daughter Lady Cecil Rice, widow of George Rice, Eſq; late owner of this caſtle, and to their iſſue male.

V. 136. Egelrede's unfortunate antagoniſt, the *Sieur de Bonoboe*, ſeems to have been a perſon of no ſmall diſtinction at the Norman court: Hollingſhed calls him *Le ſeigneur de Bonne bault*; Jean de Wace, *Sire de Bones-bo*. His name occurs likewiſe in the Liſt of Warriors in Leland's Collect. vol. i. p. 203. He was one of thoſe Norman lords who either came into England with Edward the Confeſſor, or reſorted afterwards to his court, where all Normans were ſure to meet with a very favourable reception; and, according to Godwin's ſarcaſtical deſcription,

They batten on her fleſh, her hartes blood drink. v. 3.

He ſignalized himſelf in the martial exerciſe of tilting, which was then the favourite amuſement,

He wonne the tylte, and ware her crymſon glove,

and returned married and enriched to Normandy; but, wiſhing to encreaſe his wealth and fame, engaged in the Conqueror's expedition. He is celebrated more as an affectionate huſband and tender father, than as a magnanimous warrior——

To fele his wounde, his harte was woe.
Ten thouſand thoughtes puſh'd in upon his mynde,
Not for hymſelfe, but thoſe he left behynde. v. 138.

The reader may figure to himſelf ſome reſemblance between this character and that of Anthores in Virgil, who was ſlain by Mezentius.

Herculis Anthorem comitem, qui miſſus ab Argo
Hæſerat Evandro, atque Italâ conſederat urbe

He grond and ſunken on the place of fyghte,
O Chryſte! to fele his wounde, his harte was woe.
Ten thouſand thoughtes puſh'd in upon his mynde,
Not for hymſelfe, but thoſe he left behynde.

He dy'd and leffed [m] wyfe and chyldren tweine,
Whom he wyth cheryſhment did dearlie love;
In England's court, in goode Kynge Edwarde's regne,
He wonne the tylte, and ware her crymſon glove;

[m] *Left.*

And

Sternitur infelix, alieno vulnere; cælumque
Aſpicit, & moriens dulces reminiſcitur Argos.
Æn. x. v. 777.

Anthores had from Argos travell'd far,
Alcides' friend, and brother of the war,
Till, tired with toils, fair Italy he choſe,
And in Evander's palace ſought repoſe;
Now, falling by another's wound, his eyes
He caſts to Heaven, of Argos thinks, and dies.
Dryden, v. 1107.

This early account of tilting has been cenſured as an anachroniſm; becauſe, according to the Chronicle of Tours, that exerciſe was not introduced in France till the year 1066, and thence communicated to the Germans and Engliſh; but this queſtion will be more properly referred to the poem on the Tournament. It will be ſufficient to obſerve at preſent, that ſuch anachroniſms (if this be one) are neither unuſual with poets, nor impeach the authenticity of their works, as they are not required to be accurate hiſtorians and good chronologers. There is ſomething ſignificant in the expreſſion of the *crymſon glove*; and though we know not the origin of the alluſion, yet the trophy is natural and well-imagined; the delivery or throwing down the gauntlet or glove being the eſtabliſhed form of giving a challenge, and the taking it up as certain a token that the challenge was accepted. In an ancient Scottiſh ballad on the murder of the Earl of Murray, in 1561, amongſt other accompliſhments, he is ſaid to have ridden at the ring, to have played at the ball, and at the gluve: *He was a braw gallant, and he playd at the gluve.* Percy v. ii. p. 212.

V. 137. So in the 2d poem, v. 477.

He fell and groand upon the place of fighte.

And thence unto the place where he was borne,
Together with hys welthe & better wyfe,
To Normandie he dyd perdie [n] returne,
In peace and quietneſſe to lead his lyfe;
And now with ſovrayn Wyllyam he came,
To die in battel, or get welthe and fame.

Then, ſwefte as lyghtnynge, Egelredus ſet
Agaynſt du Barlie of the mounten head;
In his dere hartes bloude his longe launce was wett,
And from his courſer down he tumbled dede.
So have I ſene a mountayne oak, that longe
Has caſte his ſhadowe to the mountayne ſyde,
Brave all the wyndes, tho' ever they ſo ſtronge,
And view the briers belowe with ſelf-taught pride;
But, whan throwne downe by mightie thunder ſtroke,
He'de rather bee a bryer than an oke.

Then Egelred dyd in a declynie [o]
Hys launce uprere with all hys myghte ameine,

[n] *Privately.* [o] *Stooping.*

And

V. 155. The ſimile of the mountain oak is ſo familiar, that it has long ſince been made the ſubject of a fable; and though the cloſe is inanimate, wanting that ſpirit, which generally graces the ſimilies of Rowley, yet that defect is compenſated by a beauty peculiar to his compoſitions; it terminates in a moral reflection. See alſo Eclogue 3d, v. 91, and v. 175, of this poem; where the overhanging rock enforces a ſimilar leſſon. Rowley ſeems to have learned the practice of compounding his epithets from Homer——Heaven-piercing bang—Heaven-breaking ſound—Redde forweltring levyn brond—bloddie-dropping head—Gore-depicted wings, &c.

V. 161. The *declynie*, or, as it is called, v. 431, *the clinie juſt*, is that declination of the body which was neceſſary to give force to his ſpear. His blood, which

was

And ſtrok Fitzport upon the dexter eye,
And at his pole the ſpear came out agayne.
Butt as he drewe it forthe, an arrowe fledde
Wyth mickle myght ſent from de Tracy's bowe,
And at hys ſyde the arrowe entered,
And oute the crymſon ſtreme of bloude gan flowe;
In purple ſtrekes it dyd his armer ſtaine,
And ſmok'd in puddles on the duſtie plaine.

But Egelred, before he ſunken downe,
With all his myghte amein his ſpear beſped [p],
It hytte Bertrammil Manne upon the crowne,
And bothe together quicklie ſunken dede.
So have I ſeen a rocke o'er others hange,
Who ſtronglie plac'd laughde at his ſlippry ſtate,
But when he falls with heaven-peercynge bange
That he the ſleeve [q] unravels all theire fate,
And broken onn the beech thys leſſon ſpeak,
The ſtronge and firme ſhould not defame the weake.

Howel ap Jevah came from Matraval,
Where he by chaunce han ſlayne a noble's ſon,
And now was come to fyghte at Harold's call,
And in the battel he much goode han done;

[p] *Diſpatched, ſent forth.* [q] *Clew of thread.*

Unto

was drawn by De Tracy's arrow, is ſaid to have ſmoked in *puddles* on the duſty plain; but this is not the ſame idea with the *puddlie ſtreme of blood* which flowed from Chatillon's horſe, v. 367, which he ſeems there to uſe as an ignoble epithet.

V. 181. Two Welſh heroes are now introduced, whoſe characters, dreſs, and atchievements are deſcribed in very ſingular and expreſſive terms. The former of theſe, *Howel ap Jevah, ycleped the ſtronge*, and *the flower of Powyſland*, is ſaid to have fled, on account of a murder, from Matraval, (the reſidence of the princes of Powiſland,

Unto Kyng Harold he foughte mickle near,
For he was yeoman of the bodie guard;
And with a targyt and a fyghtyng ſpear,
He of his boddie han kepte watch and ward:

True

land, in North Wales) and to have attached himſelf to Harold, as the captain of his body guard. Though the fact itſelf may be the invention of the poet, yet the name has foundation enough in hiſtory to give an air of probability to the ſtory. Howel ap Jenaf or Jevaf, (the ſon of Jenaf) is mentioned in Enderbies Welſh Hiſtory, p. 239, as entring England with an army, where he was ſlain valiantly fighting; but that is ſaid to have happened in 984. The ſame account is given by Selden in his notes on Drayton's Polyolbion, B. ix. A Welſh Chronicle, printed in Leland's Collectanea, v. viii. p. 84, ſays Janaf and Jago were the two ſons of Edval Voel; and that they ruled North Wales after the death of Howel.

But without recurring to the ſuppoſition of a real fact in the caſe, this circumſtance of Howel's hiſtory has the merit of being perfectly conformable to ancient manners and claſſical repreſentation. A ſimilar inſtance occurs in the hiſtory of Epigeus, in the Iliad.

——————— Δίος Ἐπιγεὺς
Ὅς ῥ' ἐν Βυθείῳ εὐναιομένῳ ἤνασσε
Πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' ἐσθλὸν ἀνέψιὸν ἐξεναρίξας
Ἐς Πηλῆ ἱκέτευε, καὶ ἐς Θετιν ἀργυρόπεζαν.
Οἱ δ' ἅμ' Ἀχιλλῆι ῥηξήνορι πέμπον ἕπεσθαι
Ἴλιον εἰς εὔπωλον ἵνα Τρώεσσι μάχοιτο.
Il. Π. v. 573.

Now Greece gives way, and great Epigeus falls;
Agacleus' ſon, from Budium's lofty walls,
Who, chas'd for murder thence, a ſuppliant came
To Peleus, and the ſilver-footed dame,
Now ſent to Troy, Achilles' arms to aid,
He pays due vengeance to his kinſman's ſhade.
B. xvi. v. 699.

Howel ap Jevah has a friend in Mervyn—Epigeus has his Patroclus. Howel is ſlain—and ſo is Epigeus. The death of Howel enrages Mervyn to revenge it—The death of Epigeus has the ſame effect upon Patroclus. Mervyn is as furious as a mountain wolf—Patroclus ruſhes like a hawk on his prey. The Normans fly—ſo do the Trojans. Could all theſe coincidences be accidental?

This

True as a ſhadow to a ſubſtant [r] thynge,
So true he guarded Harold hys good kynge. 190

[r] *Subſtantial.*

But

This Howel might have been of the royal family of North Wales; the murder for which he fled having been committed at Matraval, the reſidence of thoſe princes. His armour was correſpondent to his character; a target covered with a wolf's ſkin, and a fighting ſpear, which he uſed with ſo much ſtrength and dexterity, as to pierce De Tracy's heart and liver, and to bear them both away on the point of his lance. Wounds of this kind are mentioned in Homer.

Ἐκ χροὸς εἵλκε δόρυ προτὶ δὲ φρένες αὐτῷ ἕποντο.
Τοῖο δ' ἅμα ψυχήν τε καὶ ἔγκεος ἐξέρυσ' αἰχμήν
Il. Π. v. 504.

Then drew the fibres from the panting heart,
The reeking fibres, clinging to the dart.
Pope, B. xvi. v. 621.

Howel's Norman antagoniſt is deſcribed as a proud and effeminate warrior.

——A man of mickle pride,
Whoſe featlieſt beauties ladden in his face.

Not unlike the character of Paris or Nireus in the Iliad.

Νιρεὺς ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε
Ἀλλ' ἀλαπαδνὸς ἔην. Il. B. v. 673.

Nireus, in faultleſs ſhape and blooming grace,
The lovelieſt youth of all the Grecian race.
Pope, B. ii. v. 817.

But the character of Auffroi ſeems better ſuited to that of Othryoneus, who was ſlain by Idomeneus.

Πέφνε γὰρ Ὀθρυονῆα Καβησόθεν ἔνδον ἐόντα,
Ὅς ῥα νέον πολέμοιο μετὰ κλέος εἰληλουθει.
Ἤτεε δὲ Πριάμοιο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστην
Κασσάνδρην, ἀνάεδνον· ὑπέσχετο δὲ μέγα ἔργον,
Ἐκ Τροίης ἀέκοντας ἀπωσέμεν γαῖας Ἀχαιῶν.
Il. N. v. 363.

But when Egelred tumbled to the grounde,
He from Kynge Harolde quicklie dyd advaunce,
And ſtrooke de Tracie thilk[s] a crewel wounde,
Hys harte and lever came out on the launce.
And then retreted for to guarde his kynge,
On dented[t] launce he bore the harte awaie;
An arrowe came from Auffroie Griel's ſtrynge,
Into hys heele betwyxt hys yron ſtaie;
The grey-gooſe pynion, that thereon was ſett,
Eftſoons[u] wyth ſmokyng crymſon bloud was wett.

[s] *Such.* [t] *Pointed.* [u] *Soon.*

His

Firſt by his hand Othryoneus was ſlain,
Swell'd with falſe hopes, with mad ambition vain;
Call'd by the voice of war to martial fame,
From high Cabeſus' diſtant walls he came;
Caſſandra's love he ſought with boaſts of power,
And promis'd conqueſt was the proffer'd dower;
The King conſented, by his vaunts abus'd,
The King conſented, by the Fates refus'd.
Vain as he ſtalk'd the Cretan javelin found,
Vain was his breaſt-plate to repel the wound.

Pope, B. xiii. v. 457.

We may obſerve a ſimilitude between theſe two characters in the following reſpects:

Auffroi was a man of mickle pride.——Othryoneus was a boaſter.

Auffroi his chance in war ne before han tryde.——Othryoneus was newly come to the war.

Auffroi had his Roſaline.——Othryoneus was in love with Caſſandra.

Auffroi was ſlain in battle.——So was Othryoneus.

V. 199. The arrow which wounded Howel, is deſcribed nearly in the ſame terms with that which killed Earl Douglas in Chevy-Chace.

The grey gooſe wing that was thereon,
in his hearts blood was wett.

We

His bloude at this was waxen flaminge hotte,
Without adoe [x] he turned once agayne,
And hytt de Griel thilk a blowe, God wote,
Maugre [y] hys helme, he ſplete his hede in twayne.

[x] *Immediately.* [y] *Notwithſtanding.*

This

We need not, however, recur to that ballad for the expreſſion of *grey gooſe wing*, for it was the ancient cuſtom to mount their arrows with gooſe feathers; and Roger Aſcham, in his Toxology, not only mentions theſe feathers, as beſt ſuited to the purpoſe, but alſo harangues very quaintly on the merit and uſefullneſs of the animals that bear them, from the time that they ſaved the Roman Capitol; and though he ſays the *colour* is a circumſtance leaſt to be regarded, yet he adds, "that it ſtands in good reaſon to have the *cocke* feather black or "*greie*, as it were to geve a man warning to nocke right." So that the *grey gooſe wing* became a familiar expreſſion to ſignify an arrow; and in this ſenſe it is uſed more than once in the poem on the Battle of Flodden Field.

The *grey gooſe wings* did work ſuch greif. Stanza 493.
Out went anon the *grey gooſe wing*,
Amongſt the Scots did fluttering fly. Stanza 1049.

If the expreſſion was at that time ſo familiar, can we ſuppoſe it to have been unknown in Rowley's time? In the more ancient copy of the battle of Otterburn, or Chevy-Chace, written in the Northern dialect, and publiſhed by Hearne, with Gul. Nubrigenſis, the line runs thus:

The *ſwane fethars* that his arrow bar.

And though Dr. Percy's idea ſhould be true, that the preſent ballad is no older than Queen Elizabeth's time, yet it appears by the poem on Flodden Field, before mentioned, that the expreſſion of *grey gooſe wing* muſt have been more ancient, if that poem was written (as is ſuppoſed) ſoon after the battle, which was fought in 1513.

It is uſual with our poet, after he has introduced his warriors on the ſtage, to digreſs from them to other events and perſons: Thus, when Howel ap Jevah had received a wound in the heel, we hear no more of him for two hundred lines, till he falls by De Valeris' hand, v. 453.—But we muſt poſtpone for a while the intermediate events deſcribed in the poem, that the hiſtory of Howel, and of his countryman Mervyn, may not be interrupted. He is mentioned as retreating from the army, in order to have his wounds dreſſed, v. 455; That operation conveys a curious picture of the ancient chirurgical practice, wherein ſuperſtition had a very conſiderable ſhare; for the ſurgeon was *a cunnynge man*, that is to ſay a conjurer; and

This Auffroie was a manne of mickle pryde,
Whoſe featlieſt [z] bewty ladden [a] in his face;
His chaunce in warr he ne before han tryde,
But lyv'd in love and Roſaline's embrace;

[z] *Moſt comely, or agreeable.* [a] *Lay.*

And

the cure was to be effected in part by his ſinging a charm, praying to St. Cuthbert and the Virgin Mary, and by putting a row of bloodſtones round the neck of the patient.

The manual operation was not unlike that of Machaon on Menelaus: The Greek as well as the Engliſh ſurgeon firſt ſucked the blood from the wound, and then infuſed a tincture of holy and balſamic herbs.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἕλκος, ὅθ' ἔμπεσε πικρὸς ὀϊστὸς
Αἷμ' ἐκμυζήσας, ἐπ' ἄρ' ἤπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
Πάσσε, τά οἱ ποτὲ πατρὶ φίλα φρόνεων πόρε Χείρων.
Il. Δ. v. 217.

Then ſuck'd the blood, and ſovereign balm infuſed,
Which Chiron gave, and Eſculapius uſed.
Pope, B. iv. v. 250.

The former of theſe applications is omitted by Virgil; but when Iapis had extracted the arrow from Æneas's thigh, he applied ſimples to the wound.

Multa manu medico, Phœbique potentibus herbis
Nequicquam trepidat.——

To which Venus added,

Ambroſiæ ſucco, & odoriferam Panacæam.
Æn. xii. v. 402. and 419.

All ſoftning ſimples known of ſovereign uſe
He preſſes out, and pours the noble juice. Dryden.

It ſeems to have been the practice, in both inſtances, to encourage the ſoldier after his wounds were dreſſed. The Engliſh ſurgeon ſays to Howel,

Go Champyonne, get a gone.

and Iapis uſes a ſimilar exhortation on the like occaſion:

Arma cito properate, viri: quid ſtatis? Iapis
Conclamat—— v. 425.
Arms, arms, he cries, the ſword and ſhield prepare,
And ſend the willing Chief renew'd to war.

The comparing a warrior's death to the fall of an oak, v. 469, is an image very familiar both to Homer and Rowley, and frequently copied by other poets.

The

And like a uſeleſs weede among the haie
Amonge the ſleine warriours Griel laie.

Kynge

The character and atchievements of *Mervyn ap Tewdor* are ſtill more ſingular than thoſe of his friend and countryman *Howel ap Jevah*: He ſhould ſeem, from his name, to have been the ſon of the famous *Tewdor Mawr*, the grandſon of *Owen*, and the great grandſon of *Howel Dha*; but it is not eaſy to aſcertain his perſon and rank from true hiſtory; though there was a *Meyne* or *Meredith* (poſſibly the ſame name with *Mervyn*) who was ſon of *Owen* King of South Wales, about the time of *Howel ap Jenaf*. The deſcription of this warrior's dreſs and activity, his ſtrength and valour, will give more entertainment to the reader than his genealogy: He flew upon the Norman with the rage of a mountain wolf, terrifying him as much by his appearance as he did by his valour; for it is truly ſaid

His garb ſufficient was to move affright:

His armour conſiſting chiefly of ſkins of wild beaſts.

His gauntletts were the ſkynn of *Harte of Greece*. v. 494.

This expreſſion occurs in the ballad of Adam Bell, which is more ancient than Shakeſpear.

Each of them ſlew a *Hart of Greece*,
The beſt that they could ſee.

Percy, vol. i. p. 161. 2d. edit.

It is ſo called alſo in one of the ballads on Robin Hood, in Evans's Collection, vol. i. p. 36. It may be preſumed to have been anciently the common name for a ſtag. So Shakeſpear, in one of his ſongs, ſpeaks of a *Hart* and *Hind*; and in the battle of Otterbourn, Earl Percy ſays, that

He will kill the fatteſt *Harts* in all Cheviot.

But they were not called *Harts of Greece* from their fatneſs or *graiſſe* (as Dr. Percy ſuppoſes in his Gloſſary vol. i.) but from *Greece*, whence they were ſuppoſed originally to come; for in fact this name takes its origin from the ſtory of Hercules's labours, one of which conſiſted in purſuing and catching, on mount Meenalus in Arcadia, a Hind ſacred to Diana, which had gilt horns and brazen hoofs. To this ſtory we find frequent alluſions in the Roman poets. It is thus that Virgil compliments Auguſtus, by comparing him with Hercules:

Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit
Fixerit *Æripedem Cervam* licet, aut Erymanthi
Pacarit nemora, aut Lernam tremefecerit arcu.

Æn. vi. v. 801.

So

Kynge Harolde then he putt his yeomen bie,
And ferſlie [b] ryd into the bloudie fyghte;
Erle Ethelwolf, and Goodrick, and Alfie,
Cuthbert, and Goddard, mical [c] menne of myghte,

[b] *Fiercely.* [c] *Men of great might.*

Ethelwin,

So likewiſe Seneca, in his Hercules Furens:

——Mænali pernix fera,
Multo decorum præferens auro caput,
Deprenſa curſu eſt.

There is an ancient tradition, recorded by Camden in his account of Weſtmorland, p. 994, concerning a *Hart of Greece*, which ſeems to allude to this fable: "In Whinfeild foreſt there is a venerable oak, called *Hartſhorn tree*, which took "its name from a ſtag courſed by a ſingle greyhound to the Red Kirk in Scotland, "and back again to this place; where both being ſpent, the ſtag leaped the pales, "but died on the other ſide, and the greyhound attempting to leap, fell and died on "this ſide; whence they nailed up their heads on the tree, and, the dog's name being "Hercules, they made this rhime upon them:

Hercules killed *Hart a Greece*,
And *Hart a Greece* kill'd Hercules.

Mervyn's ſword is ſaid to be ſhort, broad, and keen, "ſo that no man's bone "could ſtop its way," and he wielded it with ſuch ſtrength and fury as to chine down one of the Normans, to bury it with its hilt in the neck of another, and to break it with the violence of the blow; to twiſt, by the muſcular ſtrength of his arms, the head of De Laque quite round to his back; and, when pierced through with the Norman arrows, he griped Fitz Piers by the throat 'till he ſtrangled him. Theſe are original deſcriptions of the rude and vigorous exertions of ancient Britiſh valour, and though they ſhould not be ſtrictly true, yet they are perfectly conſonant to the manners of thoſe times.

The ſimile which compares Mervyn to a mountain wolf beſet by the hounds, v. 515, if not directly copied from Homer, at leaſt bears a great reſemblance to his deſcription of the wild boar ſurrounded and bated by peaſants and dogs.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε κάπριον ἀμφὶ κύνες θαλεροί τ' ἀίζηοὶ
Σεύονται, ὁ δὲ τ' ἔισι βαθείης, ἐκ ξυλόχοιο
Θήγων λευκὸν ὀδόντα, μετὰ γναμπτῆσι γένυσσιν·
Ἀμφὶ δὲ τ' αἴσσονται· ὑπαὶ δὲ τε κόμπος ὀδόντων
Γίγνεται, ὁι δὲ μένουσιν ἄφαρ δεινόν περ ἐόντα.

Il. A. v. 414.

So

Ethelwin, Ethelbert, and Edwin too,
Effred the famous, and Erle Ethelwarde,
Kynge Harolde's leegemenn [d], erlies hie and true,
Rode after hym, his bodie for to guarde;

[d] *Subjects.*

The

So fares a boar whom all the troops ſurround,
Of ſhouting huntſmen and of clamorous hounds;
He grinds his ivory tuſks, he foams with ire,
His ſanguine eye-balls glare with living fire:
By theſe, by thoſe on every part he's tried,
And the red ſlaughter ſpreads on every ſide.
Pope, B. xi. v. 525.

The epithet of *blameleſs*, v. 537, is frequently applied by Homer to his warriors, but ſeldom uſed by other poets. It muſt be, therefore, from the original that the poet choſe an epithet more particular, than it is either juſt or beautiful.

The deſcription of Mervyn's armour, v. 485, may alſo ſhew how far a coincidence in ſentiment, and a ſimilarity in deſcription, may ſubſiſt between two poets who never ſaw or borrowed from each other's works: This is certainly the caſe with Rowley and Spenſer, in the deſcription which the latter gives of the armour of Clarion, in his Muiopotmos, vol. v. p. 343, compared with that of Mervyn.

And then about his ſhoulders broad he threw
A hoary hide of ſome wild beaſt, whom he
In ſalvage foreſt by adventure ſlew,
And reft the ſpoil his ornament to be;
Which ſpreading all his back with dreadful view,
Made all that him ſo horrible did ſee,
Think him Alcides in a lion's ſkin,
When the Nemean conqueſt he did win.

Nor is it unlike Dolon's dreſs in the Iliad,

Ἕσσατο δ' ἔκτοσθεν ῥινὸν πολιοῖο λύκοιο.
Il. κ. v. 334.

A wolf's grey hide around his ſhoulders hung.
Pope, B. x. v. 396.

And Ornitus in Virgil,

Cui pellis latos humeros erepta juvenco
Pugnatori operit: Caput ingens oris hiatus
Et malæ texere lupi cum dentibus albis.
Æn. xi. v. 679.

The reſte of erlies, fyghtynge other wheres,
Stained with Norman bloude their fyghtynge ſperes. 220

As when ſome ryver with the ſeaſon raynes
White fomynge hie doth breke the bridges oft,
Oerturns the hamelet and all conteins[e],
And layeth oer the hylls a muddie ſoft;

[e] *Its contents.*

So

Other inſtances might be produced of coincidence in ſentiment and expreſſion between poets, without the leaſt ſuſpicion of plagiariſm. In regard to that before quoted, Spenſer having never ſeen Rowley's works, could not have copied his deſcription; and it would be adding one more incredible idea, to the many already entertained of Chatterton's wonderful genius and extenſive reading, to ſuppoſe that he had borrowed this thought from Spenſer.

But to return to the battle, the account of which has been interrupted by the hiſtory of the two Welſh heroes.

V. 204. Maugre hys helme, he ſplete his hede in twayne;
As Harold did to Fitz Sarnaville:

Who at one blowe made tweyne his head. v. 237.

So Homer,

——— Ἔρυαλον ἐπεσσύμενον βάλε πέτρῳ
Μέσσην κακκεφαλήν, ἡ δ' ἀνδικα πᾶσα κεάσθη
Ἐν κόρυθι βριαρῇ.——— Il. Π. v. 412.

And burſt the helm and cleft the head in twain.
Pope, B. xvi. v. 503.

V. 213. It may be obſerved, that Harold's Earls and leaders are deſcribed by genuine Saxon names; and the poet's uſual partiality to the Engliſh appears in the encomiums given of their characters ——

They ſtained with Norman bloude their fyghtynge ſperes.

V. 221. In the following ſtanza we have a ſimile, which refers us to the original in Homer, where the deſtruction of the bridges, and of the mounds of the hamlet, is particularly mentioned,

Θῦνε γὰρ ἀμπεδίον ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἐοικὼς
Χειμάῤῥῳ, ὅς' ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας·

Τὸν

So Harold ranne upon his Normanne foes,
And layde the greate and ſmall upon the grounde,
And delte among them thilke a ſtore of blowes,
Full manie a Normanne fell by him dede wounde;
So who he be that ouphant [f] faieries ſtrike,
Their ſoules will wander to Kynge Offa's dyke.

[f] *Elfin.*

Fitz

Τὸν δ' ἔτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν
Οὐτ' ἄρα ἔρκεα ἴσχει ἀλωάων ἐριθηλέων
Ἐλθόντ' ἐξαπίνης, ὅτ' ἐπιβρίσῃ Διὸς ὄμβρος.

Il. E. v. 87.

Thus from high hills the torrents ſwift and ſtrong
Deluge whole fields, and ſweep the trees along;
Thro' ruin'd moles the ruſhing wave reſounds,
O'erwhelms the bridge and hurts the lofty bounds.

Pope, B. v. v. 116.

See alſo another ſimile in Homer, much to the ſame purpoſe.

Ὡς δ' ὁπότε πλήθων ποταμὸς πεδίονδε κάτεισι
Χειμάῤῥοος κατ' ὄρεσφιν ὀπαζόμενος Διὸς ὄμβρῳ
Πολλὰς δὲ δρῦς ἀζαλέας πολλὰς δὲ τε πεύκας
Εσφέρεται, πολλὸν δε τ' ἀφυσγετὸν εἰς ἅλα βάλλει.

Il. Λ. v. 492.

As when a torrent, ſwell'd with wintry rains,
Pours from the mountains o'er the delug'd plains;
And pines and oaks, from their foundation torn,
A country's ruins, to the ſea are born.

Pope, B. xi. v. 614.

V. 229. The alluſion to the fairies, at the end of this ſtanza, having no connection in idea with the preceding and following lines, ſeems to be improperly introduced in this place; but it is uſed with great propriety at line 479, to illuſtrate the terror with which the Normans flew from the face of Mervyn, dreading equally his appearance and his valour. The tradition of puniſhments inflicted on thoſe who ſhould ſtrike the fairies, or perhaps be ſeen by them, ſeems to have originated (at leaſt to have been preſerved) in Wales, of which Offa's Dyke was the boundary. The word *Ouphant* does not occur in our gloſſaries; but *Elf* or *Elfin* is not uncommon, which, according to Skynner, ſignifies *earthly demons*; we ſtill call them

Fitz Salnarville, Duke William's favourite knyghte,
To noble Edelwarde his life dyd yielde;
Withe hys tylte launce hee ſtroke with thilk a myghte,
The Norman's bowels ſteemde upon the feeld.
Old Salnarville beheld hys ſon lie ded,
Againſt Erle Edelward his bowe-ſtrynge drewe;
But Harold at one blowe made tweine his head;
He dy'd before the poignant arrowe flew.
So was the hope of all the iſſue gone,
And in one battle fell the ſire and ſon.

De Aubignee rod fercely thro' the fyghte,
To where the boddie of Salnarville laie;
Quod he; And art thou ded, thou manne of myghte?
I'll be revengd, or die for thee this daie.
Die then thou ſhalt, Erle Ethelwarde he ſaid;
I am a cunnynge erle, and that [g] can tell;
Then drewe hys ſwerde, and ghaſtlie cut hys hede,
And on his freend eftſoons he lifeleſs fell,
Stretch'd on the bloudie pleyne; great God forefend [h],
It be the fate of no ſuch truſtie freende!

[g] You *is here to be underſtood: Many ſuch ellipſes occur in theſe poems.* [h] *Forbid.*

Then

fairy elves; and *Auf* or *Oaf* (an expreſſion commonly uſed for a fool) meant originally a perſon enchanted or ſtupified by the operation of demons. This application of the word *ouphant* may ſerve to confirm Dr. Warburton's correction of that paſſage in the Merry Wives of Windſor, act v. ſcene 5, where fairies are improperly called the *orphan heirs of fixed deſtiny*, which he changes into *ouphen*; agreeably to the title here given them, *the ouphen race of deſtiny*. This coincidence could not have been the work of Chatterton; and Falſtaff's obſervation on them is ſomewhat ſimilar to Rowley's.

They are fairies; he that ſpeaks to them ſhall die.

Then Egwin Sieur Pikeny did attaque;
He turned aboute and vilely ſouten [i] flie;
But Egwyn cutt ſo deepe into his backe,
He rolled on the grounde and ſoon dyd die.
His diſtant ſonne, Sire Romara de Biere,
Soughte to revenge his fallen kynſman's lote [k],
But ſoone Erle Cuthbert's dented [l] fyghtyng ſpear
Stucke in his harte, and ſtayd his ſpeed, God wote.
He tumbled downe cloſe by hys kynſman's ſyde,
Myngle their ſtremes of pourple bloude, and dy'd.

And now an arrowe from a bowe unwote [m]
Into Erle Cuthbert's harte eftſoons dyd flee;
Who dying ſayd; ah me! how hard my lote!
Now ſlayne, mayhap, of one of lowe degree.

[i] *Sought.* [k] *Lot, or fate.* [l] *Pointed.* [m] *Unknown.*

So

V. 252. The flight of Pikeny gives occaſion for another diſgraceful reflection on the Norman arms: but poetical juſtice is done; for he is killed, like a coward, by a wound in his back.

V. 261. An unknown arrow found its way to Earl Cuthbert's heart: Æneas was wounded in the ſame manner.

Ecce viro ſtridens alis allapſa ſagitta
Incertum quâ pulſa manu, quo turbine adacta
Quis tantam Rutulis cladem, Caſuſne Deuſne
Attulerit. Æn. xii. v. 319.

A winged arrow ſtruck the pious prince,
But whether from ſome human hand it came,
Or hoſtile God, is yet unknown to fame.
Dryden, v. 482.

It ſeemed, however, to be a point of ſome conſequence to determine the quality and rank of the perſon by whom Æneas was wounded: Earl Cuthbert adopted the ſame ſentiments:

So have I ſeen a leafie elm of yore
Have been the pride and glorie of the pleine;
But, when the ſpendyng landlord is growne poore,
It falls benethe the axe of ſome rude ſweine;
And like the oke, the ſovran of the woode,
It's fallen boddie tells you how it ſtoode.

When Edelward perceevd Erle Cuthbert die,
On Hubert ſtrongeſt of the Normanne crewe,
As wolfs when hungred on the cattel flie,
So Edelward amaine upon him flewe.
With thilk a force he hyt hym to the grounde;
And was demaſing[n] howe to take his life,

[n] *Muſing, conſidering.*

When

Who dying ſayd; Ah me! how hard my lote!
Now ſlayne mayhap of one of lowe degree. v. 263.

And when Earl Hereward was wounded by De Viponte,—"A ſquier of low "degree,"——he obſerved, that

The Erlie, wounded by ſo baſe an hind,
Rayſed furious doyngs in his noble mind. v. 339.

So it is ſaid of Alured, v. 417.

But noe ſuch deſtinie awaits his hedde,
As to be ſleyen by a wight ſo meene. v. 417.

V. 265. The image of a leafie elm, hewn by the rude ſwain, has the merit of ſimplicity, and the much greater one of ſhewing the moral turn of the poet; who ſeems to hint at the revolution of all human affairs, and of that principally which ariſes from the folly and extravagance of mankind.

V. 273. So Virgil,

——Inde lupi ſeu
Raptores—quos improba ventris
Exegit cæcos rabies.—— Æn. ii. v. 355.

When he behynde received a ghaſtlie wounde
Gyven by de Torcie, with a ſtabbyng knyfe;
Baſe trecherous Normannes, if ſuch actes you doe,
The conquer'd maie clame victorie of you.

The erlie felt de Torcie's trecherous knyfe
Han made his crymſon bloude and ſpirits floe;
And knowlachyng [o] he ſoon muſt quyt this lyfe,
Reſolved Hubert ſhould too with hym goe.
He held hys truſtie ſwerd againſt his breſte,
And down he fell, and peerc'd him to the harte;
And both together then did take their reſte,
Their ſoules from corpſes unaknell'd [p] depart;
And both together ſoughte the unknown ſhore,
Where we ſhall goe, where manie's gon before.

Kynge Harolde Torcie's trechery dyd ſpie,
And hie alofe [q] his temper'd ſwerde dyd welde,
Cut offe his arme, and made the bloude to flie,
His proofe ſteel armoure did him littel ſheelde;

[o] *Knowing.* [p] *Not having the funeral knell rung for them.* [q] *Aloft.*

And

V. 277. De Torcie, another cowardly Norman, is introduced treacherouſly ſtabbing Earl Edelward in his back. No ſuch actions are attributed by the poet to his countrymen, nor are they ſuffered to paſs without his cenſure. In this reſpect alſo he reſembles Homer, whoſe cowards are all Trojans.

V. 289. And both together, &c.——So Homer ſays of Antenor's ſons.

——ἔδυν δόμον Ἄϊδος εἴσω.—— Il. Λ. v. 263.

The ſocial ſhades the ſame dark journey go.
Pope, B. xi. v. 340.

And not contente, he ſplete his hede in twaine,
And down he tumbled on the bloudie grounde;
Mean while the other erlies on the playne
Gave and received manie a bloudie wounde,
Such as the arts in warre han learnt with care,
But manie knyghtes were women in men's geer.

Herrewald, borne on Sarim's [s] ſpreddyng plaine,
Where Thor's fam'd temple manie ages ſtoode;
Where Druids, auncient preeſts, did ryghtes ordaine,
And in the middle ſhed the victyms bloude;

[s] *Saliſbury Plain.*

Where

V. 301. The atchievements of *Herrewald* (or, as he is called in the 2d poem, v. 545, *Herewarde*) one of Rowley's favourite heroes, are now introduced, with very high encomiums. He is ſaid in both poems to have been a native of Old Sarum, and to have had a diſtinguiſhed command in the battle; whence it might be inferred that he was a real perſonage; but neither his birth, nor any part of his hiſtory, comes authenticated by other writers, or agrees with the account of *that Hereward*, who is highly celebrated by Ingulf, and other hiſtorians. He was the ſon of Leofric de Brune, and a native of Croyland, remarkable for his ſtature and ſtrength; and ſo violent in his juvenile exerciſes, that Edward the Confeſſor, at the requeſt of his own father, baniſhed him the kingdom. During his exile, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by his valour, that the fame of it became the ſubject of Engliſh poetry; "Ejuſque geſta fortia etiam Angliam ingreſſa canerentur." The Conqueror having granted away his lands, he came to England, and joined himſelf to Earl Siward, Morkar, and other Saxon lords, who held out the Iſle of Ely againſt the King; and he was the only perſon of conſequence who eſcaped after that unſucceſsful enterprize. Ingulf adds, p. 70, that he was made a regular knight, according to the Saxon ceremonial, by his uncle Brand, then abbot of Peterborough; and being repoſſeſſed of his lands, and reſtored to the King's favour, died in peace. But *Rowley's Herewarde* is ſaid in the former poem to have been killed by De Broque; in the latter, his fate is left undecided, but his valour is celebrated in the moſt diſtinguiſhed terms.

In the former poem,

Three Norman champyons of hie degree,
He lefte to ſmoke upon the bloudie pleine. v. 323.

And

Where auncient Bardi dyd their verſes ſynge
Of Cæſar conquer'd, and his mighty hoſte,
And how old Tynyan, necromancing kynge,
Wreck'd all hys ſhyppyng on the Brittiſh coaſte,
And

And in the latter,

He ſweeps whole armies to the reaulmes of nyghte. v. 550.
He ſweepes alle neere hym lyke a bronded floude. v. 558.

There is in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Northampton, a moſt noble pedigree of the Howard family fairly drawn out on vellum, and richly illuminated with their arms, alliances, and deſcent, executed in the laſt century by Lilly, Portcullis Herald. The origin of the Howard family is therein deduced from Ingulf's *Hereward*; and the ſeveral paſſages of that author relating to him are brought as proofs: But it does not ſeem that the connection of the two names is proved, or the deſcent ſufficiently authenticated; Judge Howard, in Edward the firſt's reign, being the earlieſt perſon of conſequence who appears there under that name. This beautiful and valuable pedigree was drawn out for the Earl of Arundel, but never preſented to him; after Lilly's death, it was purchaſed, at a ſale of his books, by James Earl of Northampton, for 100 guineas; and is now the property of George Lord de Ferrars; whoſe father, Lord Viſcount Townſhend, married the daughter and ſole heireſs of that Earl.

The place of *Hereward*'s nativity has furniſhed the poet with a curious epiſode on the ſituation and appearance of Old Sarum, and a deſcription of Saliſbury plain, much altered ſince that time by population and improvements. He has alſo pointed out the origin and uſe of that famous monument of antiquity, *Stonehenge*, ſo little noticed by our ancient writers. He aſſerts, with great truth, that it was a temple erected by the Britons to *Thor*, or *Tauran*, the Celtic Jupiter; for, according to Keyſler, "Thor Celtis eſt Taran vel Taram." Antiq. Septent. p. 196. Now *Taran*, or *Taram*, in the Welſh and Iriſh languages, ſignify thunder: Hence Jupiter Tonans was worſhipped in Britain under the title of *Tanarus*; and an altar dedicated to him by that appellation was dug up at Cheſter, in 1653, and is ſtill preſerved among the Arundelian marbles at Oxford. See Prideaux's Marmora Arund. p. 282. It was inſcribed I. O. M. TANARO, i. e. Jovi Optimo Maximo Tanaro; and to the ſame deity belonged that altar which Lucan has ſtigmatiſed for the cruelty of its human ſacrifices.

Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.—Lib. i. v. 446.

Tharan, or *Tharamin*, i. e. Jupiter. See Borel's Antiq. Gauloiſes.

He was alſo ſtiled *Tharanus*, *Taranus*, *Tanarus*; all words of the ſame import. Compare the following lines of theſe poems with this account.

And made hym in his tatter'd barks to flie,
'Till Tynyan's dethe and opportunity. 310

To

Where Druids, auncient preeſts, did ryghtes ordaine,
And in the middle ſhed the victyms bloude.
Poem 1ſt. v. 303.

Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To that falſe God, whom they did *Tauran* name,
Dyghtynge hys altarre with greete fyers in Maie,
Roaſtynge their vyctualle round aboute the flame.
Poem 2d. v. 535.

The ſongs recited by the bards in theſe temples, at ſuch conventions, are juſtly ſuppoſed by the poet to have celebrated the valour of their countrymen, and their ſucceſsful oppoſition to Cæſar on his firſt attempt againſt this iſland; where, by his own account, he loſt forty-two of his ſhips, beſides twelve more on his ſecond landing. This loſs is poetically aſcribed to the powers of *Tinyan*, a Britiſh king, who, according to the ſuperſtition of thoſe times, was ſuppoſed to be a Necromancer; and was undoubtedly the ſame perſon with *Tenantius*, or *Theomantius*, Duke of Cornwall at the time of Cæſar's invaſion; called by Jeoffry of Monmouth, *Tenancius* and *Tennancius*; and by Lewis, *Tenevan*. [Hiſtory of Britain, l. iv. p. 72.] He was the ſon of King Lud, the father of Cunobeline, and nephew to Caſſibelaun, whom he aſſiſted on Cæſar's invaſion, and ſucceeded him in the Britiſh throne, which, according to Lewis, he held for twenty years, being "a man valiant in "battle, happy in peace, and a lover of juſtice." p. 80. This deſcription is accompanied with an alluſion to the infamous maſſacre of the Britiſh nobility by Hengiſt, which is ſuppoſed to have been committed at this place; and the perſon of Turgot is aſſumed in the recital, by ſaying,

I tho a Saxon yet the truthe will telle,
The Saxonnes ſteynd the place wyth Brittiſh gore,
Where nete but bloud of ſacrifices fell. v. 312.

The fact itſelf is recorded by our hiſtorians; and it may be inferred from the ancient hiſtory of Abbendon Monaſtery, (printed in the Monaſticon, tom. i. p. 97.) that the monument took its name from that event. "Eo tempore quo nequiſſimus "Hengiſtus Paganus apud *Stan-Hengeſt* tot nobiles conſules peremit."

Keyſler, indeed, in his Antiq. Septent. would aſcribe to Stonehenge a later date, by aſſerting it to have been a *monumental* work of the Saxons; but it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that this treaty was holden, by conſent of the Britons, at the place appointed for their religious and civil aſſemblies, which in thoſe days were generally convened on the ſame ſpot.

To make it more renomed than before,
(I, tho a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle)
The Saxonnes ſteynd the place wyth Brittiſh gore,
Where nete but bloud of ſacriſices felle.

Tho'

——— ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε
Ἦην, τῇ δὴ κ᾽ σφι Θεῶν ἐτετεύχατο βωμοί.
Il. A. v. 806.

———Where, on the crouded ſtrand,
The public mart, and courts of juſtice ſtand;
And altars to the guardian Gods ariſe.
Pope, B. xi. v. 936.

So Picus's palace is deſcribed by Virgil.

Hinc ſceptra accipere, & primos attollere faſces
Regibus omen erat: Hoc illis curia templum,
Hæc ſacris ſedes epulis. Æn. vii. v. 174.

But Rowley's account of this monument (which he may be ſuppoſed to have received from Turgot) gives it a more ancient origin; for he ſays in the following lines,

Tho' Chriſtians, ſtylle they thoghte mouche of the pile,
And here theie mett when cauſes dyd it neede. v. 315.

And in the ſecond poem,

Twas here, that Hengyſt did the Brytons ſlee,
As they were mette in council for to bee. v. 539.

And this correſponds in ſome meaſure with Jeffery Monmouth's account, who ſays, that the ſlaughter was committed "near the monaſtery of the Abbot Am-"brius, and that the bodies of the ſlain Britons were buried not far from *Kaer-*"*Caradane*, or *Caradoc*, (now Saliſbury) in a burying-place by the monaſtery of "Ambrius the Abbot who was the founder of it, l. iii. p. 51; which monaſtery "(as he afterwards obſerves, l. v. p. 61. b.) maintained 300 Friars, and was ſituated "on the mountain of Ambrius." Thence, probably, the town of Ambreſbury, called by Matt. Weſtminſter, *Pagus Ambri*, took its name. This, with the reſt of Monmouth's narrative, "that the ſtones were brought by the aſſiſtance of Merlin, at the "deſire of Aurelius Ambroſius, from the mountain of Killaraum, (now Kildare) in "Ireland, and erected as a monument over the Britons ſlain on this ſpot," bears the ſtrongeſt marks of a Monkiſh fable, it being wholly improbable, that any monaſtery, much leſs one that contained 300 Monks, ſhould have exiſted, during that early period,

Tho' Chryſtians, ſtylle they thoghte mouche of the pile,
And here theie mett when cauſes dyd it neede;
Twas here the auncient Elders of the Iſle
Dyd by the trecherie of Hengiſt bleede;
O Hengiſt!

on Saliſbury plain; a ſituation of all others moſt improper for the purpoſe: But the ideas of that age could annex no higher degree of dignity to a place of public worſhip, than to call it a monaſtery. The number of ſtones placed in a certain order on the ſpot where the maſſacre was committed, favoured the notion of their being erected as monuments of the ſlain; and their ſtupendous ſize and wonderful arrangement gave full ſcope to the fable, that they were brought and erected by the powers of magic. All theſe hints only ſerve to eſtabliſh the antiquity of Rowley's materials; who, according to the ideas of that age, calls King *Tinyan* a magician and necromancer.

The ceremonies performed here are ſaid to conſiſt in ſhedding the victim's blood in the middle of the temple, and in dighting or dreſſing the altar of their God Thor with great fires in the month of May. See v. 303, and poem 2d, v. 531. With regard to the former, though it is acknowledged that the Druids offered human ſacrifices in their temples, yet, by the poet's manner of ſpeaking, he does not ſeem to have here applied the word *victim* in that ſenſe, ſince he mentions the blood of the ſacrifices with a marked oppoſition to the *Britiſh gore* ſpilled by Hengiſt; had both been human blood, he would have ſpoken of both as a Chriſtian, with almoſt equal abhorrence; nor can it be ſuppoſed that the Chriſtians would have choſen that place even for their civil aſſemblies, which had been defiled with human ſacrifices. It is much more to the purpoſe to obſerve, how much the account here given of the temple, and of the ceremonies performed in it, are founded in truth, and verified by hiſtory. The lighting of fires in May is one of the moſt remarkable parts of the Druid worſhip, and as ſuch is taken notice of by Toland in his Hiſtory of Druids; by Borlaſe in his Antiquities of Cornwall; and by other writers on that ſubject. It is obſervable, that *fires* are mentioned in the plural number; and Toland ſays, "that two fires were kindled by one another on May-"eve, in every village of the nation, as well through all Gaul, as in Britain, "Ireland, and the adjoining leſſer iſlands; between which fires the men and "beaſts to be ſacrificed were to paſs: One of the fires was on the karn, the other "on the ground." Dr. Borlaſe obſerves, "that feſtival fires, or bonfires, are "kindled on the eve of St. John Baptiſt, and on St. Peter's day, which ſeem to be "the remains of the Druid ſuperſtition."

Braund, in his popular antiquities, quotes the Scholiaſt on the 65th Canon of the Council of Trullo, p. 270, which cenſures the Heatheniſh cuſtom of "making "fires

O Hengiſt! han thy cauſe bin good and true,
Thou wouldſt ſuch murdrous acts as theſe eſchew. 320

The

" fires on the new moon and on St. John Baptiſt's eve, and the people leaping over " them in a mad and fooliſh manner; which, as he obſerves, is a remain of the " Druid cuſtom of paſſing the victim through the fire, which theſe prieſts had " from the Canaanites."

To ſave the reader the trouble of reſuming the ſubject in the ſecond poem, where there is alſo an alluſion to the religious rites performed in this temple, it may be obſerved, that the word *vyctimes* ſeems to be there improperly ſubſtituted inſtead of *vyctualle*, as an *erratum* in the former edition; ſince theſe two paſſages relate to different parts of the ſacrifical rites; the one to " the ſhedding the victim's blood," the other to the *feaſt* which accompanied, or rather followed that ceremony, and which was a part of the Heathen worſhip.

Virgil mentions it as a part of the rites performed at the temple of Picus.

——Hoc illis curia templum,
Hæc ſacris ſedes epulis: hîc ariete cæſo
Perpetuis ſoliti patres conſidere menſis.

Æn. vii. v. 175.

Thus again, in deſcribing the reception of Æneas by Evander:

Tum lecti juvenes certatim *aræque ſacerdos*
Viſcera toſta ferunt taurorum, onerántque caniſtris
Dona laboratæ Cereris, Bacchumque miniſtrant.
Veſcitur Æneas, ſimul et Trojana juventus
Perpetui tergo bovis & luſtralibus extis.

Æn. viii. v. 179.

Toland obſerves, in his Hiſtory of the Druids, p. 70, " that the holy fires " lighted by them, were conſtantly attended with ſacrifices and feaſting;" and Dr. Borlaſe, in his Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 127, 2d edit. that " in- " temperance in drinking generally cloſed the ſacrifice." Keyſler, in his Antiq. Septent. p. 331, illuſtrates this Druidical ceremony with ſeveral quotations from the Northern writers. Sturleſonius, in vitâ Olai, ſays; " Vetus tum obtinuerat " conſuetudo circa Victimarum mactationes, ut ad fanum ipſum incolæ conveni- " rent omnes, commeatum victumque pro ſolennibus epulis una adducentes; nec " omnino cereviſiæ in tam celebri conventu proportione ſingulorum ulla debebat " eſſe penuria: Mactabantur hic armentorum atque equorum plura genera—— " *Carnem mactatorum animalium pro more gentis elixatam convivæ abſumebant.* " Focus in medio fundi accenſus ardebat, ſupra quem etiam lebetes fervefactos

The erlie was a manne of hie degree,
And han that daie full manie Normannes ſleine;
Three Norman Champyons of hie degree
He lefte to ſmoke upon the bloudie pleine:

The

" adpendere moris erat; ſcyphi autem mero repleti per mediam flammam traduce-
" bantur."

Keyſler obſerves in another place, " Stabant autem, cum compotationes ſacræ
" peragerentur, circa ignem in medio templi accenſum, cum mulſum vel cereviſia
" liberaliſſimè in pateris vel poculis exhiberentur." P. 355.

It is alſo obſerved by Mr. Toland, " that the men and beaſts to be ſacrificed,
" paſſed through the two fires *which were made in the middle of the temple*,"
where the poet ſays the blood of the victim was ſhed, without mentioning their
fleſh to have been burnt in the fire.

If human ſacrifices were here alluded to, or if the bodies of beaſts were to be
conſumed in the ſacrifical fire, it could not correſpond with the deſcription the
poet gives of

Roaſting their vyctualle round about the flame.

This paſſage, therefore, alludes to the ceremony of the feaſt, not to the ſacrifice
itſelf, and therefore requires no alteration.

V. 313 Mr. Warton ſeems to have wavered between two opinions concerning the
origin and hiſtory of this monument, and to have endeavoured by two different and
contrary mediums to convict this poem of forgery. In a note, vol. i. p. 53, and in
a paſſage, vol. ii. p. 155, he contends for the probability of Monmouth's account,
viz. " that this monument was erected by the Britons, in memory of Hengiſt's
" maſſacre, aſſerting that no other notion prevailed concerning it at the time when
" this poem was written, (which he ſuppoſes to have been ſoon after the battle
" was fought).—That this notion had been delivered down by long and conſtant
" tradition;—that it was the eſtabliſhed and uniform opinion of the Welſh and
" Armoric bards, who moſt probably received it from the Saxon Minſtrells;—that
" Monmouth's Hiſtory was written not above eighty years after the battle;—and
" that Robert of Glouceſter, and all the Monkiſh Chronicles, agreed in this
" doctrine."

And yet this doctrine, ſo eſtabliſhed by Mr. Warton, is expreſsly contradicted by
himſelf in the following ſentence, wherein he aſſerts, " that the conſtruction of
" this ſtupendous pile BY THE DRUIDS, AS A PLACE OF WORSHIP, was a diſ-
" covery reſerved for the ſagacity of a wiſer age, and the laborious diſcuſſion of
" modern antiquaries." Upon Mr. Warton's authority, therefore, we will give
up the opinion of Monmouth as fabulous, and remark the great improbability

that

The Sier Fitzbotevilleine did then advaunce,
And with his bowe he ſmote the erlies hede;
Who eſtſoons gored hym with his tylting launce,
And at his horſes feet he tumbled dede:

His

that the Saxon Minſtrells ſhould chuſe ſo infamous an act of perfidy, ſo diſgraceful to their own name and country, for the ſubject of their ſongs and traditions, and of which Turgot confeſſed himſelf aſhamed, when he ſaid,

I, tho' a Saxon, yet the truthe will telle.

The Welſh bards, full of legendary ſuperſtition, and ſtrongly prepoſſeſſed with ideas of Merlin's magical powers, might have invented or circulated this tale for the amuſement of the vulgar; their hiſtorians might have believed and publiſhed it; and, according to the cuſtom and ignorance of thoſe days, it might have been handed down by ſubſequent Monks and Chroniclers: But if this tradition was ſo ancient, ſo general, and ſo well authenticated, (as Mr. Warton ſuppoſes) how happens it that the Saxon Minſtrells did not tranſmit it, either to their own or to the Britiſh hiſtorians; ſince neither Bede, Nennius, Aſſer, nor Ingulf, make the leaſt mention of this wonderful ſtructure: It is firſt noticed by Huntingdon, a contemporary writer with Monmouth, who, though he ſpeaks of it as one of the four wonders of England, declares, "that no one could then think by what art theſe "great ſtones were raiſed ſo high, nor why they were put there." Stanenges ubi lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum Portarum elevati ſunt, ita ut Portæ Portis ſuperpoſitæ videantur, nec poteſt aliquis excogitare quâ arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati ſunt, vel quare ibi inſtructi ſunt. Lib. i.

Monmouth's account, therefore, could not be at that time the generally-received opinion, much leſs the only one entertained concerning it; and Mr. Warton himſelf acknowledges that it was not the true one; conſequently the idea of its Druidical origin was founded on more remote antiquity, and higher tradition: But when, by the converſion of the Britons to Chriſtianity, the ceremonies of the Druid worſhip ceaſed, and the temple itſelf grew into diſuſe, the hiſtory and origin of it muſt gradually fall into oblivion; and fabulous accounts would be engrafted on it, founded on later events: Thus the maſſacre of the Britons at this place might give riſe to a tradition, that the monument was erected in memory of that event; and this might have been one, but not the only opinion that obtained concerning it in Monmouth's time. But even that tradition cannot affect the teſtimony of Turgot, who, living a century earlier, and being a learned and judicious hiſtorian, might be better informed of its true origin, from ancient records, or well-founded tradition, although unknown to the generality of writers in that ignorant and illiterate age.

Thus

His partyng ſpirit hovered o'er the floude
Of ſoddayne rouſhynge mouche lov'd pourple bloude. 330

De

Thus far the poet's account of this monument may be juſtified, ſuppoſing Turgot to have been the author. Let us conſider Mr. Warton's other objection, viz. that this account could not have been penned by Rowley, becauſe the true hiſtory of Stonehenge was "*a later diſcovery, reſerved* (as he ſays) *for the ſagacity of wiſer* "*ages.*" This objection might have ſome weight, if the fact alluded to had been *then firſt brought to light*; but what he calls a *diſcovery*, is only the revival of an ancient tradition, obſcured by the ignorance, and diſguiſed by the fabulous accounts of intermediate ages. The true hiſtory of it muſt undoubtedly have ſubſiſted before the fabulous one took place, nor could the former be ſo totally forgotten and annihilated, as to leave no veſtiges, in records or tradition, from which the abilities and induſtry of Turgot or Rowley might have traced it.

But whatever objections might be urged againſt Rowley on this head, they will conclude with much greater force againſt Chatterton, as the ſuppoſed relator of this hiſtory: Could he, who had never travelled more than a few miles from Briſtol, give ſo accurate a deſcription of the extent and appearance of Saliſbury Plain, and the *ſheafted head* of Old Sarum? Was he ſo well acquainted with Cæſar's Commentaries, and the hiſtory of that invaſion, as to deſcribe his attempt on Britain; or ſo converſant with our Engliſh hiſtorians, as to mention the name of the King who oppoſed him? By what authors was he inſtructed in the ceremonies of the Druid worſhip; the titles of the God *Thor*, or *Tauran*; the times and number of his ſacrifical fires; and the victims offered in their temples, with the different ideas of Britiſh mythology; which could only be collected from Toland, Stukely, and Borlaſe, authors not within his reach; or from others, whoſe language he did not underſtand?

The lines which expreſs the poet's ſurpriſe at the grandeur of this monument, muſt have been penned by one who had been an eye-witneſs of its magnificence:

It ne could be the work of human hand;
It ne was reared up by men of claie. Poem 2d, v. 533.

But it has been the misfortune of our author, and the untowardneſs of criticiſm, that thoſe parts of his works have been moſt objected to, which bear the ſtrongeſt marks of originality.

The reader will pardon the length of a digreſſion, which tends to illuſtrate the hiſtory of that noble Britiſh monument, and to vindicate the authenticity of the poem.

V. 330. This line is remarkable for an expreſſive complication of epithets in the Homerical ſtile.

De Viponte then, a ſquier of low degree,
An arrowe drewe with all his myghte ameine;
The arrowe graz'd upon the erlies knee,
A punie wounde, that cauſd but littel peine.
So have I ſeene a Dolthead place a ſtone,
Enthoghte[1] to ſtaie a driving rivers courſe;
But better han it bin to lett alone,
It onlie drives it on with mickle force;
The erlie, wounded by ſo baſe a hynde,
Rays'd furyous doyngs in his noble mynde.

The Siere Chatillion, yonger of that name,
Advaunced next before the erlie's ſyghte;
His fader was a manne of mickle fame,
And he renomde and valorous in fyghte.

[1] *Thinking.*

Chatillion

V. 331. De Viponte is called *a ſquier of low degree.* This is an expreſſion uſed by Chaucer; and Mr. Warton ſays, that there was an old piece with this title, perhaps coeval with that poet. See his obſervations on Spenſer, vol. i. p. 139. The ſimile, v. 335, ſeems to be borrowed from Ovid, and it may be obſerved that both poets have inſtituted their compariſon in the firſt perſon.

Sic ego torrentem, quâ nil obſtabat eunti
Lenius, & modico ſtrepitu decurrere vidi:
At quæcunque trabes, obſtructaque ſaxa tenebant
Spumeus & fervens, & ab obice ſævior ibat.
Ovid. Metam. B. iii. Cap. 7.

So have I ſeen th' unbroken torrent's force,
With ſmooth rapidity purſue its courſe;
But when the weir or mound its current ſtay,
Redoubled force impells its foaming way.

Virgil has the ſame ſimile.

——— Ceu, ſaxa morantur
Cùm rapidos amnes, clauſo fit gurgite murmur,
Vicinæque fremunt ripæ crepitantibus undis.
Æn. xi. v. 297.

Chatillion his truſtie ſwerd forth drewe,
The erle drawes his, menne both of mickle myghte;
And at eche other vengouſlie [u] they flewe,
As maſtie dogs at Hocktide ſet to fyghte;
Bothe ſcornd to yeelde, and bothe abhor'de to flie,
Reſolv'd to vanquiſhe, or reſolv'd to die.

[u] *Revengefully.*

Chatillion

V. 349. Theſe two lines have an appearance of modern phraſeology; but ſuch ideas are common to writers of every age; and Spenſer has a thought very ſimilar to this:

Both hongred after death, both choſe to win or die.
B. i. C. 6. St. 43.

It may be proper here to obſerve, with regard to this and other ſimilar expreſſions, which may exerciſe the ſpeculation of the critics, that the authenticity of a poem is not to be determined by a few coincidencies in phraſe or ſentiment, nor by too nice an attention to verbal criticiſm on ſingle words; but by the general complexion and commanding features of the whole; by the ſentiment and ſtile, the arrangement of the matter, the uniformity of the language, the ſpirit and conſiſtency of the poem. If theſe great characters ſhew it to be the work of the ſame hand, doubts concerning particular paſſages may be eaſily reſolved, by ſuppoſing them to have been errors in the original manuſcript, or elſe miſtakes or even wilful interpolations of the tranſcriber; for even *theſe*, inſtead of diſcrediting, will ſerve to eſtabliſh the general authenticity of the poem; otherwiſe the greater object will be made ſubſervient to the leſs, and, from a few ſuppoſed, or even real alterations, the credit of the whole performance would be given to Chatterton, notwithſtanding his abilities were confeſſedly unequal to it.

The advocates for ſuch partial alterations ſhould conſider well the trouble and difficulty with which they muſt be made; nor is it agreeable to the ambitious and deſultory genius of Chatterton, to ſuppoſe that he would have ſubmitted the fire of his youth, and have given up the hours of his amuſement, to improve and embelliſh the works of another author; and have ſacrificed at the ſhrine of a dead poet, when he knew himſelf ſo well qualified to receive incenſe as a living one: If we could ſuppoſe him capable of ſubmitting to ſuch a taſk, would he not have exerted the powers of his genius in attempting to excel, or at leaſt to rival his original, by introducing brilliant thoughts and ſtriking images, inſtead of merely ſupplying lacunæ and imperfect rhimes, and modernizing a few antiquated phraſes; for the paſſages

Chatillion hyt the erlie on the hede,
Thatt ſplytte eftſoons his criſted helm in twayne;
Whiche he perforce[x] withe target covered,
And to the battel went with myghte ameine.
The erlie hytte Chatillion thilke a blowe
Upon his breſte, his harte was plein to ſee;
He tumbled at the horſes feet alſoe,
And in dethe panges he ſeez'd the recer's[y] knee:

[x] *Was forced to cover.* [y] *Horſe's.*

Faſte

objected to, as moſt liable to ſuſpicion, are almoſt all of this kind. It would indeed puzzle the ſagacity of the niceſt critics to draw the diſcriminating line between what they acknowledge to be original, and the parts which they ſuppoſe to be interpolated; ſuch a diſtinction has never yet been attempted, and when made, would leave Rowley poſſeſſed of every eſſential merit and beauty in theſe compoſitions.

Let it be remembered alſo, that two poets ſo diſtant in their æra, ſo different from each other in their age and diſpoſition, could not have united their labours in the ſame poem to any effect, without ſuch an apparent difference in their ſtyle, language, and ſentiments, as would have defeated Chatterton's intent of impoſing his works on the public as the original and entire compoſition of Rowley.

Theſe hints are addreſſed to thoſe candid objectors, who, revolting at the indiſcriminate charge of forgery againſt *all the poems*, are willing to adopt this as a middle way, and (as they think) a more eaſy and rational ſolution of the difficulty, by giving to Rowley all the merit of the original plan and arrangement, the hiſtory, ſtile, ſentiment and metre; but attributing to Chatterton the decorating and moderniſing of the poetry: Not conſidering, that by acknowledging the mere exiſtence of Rowley as a poet, they do in effect give up the moſt material part of their argument. But, on the other hand, it is not aſſerted that every word, as it ſtands in Chatterton's manuſcript, was penned by Rowley; the tranſcriber might have ſupplied ſome defects in the original manuſcript, if there were any; he might have exchanged ſome few ancient words or phraſes for modern ones; but all that could be done of this kind, conſidered in its fulleſt extent, could neither entitle him to the merit, nor to the real character of an eminent and original poet.

V. 358. The word *recer* is objected to, [Gentleman's Magazine, 1779] becauſe the breed of race-horſes is ſuppoſed to be more modern than Rowley's time; but the alluſion is not made to any particular breed, but to the ſwiftneſs of the horſe only. It might be juſtified, however, from the antiquity and univerſality of horſe-races, though now practiſed on a different plan.

Faſte as the ivy rounde the oke doth clymbe,
So faſte he dying gryp'd the recer's lymbe.

The recer then beganne to flynge and kicke,
And toſte the erlie farr off to the grounde;
The erlie's ſquier then a ſwerde did ſticke
Into his harte, a dedlie ghaſtlie wounde;
And downe he felle upon the crymſon pleine,
Upon Chatillion's ſoulleſs corſe of claie;
A puddlie ſtreme of bloude flow'd oute ameine;
Stretch'd out at length beſmer'd with gore he laie;
As ſome tall oke fell'd from the greenie plaine,
To live a ſecond time upon the main.

The

V. 367. An ignoble epithet, probably intended to diſtinguiſh the blood of a horſe from the more noble blood of a hero. See the note on v. 170.

V. 369. The ſimile of the falling oak is enlivened beyond that of Homer; who converts his tree into mere ſhip-timber, whereas our poet's image gives it a *ſecond life.*

Ἤριπε δ', ὡς ὅτε τις δρῦς ἤριπεν, ἢ ἀχερωΐς,
Ἠὲ πίτυς βλωθρὴ, τήν τ' ἔρεσι τέκτονες ἄνδρες
Ἐξέταμον τελέεσσι νεήκεσι, νηΐον εἶναι.

Il. Π. v. 482.

Then as the mountain oak, or poplar tall,
Or pine (fit maſt for ſome great admiral,)
Nods to the axe, and with a groaning ſound
It ſinks, and ſpreads its honours on the ground.

Pope, B. xvi. v. 591.

It has been aſſerted, that Chatterton borrowed his Homerical ſimilies from Pope's tranſlation; but the preſent inſtance, amongſt many others, will confute that idea. The oak living again on the ſea dignifies Homer's image, which Pope's tranſlation had weakened and degraded.

The erlie nowe an horſe and beaver han,
And nowe agayne appered on the feeld;
And manie a mickle knyghte and mightie manne
To his dethe-doyng ſwerd his life did yeeld;
When Siere de Broque an arrowe longe lett flie,
Intending Herewaldus to have ſleyne;
It miſs'd; butt hytte Edardus on the eye,
And at his pole came out with horrid payne.
Edardus felle upon the bloudie grounde,
His noble ſoule came rouſhyng from the wounde.

Thys Herewald perceevd, and full of ire
He on the Siere de Broque with furie came;
Quod he; thou'ſt ſlaughtred my beloved ſquier,
But I will be revenged for the ſame.

Into

V. 375. So Homer,

——— οἶϛὸν ἀπὸ νευρῆφιν ἴαλλεν
Ἕκτορος ἀντικρὺ, βαλέειν δέ ἑ ἵετο θυμός·
Καὶ τῷ μέν ῥ' ἀφάμαρϑ· ὁ δ' ἀμύμονα Γοργυθίωνα,
Τὸν ἠΰν Πριάμοιο, κατὰ ϛῆθος βάλεν ἰῷ.

Il. Θ. v. 300.

He ſaid, and twang'd the ſtring; the weapon flies
At Hector's breaſt, and ſings along the ſkies;
He miſs'd the mark, but pierc'd Gorgythio's heart.

Pope, B. viii. v. 365.

The imitation here ſeems to be very apparent, but it is the imitation of Homer, and not of Pope; both Homer and Rowley expreſs the intention of the archer, which is dropped by the tranſlator of the Greek poet.

V. 380. Pope and Dryden have this line almoſt verbatim, but it was ſcarce poſſible to convey the idea in other words.

Into his bowels then his launce he thruſte,
And drew thereout a ſteemie [z] drerie [a] lode;
Quod he; theſe offals are for ever curſt,
Shall ſerve the coughs, and rooks, and dawes, for foode.
Then on the pleine the ſteemie lode hee throwde,
Smokynge wyth lyfe, and dy'd with crymſon bloude.

Fitz Broque, who ſaw his father killen lie,
Ah me! ſayde he; what woeful ſyghte I ſee!
But now I muſt do ſomethyng more than ſighe;
And then an arrowe from the bowe drew he.

[z] *Steaming.* [a] *Dreadful.*

Beneth

V. 385. Into his bowels then his launce he thruſte,
And drew thereout a ſteemie drerie lode.

So Homer,

——— ἔντα δὲ δουρὶ παρ' ὀμφαλόν· ἐκ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι
Χύντο χαμαὶ χολάδες——— Il. Δ. v. 525.

The guſhing entrails ſmok'd upon the ground,
And the warm life came iſſuing from the wound.
Pope, B. iv. v. 608.

But the ſarcaſm with which Hereward follows his blow, may be traced from a more ancient original, 1 Sam. chap. xiii. ver. 44. "Come to me" (ſays the Philiſtine to David) "and I will give thy fleſh unto the fowls of the air, and to the "beaſts of the field:" And Homer has more than once uſed the like expreſſion.

——— σὲ μὲν κύνες ἠδ' οἰωνοὶ
Ἑλκήσουσ' ἀϊχῶς.——— Il. X. v. 335.

And again,

Ἀλλὰ κύνες τε καὶ οἰωνοὶ κάτα πάντα δάσονται. Il. X. v. 354.

And in another paſſage,

——— ἀλλ' οἰωνοὶ
Ὠμησταὶ σ' ἐρύσουσι——— Il. Λ. v. 453.

No, to the dogs thy carcaſe I'll reſign. Pope, B. xxii. v. 438.
Thee birds ſhall mangle and the dogs devour. Ibid. v. 423.
But hungry birds ſhall bear theſe balls away. B. ii. v. 510.

Beneth the erlie's navil came the darte;
Fitz Broque on foote han drawne it from the bowe;
And upwards went into the erlie's harte,
And out the crymſon ſtreme of bloude 'gan flowe.
As fromm a hatch, drawne with a vehement geir [b],
White ruſhe the burſtynge waves, and roar along the weir.

The erle with one honde graſp'd the recer's mayne,
And with the other he his launce beſped [c];
And then felle bleedyng on the bloudie plaine.
His launce it hytte Fitz Broque upon the hede;
Upon his hede it made a wounde full ſlyghte,
But peerc'd his ſhoulder, ghaſtlie wounde inferne,
Before his optics [d] daunced a ſhade of nyghte,
Whyche ſoone were cloſed ynn a ſleepe eterne.

[b] *Turn, or twiſt.* [c] *Diſpatched, gave ſpeed to.* [d] *Eyes.*

The

V. 399. *Geir* is derived either from the French word *girer*, or from the Italian *girare—to turn about.* Chaucer uſes *gerie* and *gerifull*, Knight's Tale, v. 1538, and 1540—and *gerifull violence*, Troil. B. iv. v. 286—for *inconſtant* or *changeable*, which is analogous to the ſenſe which the word bears in this paſſage.

V. 406. The wound given by Hereward's lance, has alſo its original in Homer.

——— δι' ὤμοιο δ' ὄβριμον ἔγχος
Ἔσχεν· ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι πεσὼν ἔλε γαῖαν ἀγοςῷ. Il. Ξ. v. 451.

The driving javelin thro' his ſhoulder thruſt,
He ſinks to earth, and graſps the bloody duſt.
Pope, B. xiv. v. 527.

See v. 113, of this poem.

V. 407. Homer has ſeveral different ways of expreſſing this idea.

Τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε. Il. E. v. 659.
——— τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε ἐκάλυψε. Il. Δ. v. 526.
——— κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ' ἀχλύς. Il. Π. v. 344.

Pope

The noble erlie than, withote a grone,
Took flyghte, to fynde the regyons unknowne.

Brave Alured from binethe his noble horſe
Was gotten on his leggs, with bloude all ſmore[d];
And now eletten[e] on another horſe,
Eftſoons he withe his launce did manie gore.
The cowart Norman knyghtes before hym fledde,
And from a diſtaunce ſent their arrowes keene;
But noe ſuch deſtinie awaits his hedde,
As to be ſleyen by a wighte ſo meene.
Tho oft the oke falls by the villen's ſhock,
'Tys moe than hyndes can do, to move the rock.

Upon du Chatelet he ferſelie ſett,
And peerc'd his bodie with a force full grete;
The aſenglave[f] of his tylt-launce was wett,
The rollynge bloude alonge the launce did fleet.

[d] *Beſmeared.* [e] *Alighted.* [f] *The ſteely part of a lance.*

Advauncynge,

Pope accordingly varies his tranſlation.

And ſhades eternal ſettle o'er his eyes.	B. iv. v. 527.
His eye-balls darken with the ſhades of death.	v. 575.
And ſleep eternal ſeals his ſwimming eyes.	B. xi. v. 310.
His ſwimming eyes eternal ſhades ſurround.	B. xvi. v. 413.

V. 423. The meaning of the word *aſenglave* can hardly be miſtaken, though not explained in our gloſſaries. In the 2d poem, v. 176, it is mentioned as the armour of the Norman croſs-bowmen, who

Brave champions eche well learned in the bow,
Their *aſenglaves* acroſs their horſes ty'd.

It may be there underſtood of a ſpear, but in the paſſage before us, it ſeems confined to the pointed ſteel at the extremity of the tilt-lance.

Advauncynge, as a maſtie at a bull,
He rann his launce into Fitz Warren's harte;
From Partaies bowe, a wight unmercifull,
Within his owne he felt a cruel darte;
Cloſe by the Norman champyons he han ſleine,
He fell; and mixd his bloude with theirs upon the pleine.

Erle Ethelbert then hove[g], with clinie[h] juſt,
A launce, that ſtroke Partaie upon the thighe,
And pinn'd him downe unto the gorie duſte;
Cruel, quod he, thou cruellie ſhalt die.
With that his launce he enterd at his throte;
He ſcritch'd and ſcreem'd in melancholie mood;
And at his backe eftſoons came out, God wote,
And after it a crymſon ſtreme of bloude:
In agonie and peine he there dyd lie,
While life and dethe ſtrove for the maſterrie,

He gryped hard the bloudie murdring launce,
And in a grone he left this mortel lyfe.

[g] *Heaved, lifted.* [h] *Proper inclination of the body.*

Behynde

The *aſenglave* of his tylt-launce was wett.

If we recur to the etymology of the word, *aſcia* in Latin, *hache* in French, *axe* and *hatchet* in Engliſh, have all the ſame meaning. The old French word *gleave* ſignified a ſword; ſo Elſtrid, in the tragedy of Locrine, when ſhe was about to kill herſelf ſays,

——— My fingers
Are not of force to hold this *ſteely glaive*.

The Teutonic knights were alſo called *port-glaives*, or enſiferi. See Skynner.

The *launcegay* of Sir Thopas, like the *aſenglave*, was compounded of two words, expreſſing different weapons; viz. *launce*, and *zagaye*, the latter, according to

Behynde the erlie Fiſcampe did advaunce,
Bethoghte[1] to kill him with a ſtabbynge knife;
But Egward, who perceevd his fowle intent,
Eftſoons his truſtie ſwerde he forthwyth drewe,
And thilke a cruel blowe to Fiſcampe ſent,
That ſoule and bodie's bloude at one gate flewe.
Thilk deeds do all deſerve, whoſe deeds ſo fowle
Will black theire earthlie name, if not their ſoule.

When lo! an arrowe from Walleris honde,
Winged with fate and dethe daunced alonge;

[1] *Thinking.*

And

to Nicot, ſignifies a Mooriſh lance, longer and more ſlender than a pike. See, Mr. Tyrwhit's note, vol. iv. p. 316.

V. 443. The cowardly attempt of Fiſcamp againſt Earl Ethelbert adds another diſgrace to the Norman name; De Torcies againſt Harold, v. 78. had been revenged on him by Egward: A Norman called *Feſcamp* is mentioned in the 2d poem, v. 331, as ſlain by the valiant Alſwold, and ſtigmatized there as the *leckedſt* or moſt infamous knight of all the Norman throng.

His ſprite was made of malice deſlavate,
Ne ſhoulden find a place in anie ſonge. v. 333.

Not unlike the character which Homer has given of Therſites:

—— ἄισχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε. Il. B. v. 216.
Long had he lived the ſcorn of all the Greeks.
Pope, B. ii. v. 279.

From this ſimilarity in the name and character, the ſame perſon is probably meant in both paſſages, notwithſtanding the different accounts of their deaths.

The character here given of this miſcreant might have been afterwards enlarged on by the poet, when he reviſed his ſubject in the ſecond poem, as he has done with regard to Hereward.

As to the treatment which Rowley is ſaid (in the printed Hiſtory of Canning's Life, ſee Warton, vol. ii.) to have received from the wife of Mr. Pelham, who was deſcended from the family of Fiſcamp; that account ſhall be left to plead for itſelf. It does not affect the authenticity of the poem; nor is it neceſſary to believe that every paper which has been produced through Chatterton's hands is an undoubted original of Rowley.

And ſlewe the noble flower of Powyſlonde,
Howel ap Jevah, who yclepd [k] the ſtronge.
Whan he the firſt miſchaunce received han,
With horſemans haſte he from the armie rodde;
And did repaire unto the cunnynge manne,
Who ſange a charme, that dyd it mickle goode;
Then praid Seyncte Cuthbert, and our holie Dame,
To bleſſe his labour, and to heal the ſame.

Then drewe the arrowe, and the wounde did ſeck [l],
And putt the teint of holie herbies on;
And putt a rowe of bloude-ſtones round his neck;
And then did ſay; go, champyon, get agone.
And now was comynge Harrolde to defend.
And metten with Walleris cruel darte;
His ſheelde of wolf-ſkinn did him not attend [m],
The arrow peerced into his noble harte;
As ſome tall oke, hewn from the mountayne hed,
Falls to the pleine; ſo fell the warriour dede.

His countryman, brave Mervyn ap Teudor,
Who [n] love of hym han from his country gone,
When he pereeevd his friend lie in his gore,
As furious as a mountayn wolf he ranne.
As ouphant [o] faieries, whan the moone ſheenes bryghte,
In littel circles daunce upon the greene,
All living creatures flie far from their ſyghte,
Ne by the race of deſtinie be ſeen;

[k] *Was called.* [l] *Suck.* [m] *Was not then with him, or did not protect him.*
[n] *The preposition* for *is omitted.* [o] *Elfin.*

For what he be that ouphant faieries ſtryke,
Their ſoules will wander to Kyng Offa's dyke.

So from the face of Mervyn Tewdor brave
The Normans eftſoons fled awaie aghaſte;
And left behynde their bowe and aſenglave [p],
For fear of hym, in thilk a cowart haſte.
His garb ſufficient were to meve [q] affryghte;
A wolf ſkin girded round his myddle was;
A bear ſkyn, from Norwegians wan in fyghte,
Was tytend round his ſhoulders by the claws:
So Hercules, 'tis ſunge, much like to him,
Upon his ſhoulder wore a lyon's ſkin.

Upon his thyghes and harte-ſwefte legges he wore
A hugie goat ſkyn, all of one grete peice;
A boar ſkyn ſheelde on his bare armes he bore;
His gauntletts were the ſkynn of harte of greece.
They fledde; he followed cloſe upon their heels,
Vowynge vengeance for his deare countrymanne;
And Siere de Sancelotte his vengeance feels;
He peerc'd hys backe, and out the bloude ytt ranne.
His bloude went downe the ſwerde unto his arme,
In ſpringing rivulet, alive and warme.

His ſwerde was ſhorte, and broade, and myckle keene,
And no mann's bone could ſtonde to ſtoppe itts waie;
The Normann's harte in partes two cutt cleane,
He clos'd his eyne, and clos'd his eyne for aie.

[p] *Lance.* [q] *Move.*

Then with his ſwerde he ſett on Fitz du Valle,
A knyghte mouch famous for to runne at tylte;
With thilk a furie on hym he dyd falle,
Into his neck he ranne the ſwerde and hylte;
As myghtie lyghtenynge often has been founde,
To drive an oke into unfallow'd grounde.

And with the ſwerde, that in his neck yet ſtoke[r],
The Norman fell unto the bloudie grounde;
And with the fall ap Tewdore's ſwerde he broke,
And bloude afreſhe came trickling from the wounde.
As whan the hyndes, before a mountayne wolfe,
Flie from his paws, and angrie vyſage grym;
But when he falls into the pittie[s] golphe,
They dare hym to his bearde, and battone[t] hym;
And cauſe he fryghted them ſo muche before,
Lyke cowart hyndes, they battone hym the more.

So, whan they ſawe ap Tewdore was bereft
Of his keen ſwerde, thatt wroghte thilke great diſmaie,
They turned about, eftſoons upon hym lept,
And full a ſcore engaged in the fraie.
Mervyn ap Tewdore, ragyng as a bear,
Seiz'd on the beaver of the Sier de Laque;
And wring'd his hedde with ſuch a vehement gier[u],
His viſage was turned round unto his backe.

[r] *Stuck.* [s] *Hollow pit.* [t] *Beat him with ſticks; Baſtonner. Cotgrave.*
[u] *Turn or twiſt.*

Backe to his harte retyr'd the uſeleſs gore,
And felle upon the pleine to riſe no more.

Then on the mightie Siere Fitz Pierce he flew,
And broke his helm and ſeiz'd hym bie the throte:
Then manie Normann knyghtes their arrowes drew,
That enter'd into Mervyn's harte, God wote.
In dying panges he gryp'd his throte more ſtronge,
And from their ſockets ſtarted out his eyes;
And from his mouthe came out his blameleſs tonge;
And bothe in peyne and anguiſhe eftſoon dies.
As ſome rude rocke torne from his bed of claie,
Stretch'd onn the pleyne the brave ap Tewdore laie.

And now Erle Ethelbert and Egward came
Brave Mervyn from the Normannes to aſſiſt;

A myghtie

V. 536. And from their ſockets.

So Homer,

——————— τῷ δέ οἱ ὄσσε
——— χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κονίῃσιν. Il. N. v. 616.

Forc'd from their glaſſy orbs and ſpouting gore,
The clotted eye-balls tumbled on the ſhore.
Pope, B. xiii. v. 775.

Again,

——— ὀφθαλμοὶ δὲ χαμαὶ πέσον ἐν κονίῃσιν
Αὐτῆ πρόσθε ποδῶν.——————— Il. Π. v. 741.

The burſting balls dropt ſightleſs on the ground.
Pope, B. xvi. v. 898.

And in another paſſage,

Τὸν τόθ' ὑπ' ὀφρύος ἔτα κατ' ὀφθαλμοῖο θέμειθλα,
Ex δ' ὦσε γλήνην.——————— Il. Ξ. v. 493.

Full in his eye the weapon chanc'd to fall,
And from the fibres ſcoop'd the rooted ball.
Pope, B. xiv. v. 577.

A myghtie fiere, Fitz Chatulet bie name,
An arrowe drew, that dyd them littel liſt[x].
Erle Egward points his launce at Chatulet,
And Ethelbert at Walleris ſet his;
And Egwald dyd the fiere a hard blowe hytt,
But Ethelbert by a myſchaunce dyd miſs:
Fear laide Walleris flat upon the ſtrande,
He ne deſerved a death from erlies hande.

Betwyxt the ribbes of Sire Fitz Chatelet
The poynted launce of Egward did ypaſs[y];
The diſtaunt ſyde thereof was ruddie wet,
And he fell breathleſs on the bloudie graſs.
As cowart Walleris laie on the grounde,
The dreaded weapon hummed oer his heade,
And hytt the ſquier thylke a lethal[z] wounde,
Upon his fallen lorde he tumbled dead:
Oh ſhame to Norman armes! a lord a ſlave,
A captyve villeyn than a lorde more brave!

From Chatelet hys launce Erle Egward drew,
And hit Wallerie on the dexter cheek;
Peerc'd to his braine, and cut his tongue in two:
There, knyght, quod he, let that thy actions ſpeak—
* * * * * * *

[x] *They cared little for it.* [y] *Paſs.* [z] *Deadly.*

V. 563. So Homer,

——— Διὰ δὲ γλῶσσαν τάμε μέσσην. Il. P. v. 618.

The tongue it rent. Pope, B. 17. v. 698.

This wound is followed by a very keen ſarcaſm on Norman courage, in the perſon

perſon of Waleri (or St. Valeri, as his name is ſpelt in Battle Abbey roll.) His arrow had ſlain a brave warrior, Howel ap Jevah; but his cowardice is here more remarkably ſtigmatized, by being contraſted with the valour of his eſquire, who was ſlain ſtanding, whilſt his maſter in vain attempted to elude his fate, by cowardly proſtrating himſelf on the earth.

Thilk deeds do all deſerve, whoſe deeds ſo fowle
Will black theire earthlie name, if not their ſoule. v. 449.

END OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS. N°. 1.

BATTLE

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

N°. 2.

WE may conſider this poem, not as a ſecond part or continuation of the former, but as an improved work of the ſame author, on the ſame ſubject; in which he has diverſified many of the hiſtorical events, and introduced new perſonages, but preſerved the ſame ſtile and metre, and uſed the ſame kind of alluſions and ſimilies with thoſe in the former poem, beginning with the Hiſtory of the Battle, and leaving the concluſion imperfect.

It is no common inſtance of an author's induſtry, and affection to his own work, when he can condeſcend to new model a poem in this manner.

But the ſuppoſition becomes improbable, when we impute this attempt to a youth of great original genius and ſpirit, and whoſe genuine and undiſputed productions were of a very oppoſite tendency. For if he had ſucceeded in a compoſition in the ancient ſtyle, and upon a ſubject at preſent ſo unintereſting as the Battle of Haſtings, is it probable that he ſhould confine himſelf to a ſecond eſſay on the ſame ſubject, and reſtrain the impulſe and effects of his genius, by recurring to the ſame hiſtory, the ſame heroes, and the ſame events? The learning and claſſical alluſions which occur in both poems are ſufficient to convince

vince the reader that Chatterton could have no right to either compoſition.

It is obſervable, that each ſtanza in this poem cloſes with an Alexandrine, though there are but three in the firſt part, viz. v. 100, 400, and 430; a circumſtance which ſeems to be rather unfavourable to Chatterton's claim; for if he was the author of the former poem, he muſt be ſuppoſed to have taken this for his pattern, and therefore, moſt probably, would have followed ſcrupulouſly the ſame meaſure; on the other hand, if they were both written by the ſame perſon, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the author thought the cloſing with an Alexandrine would give additional grace and dignity to his improved poem.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

N°. 2.

OH Truth! immortal daughter of the ſkies,
Too lyttle known to wryters of theſe daies,
Teach me, fayre Saincte! thy paſſynge worthe to pryze,
To blame a friend and give a foeman prayſe.

The

The author of this poem, inſtead of opening it with a melancholy ejaculation in the ballad ſtile, boldly invokes, in the Spirit of Pindar, the goddeſs of Truth to direct his pen with juſtice and impartiality,

To blame a friend and give a foeman prayſe;

alluding probably to the partiality ſo manifeſtly ſhewn in the former poem to the characters of the Engliſh, and the reflections ſo frequently caſt on the Normans; both which are eaſily accounted for on a ſuppoſition that Turgot had furniſhed the materials of the preceding poem: But here, when Rowley ſpeaks in his own name, it behoves him to diſavow all ſuch partial ideas, which could neither be juſtified by his own ſentiments, nor by thoſe of the age in which he lived; and this (by the way) furniſhes another ſtrong preſumption, that Chatterton could not have been the author of the former poem, as he pretended. It is in this ſpirit of impartiality, that Rowley gives both to Harold and William their reſpective praiſe and blame, calling the former

——Englands curſe and pryde; v. 10.

and the latter,

The Normans floure, but Englands thorne.
Tournam, v. 43.

The fickle moone, bedeckt wythe ſylver rays,
Leadynge a traine of ſtarres of feeble lyghte,
With look adigne[a] the worlde belowe ſurveies,
The world, that wotted[b] not it coud be nyghte;
Wyth armour dyd[c], with human gore ydeyd[d],
She ſees Kynge Harolde ſtande, fayre Englands curſe and pryde.

With ale and vernage[e] drunk his ſouldiers lay;
Here was an hynde, anie an erlie ſpredde;

[a] *Of dignity.* [b] *Knew.* [c] *It ſhould be ſpelt* dyght, i. e. *cloathed or prepared.* [d] *Dyed.* [e] *A ſort of wine.*

Sad

V. 11. This epiſode repreſents in true colours the different characters and behaviour of each army on the night preceding the battle; which was far from doing honour to the Engliſh name, or to the conduct of Harold:

With ale and *vernage* drunk his ſouldiers lay;
Here was an hynde, anie an erlie ſpredde.

See Mr. Tyrwhit's note on Vernage, vol. iv. p. 286.

This account might be taken from William Malmſbury, who gives the following character of the Engliſh:—"Potabatur in commune ab omnibus: In hoc ſtudio, "noctes perinde ut dies perpetuantibus totos ſumptus abſumebant." P. 101.—— And the ſame author has ſtrongly contraſted the behaviour of the Normans on the night before the engagement:—"Itaque utrinque animoſi duces diſponunt aciem "*patrio quiſque ritu:* Anglici (ut accepimus) totam noctem inſomnem can- "tibus potibuſque ducentes; contra Normanni totâ nocte confeſſioni peccatorum "vacantes."

The picture is alſo humorouſly drawn by Jean de Wace, in his Roman de Rou.

Quant la bataille fut moſtrè *
La noit avant le di quatè †
Furent Engleis forment hatie,
Mult riant & mult enveiſie;

* Muſtered. † The 14th of October, the day of the battle.

Tote

Sad keepynge of their leaders natal daie!
This even in drinke, too morrow with the dead!
Thro' everie troope diſorder reer'd her hedde;
Dancynge and heideignes[f] was the onlie theme;
Sad dome was theires, who lefte this eaſie bedde,
And wak'd in torments from ſo ſweet a dream.

[f] *Romping, or country dances.*

Duke

Tote noit mangierent & burent
Mult le veiller demeuer:
Treper & ſaillir & chanter
Lublie crie & *Weiſſeil*
Laticome & drinck heil
Drinc hindrewart and drin to me
Drinc helf and drinc to me.

The ceremony of the *Waſſal cup* is thus deſcribed by Robert Le Brunne. See Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry, vol. i. p. 70.

When they are at the ale or feaſt,
Ilk man, that lovis quare him think,
Salle ſay *Woſſeile*, and to him drink;
He that biddis ſhall ſay *Waſſaile*,
The t'other ſalle ſay again *Drinkhaille*;
That ſays *Waſſeile* drinks of the cup;
Kiſſand his fellow, he gives it up;
Drinkeille, he ſays, and drinks thereof,
Kiſſand him in bourd and ſcoff.

So the king, in Hamlet, is ſaid to take his rowſe and *to keep Waſſel*. Act i. ſc. 3.

V. 13. It is here ſaid that Harold's birth-day was on the 13th of October, the day preceding the battle; this is alſo taken notice of by Camden, in his introduction to the Britannia.

V. 16. Dancynge and heideignes was the onlie theme.
So ſaid Jean de Wace,

Treper, & ſailler & chanter.

Heydegnes ſignified a ruſtic dance, and is called by Drayton *Heydegies*.

The Nereids on Trents brim danced wanton *Heydegies*. B. 26.

Hence the word *Hoyden* is given to a romping female, and dancing the *Heys* ſeems to be a contraction of the ſame word.

Duke Williams menne, of comeing dethe afraide,
All nyghte to the great Godde for ſuccour aſkd and praied.

Thus Harolde to his wites [g] that ſtoode arounde;
Goe, Gyrthe and Eilward, take bills halfe a ſcore,
And ſearch how farre our foeman's campe doth bound;
Yourſelf have rede [h]; I nede to ſaie ne more.

[g] *People; men.* [h] *Counſel; knowledge.*

My

V. 19. This deſcription of the Normans coming from the maſſe ſong, who

——— of comeing dethe afraide,
All nyghte to the great Godde for ſuccour aſkd and praied,

agrees with the account given by Jean de Wace:

Et le Normant & le Franceis
Tote noit firent oreiſons;
Et furent en affliction:
De lor peches confis ſe firent
As prouieres ſe reghierent.

It is obſerved, that whilſt the Normans prayed, the Engliſh uttered only barbarous exclamations.

Normans eſcrierent Deus *aie* *,
La Gens Engleſche † *ut* eſcrie.

V. 21. The poet proceeds in his deſcription on good authority. The ſending ſpies by Harold to explore the Norman camp, as well as the kind reception and entertainment given them by Duke William, are mentioned by Malmſbury, though he does not name the perſons employed on that commiſſion: Rowley, however, has very properly aſſigned that office to Girth, Harold's brother; for William Gemeticenſis, p. 35, introduces a dialogue between Harold and him, not unlike that deſcribed v. 141; wherein Girth recommends diſcretion to his brother, warns him of the guilt of perjury, on account of the oath that he had taken to Duke William, offers to head his troops, and deſires him to remain quiet at home: Harold, on the contrary, is indignant at his brother's advice, deſpiſes his counſel, and reproaches him for giving it.

* An expreſſion of pain and ſmart; or it may be underſtood as a contraction for *aide*, calling upon God for aſſiſtance.

† *Ut*, a barbarous ſhout; derived from the French word *huer*, to cry out.

My brother beſt belov'd of anie ore [i],
My Leofwinus, goe to everich wite,
Tell them to raunge the battel to the grore,
And waiten tyll I ſende the heſt [k] for fyghte.
He ſaide; the loieaul broders lefte the place,
Succeſs and cheerfulneſs depicted on ech face.

Slowelie brave Gyrthe and Eilwarde dyd advaunce,
And markd wyth care the armies dyſtant ſyde,
When the dyre clatterynge of the ſhielde and launce
Made them to be by Hugh Fitzhugh eſpyd.
He lyfted up his voice, and lowdlie cryd;
Like wolfs in wintere did the Normanne yell;
Girthe drew hys ſwerde, and cutte hys burled [l] hyde;
The proto-ſlene [m] manne of the fielde he felle;

[i] *Other.* [k] *Command.* [l] *Armed, or thick.* [m] *Firſt ſlain man.*

Out

V. 25. My brother, beſt belov'd of anie *ore*.

Ore is probably a contraction of *other*, as *nerre* is for *nearer*; but *grore*, the correſponding rhime, is an unintelligible word. It has been ſuggeſted, that *ore* might be changed into *one*, and *grore* into *gron*, which ſignifies a fen or pit, becauſe a ditch is mentioned in Malmſbury's account, which the Engliſh, by knowing their ground, avoided; but the Normans fell into it, and were ſlaughtered in great numbers: But our poet's rhimes are ſo linked in ſtanzas, that the change of this ſingle word would require the alteration of three others; and, as he never ſacrificed *ſenſe to rhime*, he has ſo fortunately interwoven them, as to prevent verbal critics from being too conjectural in their emendations.

V. 38. Fitz Hugh is called the *proto-ſlene* man of this battle; but a long parley intervenes between his death, and the beginning of the engagement. The ſimile introduced on the ſhedding his blood, is of too ancient and original a caſt to be the invention of a modern poet: Homer has illuſtrated the ſame appearance, in the wound given by Pandarus to Menelaus, by a ſimilar image:

Out ſtreemd the bloude, and ran in ſmokynge curles,
Reflected bie the moone ſeemd rubies mixt wyth pearles.

A troope of Normanhes from the maſs-ſonge came,
Rouſd from their praiers by the flotting [n] crie;
Thoughe Girthe and Ailwardus perceevd the ſame,
Not once theie ſtoode abaſhd, or thoghte to flie.
He ſeizd a bill, to conquer or to die;
Fierce as a clevis [o] from a rocke ytorne [p],

[n] *Undulating.* [o] *Cleft.* [p] *Torn.*

That

Ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μιήνῃ
Μηονὶς, ἠὲ Κάειρα παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων·
* * * * * * * * * *
Τοῖοί τοι, Μενέλαε, μιάνθην αἵματι μηροὶ
Εὐφυέες, κνῆμαὶ τ', ἠδὲ σφυρὰ καλ' ὑπένερθε.

Il. Δ. v. 141.

As when ſome ſtately trappings are decreed,
To grace a monarch on his bounding ſteed,
A nymph, in Caria or Mæonia bred,
Stains the *pure iv'ry* with a *lively red:*
With equal luſtre various colours vie,
The ſhining whiteneſs and the Tyrian dye.

Pope, B. iv. v. 170.

Virgil has applied this mixture of colours to Lavinia's face, bathed in tears; ſo happily can the genius of great poets adorn the ſame image by different alluſions.

Indum ſanguineo veluti violaverit oſtro
Si quis ebur, vel mixta rubent ubi lilia multâ
Alba roſâ: tales virgo dedit ore colores. Æn. xii. v. 67.

——Thus Indian ivory ſhows,
Which with the bordering paint of purple glows,
Or lilies damaſk'd by the neighbouring roſe. Dryden, v. 105.

That makes a vallie whereſoe're it lie;
* Fierce as a ryver burſtynge from the borne[q];
So fiercelie Gyrthe hitte Fitz du Gore a blowe,
And on the verdaunt playne he layde the champyone lowe.

Tancarville thus; alle peace in Williams name;
Let none edraw[r] his arcublaſter[s] bowe.
Girthe cas'd his weppone, as he hearde the ſame,
And vengynge[t] Normannes ſtaid the flyinge floe.
The fire wente onne; ye menne, what mean ye ſo
Thus unprovokd to courte a bloudie fyghte?
Quod Gyrthe; oure meanynge we ne care to ſhowe,
Nor dread thy duke wyth all his men of myghte;

* In Turgott's tyme Holenwell braſte of erthe ſo fierce that it threw a ſtone-mell carrying the ſame awaie. J. Lydgate ne knowynge this lefte out o line.

[q] *Brook, or fountain.* [r] *Draw.* [s] *Croſs bow.* [t] *Revenging.*

Here

V. 48. The original note annexed to this line, ſuppoſed to have been inſerted by Rowley, is deſcriptive of the periodical ſprings known in Kent by the name of *Eylebournes*. It implies, that the event there referred to happened in Turgot's time; and that Lidgate had either tranſlated Turgot's work, or had at leaſt peruſed, if not copied this poem; but it may be a queſtion whether *Holenwell* means the famous ebullient ſpring of that name in Flintſhire, or whether this burſting of a river was only the temporary effect of an earthquake: The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worceſter, and other hiſtorians, mention a violent convulſion of the earth, which happened on the 3d of the ides of Auguſt, anno 1089, and conſequently in Turgot's time.

V. 51. The Sire de Tancarville, by his calm advice and peaceable diſpoſition, ſeems to have been intended for the Neſtor of the poem:

Seek not for bloude, Tancarville calme replied:

So likewiſe old Neſtor:

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἑκεῖνος,
Ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου, ὀκρυόεντος.

Il. I. v. 63.

Curs'd

Here ſingle onlie theſe to all thie crewe
Shall ſhewe what Englyſh handes and heartes can doe.

Seek not for bloude, Tancarville calme replyd,
Nor joie in dethe, lyke madmen moſt diſtraught [u];
In peace and mercy is a Chryſtians pryde;
He that dothe conteſtes pryze is in a faulte.
And now the news was to Duke William brought,
That men of Haroldes armie taken were;
For theyre good cheere all caties [w] were enthoughte [x],
And Gyrthe and Eilwardus enjoi'd goode cheere.
Quod Willyam; thus ſhall Willyam be founde
A friend to everie manne that treades on Engliſh ground.

Erle Leofwinus throwghe the campe ypaſs'd,
And ſawe bothe men and erlies on the grounde;
They ſlepte, as thoughe they woulde have ſlepte theyr laſt,
And hadd alreadie felte theyr fatale wounde.
He ſtarted backe, and was wyth ſhame aſtownd [y];
Loked wanne [z] wyth anger, and he ſhooke wyth rage;

[u] *Diſtracted.* [w] *Delicacies.* [x] *Thought of, or provided.*
[y] *Aſtoniſhed.* [z] *Pale.*

When

> Curs'd be the man, who, void of law and right,
> Unworthy property, unworthy light,
> Unfit for public rule, or private care,
> That wretch, that monſter, that delights in war.
>
> Pope, B. ix. v. 87.

V. 75. The ſurpriſe and concern of Leofwin, on ſeeing the drunken ſituation of the Engliſh army, and the effect of thoſe paſſions on his countenance, are expreſſed in terms much reſembling thoſe uſed by Virgil;

> ——Æſtuat ingens
> Imo in corde pudor, mixtoque inſania luctu.
>
> Æn. x. v. 870.

When throughe the hollow tentes theſe wordes dyd ſound,
Rowſe from your ſleepe, detratours[a] of the age!
Was it for thys the ſtoute Norwegian bledde?
Awake, ye huſcarles[b], now, or waken wyth the dead.

As when the ſhepſter[c] in the ſhadie bowre
In jintle ſlumbers chaſe[d] the heat of daie,

[a] *Traitors.* [b] *Houſe-carles, or menial attendants.* [c] *Shepherd.* [d] *Chaſes, or drives away.*

Hears

and ſerve to introduce one of the moſt beautiful ſimilies that ever was penned: The idea is originally Homer's.

Ὡς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ,
Θηρὸς ἀκέσαντες κρατερόφρονος, ὅς τε καθ' ὕλην
Ἔρχηται δι' ὄρεσφι· πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ
Ἀνδρῶν ἠδὲ κυνῶν, ἀπό τέ σφισιν ὕπνος ὄλωλει.

Il. K. v. 183.

So faithful dogs their fleecy charge maintain,
With toil protected from the prowling train;
When the gaunt lioneſs, with hunger bold,
Springs from the mountains towards the guarded fold:
Thro' breaking woods their ruſtling courſe they bear,
Loud, and more loud the clamour ſtrikes their ear
Of hounds and men; they ſtart, they gaze around,
Watch every ſide, and turn to every ſound.

Pope, B. x. v. 211.

It may be obſerved, that Homer and Rowley agree in the circumſtances of this ſimile—the wild beaſts attacking the fold—the alarm given by the dogs—the rouſing of the ſhepherds from ſleep—their conſternation and purſuit of the enemy, to which Rowley has given an additional beauty by the doubling echo of the wolfins roar, and the united ſurprize, rage, and courage of the ſhepherds.

Though in general it is to no purpoſe to quote Hobbes's or Chapman's tranſlation of Homer's ſimilies, yet, in the preſent inſtance, it muſt be obſerved, that Mr. Pope is the only one of Homer's tranſlators who omits in this ſimile the circumſtance *of the ſhepherds being rouſed from their ſleep.*—Hobbes ſays,

Hears doublyng echoe wind the wolfins rore,
That neare hys flocke is watchynge for a praie,
He tremblynge for his ſheep drives dreeme awaie,
Gripes faſte hys burled[d] croke, and ſore adradde[e]
Wyth fleeting[f] ſtrides he haſtens to the fraie,
And rage and proweſs fyres the coiſtrell[g] lad;
With truſtie talbots[h] to the battel flies,
And yell of men and dogs and wolfins tear the ſkies.

Such was the dire confuſion of eche wite,
That roſe from ſleep and walſome[i] power of wine;
Theie thoughte the foe by trechit[k] yn the nyghte
Had broke theyr camp and gotten paſte the line;

[d] *Large, or armed.* [e] *Frighted.* [f] *Flying.* [g] *The ſerving lad.* [h] *Dogs.* [i] *Loathſome.* [k] *Treachery.*

Now

They doubt the worſt, *and cannot take their reſt*;
But liſtning ſtand, and ſleep forſakes their eyes.
B. x. p. 142.

And Chapman,

Then men and dogs ſtand on their guards, and mightie tumults make,
Sleep wanting weighte to cloſe one winke—So did the captains wake.
p. 134.

This circumſtance is a ſufficient proof that our poet did *not* copy from Pope's tranſlation.

V. 88. *Coiſtrell*—"Every one (of Henry VIII's horſe-guards) had an archer, "and a demilance, and a *Cuſtrell*, as our hiſtory calls it, but being truly Couſtil-"lier, or a kind of *ambactus*, or ſervant belonging to him." Lord Herbert's hiſtory of Henry the VIIIth, p. 9.

According to Cotgrave, *Couſtillier* ſignified an eſquire of the body, an armour-bearer to a knight, the ſervant of a man at arms; alſo a groom of the ſtable, a horſe-keeper; and Coſteroulz was a nick-name given to certain footmen who ſerved the King of England in their French wars.

"I had rather be a nun a thouſand times, than be cumbred with this *Coyſtrel*," (alluding to a young ſerving man) Gaſcoigne's Suppoſes, p. 4.—Spenſer ſpeaks of Braggadochio and his *keſtrell kind*, B. ii. c. 3. ſt. 4.—Chaucer uſes the word *Coſtrell* for a drinking veſſel.

Now here now there the burnyſht ſheeldes and byllſpear ſhine;
Throwote the campe a wild confuſionne ſpredde;
Eche bracd hys armlace [l] ſiker ne deſygne,
The creſted helmet nodded on the hedde;
Some caught a ſlughorne [m], and an onſett [n] wounde;
Kynge Harolde hearde the charge, and wondred at the ſounde.

Thus Leofwine; O women cas'd in ſtele!
Was itte for thys Norwegia's ſtubborn ſede
Throughe the black armoure dyd the anlace [o] fele,
And rybbes of ſolid braſſe were made to bleede?

[l] *Accoutrement for the arms.* [m] *Horn, or military trumpet.* [n] *Charge.* [o] *Sword.*

Whylſt

V. 95. Has a redundant foot, and v. 97 wants explanation.

V. 101. So it is obſerved in the former poem, v. 300.

That many knights were *women* in *men*'s geer.

This bold and manly reproof of the army by Leofwin, is not unlike that of Therſites in Homer.

Ὦ πέπονες κάκ' ἐλέγκε' Ἀχαιΐδες οὐκ ἔτ' Ἀχαιοί. Il. B. v. 235.
O women of Achaia, men no more! Pope, B. ii. v. 293.

And the ſubſtance of his reproof is very ſimilar to that of Tarchon in Virgil.

Quis metus! o nunquam dolituri! o ſemper inermes
Tyrrheni! quæ tanta animis ignavia venit?
Quo ferrum, quidve hæc geritis tela irrita dextrâ?
At non in Venerem ſegnes, nocturnaque bella,
Aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi,
Expectare dapes, & plenæ pocula menſæ.

Æn. xi. v. 732.

The army felt the weight of the reproof, and

——— *addawed* hung their head.

Addaw uſually ſignifies to *awaken*, and ſo it may be underſtood here. Being *awakened* to a ſenſe of their ſhame, *they hung down their heads*. Spenſer, indeed, uſes the word to imply *conſternation*; which idea is generally expreſſed by other ancient poets by the word *abbaw*.

V. 103. Our poet uſually dreſſes his Saxons and Danes in *black armour*. See Ella, ver. 601 and 740; and ſong to Ella, v. 28: Probably becauſe it was the

Whylſt yet the worlde was wondrynge at the deede.
You ſouldiers, that ſhoulde ſtand with byll in hand,
Get full of wine, devoid of any rede[p].
Oh ſhame! oh dyre diſhonoure to the lande!
He ſayde; and ſhame on everie viſage ſpredde,
Ne ſawe the erlies face, but addawd[q] hung their head.

Thus he; rowze yee, and forme the boddie tyghte.
The Kentyſh menne in fronte, for ſtrenght renownd,
Next the Bryſtowans dare the bloudie fyghte,
And laſt the numerous crewe ſhall preſſe the grounde.
I and my king be wyth the Kenters founde;
Bythric and Alfwold hedde the Bryſtowe bande;
And Bertrams ſonne, the man of glorious wounde,
Lead in the rear the menged[r] of the lande;

[p] *Counſel.* [q] *Awakened, or abaſhed.* [r] *Mixed troops.*

And

plaineſt accoutrement. But to the more elegant Normans he has given *red armour*; to De Beaumont, v. 297, and to Troyvillian, v. 497 of this poem.

V. 111. The precedence in the Engliſh army ſeems to be ſettled at the fancy of the poet; for though there may be authority in hiſtory for placing the Kentiſh men in the front of the battle, yet the Briſtowans owe their rank to the partiality of their countryman. With regard to their leaders *Alfwold* and *Brictic*, Leland obſerves, in his Itin. vol. vi. p. 85. "That Ailwardus Mean, earl of Glouceſter, "and Brictricus his ſon, were ſucceſſively lords of Briſtol about the time of the "coming in of William the Conqueror;" and why may not Alfwoldus be the ſame perſon with this Ailwardus? The honourable manner in which the Briſtol bands are here mentioned, is very unlike the ideas of Chatterton, who never mentioned his native city, but with a view of abuſing its inhabitants, and ridiculing his beſt friends in it. The Londoners and Suſſex men are the only provincial troops (beſides the men of Kent and Briſtol) here diſtinguiſhed from the *menged* of the land: Hereward, who commanded theſe two corps, and who was to ply with his *menié-men* or attendants, and to *annoy* the ſkirts of the enemy, was probably the ſame Earl Hereward, who is ſo much celebrated in the courſe of theſe two poems.

And let the Londoners and Suſſers plie
Bie Herewardes memuine [s] and the lighte ſkyrts anie [t].

He ſaide; and as a packe of hounds belent [u],
When that the trackyng of the hare is gone,
If one perchaunce ſhall hit upon the ſcent,
With twa redubbled fhuir [x] the alans run;
So ſtyrrd the valiante Saxons everych one;
Soone linked man to man the champyones ſtoode;
To 'tone for their bewrate [y] ſo ſoone 'twas done,
And lyfted bylls enſeem'd an yron woode;
Here glorious Alfwold towr'd above the wites,
And ſeem'd to brave the fuir of twa ten thouſand fights.

Thus Leofwine; to day will Englandes dome
Be fyxt for aie, for gode or evill ſtate;
This ſunnes aunture [z] be felt for years to come;
Then bravelie fyghte, and live till deathe of date.

[s] *Menie-men, or attendants.* [t] *Annoy.* [u] *At a ſtop.* [x] *Fury.*
[y] *Treachery.* [z] *Adventure.*

Thinke

V. 121. The ſimile of the hounds may be traced from Homer, though the two poets have not purſued their ſport in the ſame manner.

Ὡς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνες, εἰδότε θήρης,
Ἢ κεμάδ', ἠὲ λαγωὸν, ἐπείγετον ἐμμενὲς αἰεὶ
Χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήενθ', ὁ δέ τε προθέῃσι μεμηκώς.
Il. K. v. 360.

As when two ſkillful hounds the lev'ret wind,
Or chaſe thro' woods obſcure the trembling hind;
Now loſt, now ſeen, they intercept his way,
And from the herd ſtill turn the trembling prey.
Pope, B. x. v. 427.

V. 124. *Alan*, according to Mr. Tyrwhit, is a Spaniſh name for a maſtiff; but Mr. Warton ſuppoſes it to be a greyhound. It is well defined by *Canis Leporarius*.

Thinke of brave Ælfridus, yclept [a] the grete,
From porte to porte the red-haird Dane he chaſd,
The Danes, with whomme not lyoncels [b] coud mate [c],
Who made of peopled reaulms a barren waſte;
Thinke how at once by you Norwegia bled,
Whilſt dethe and victorie for magyſtrie [d] beſted [e].

Meanwhile did Gyrthe unto Kynge Harolde ride,
And tolde howe he dyd with Duke Willyam fare.
Brave Harolde lookd aſkaunte [f], and thus replyd;
And can thie fay [g] be bowght wyth drunken cheer?
Gyrthe waxen hotte; fhuir in his eyne did glare;
And thus he ſaide; oh brother, friend, and kynge,
Have I deſerved this fremed [h] ſpeche to heare?
Bie Goddes hie hallidome [i] ne thoughte the thynge.

[a] *Called, or entitled.* [b] *Lyons.* [c] *Match.* [d] *Maſtery.* [e] *Contended for.*
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When

V. 136. The red-hair'd Dane. This peculiarity of complexion is more than once aſcribed to the Danes: So in the ſong to Ella, v. 5.

When Dacya's ſonnes *with hayres of blood-red hue.*

nor is the poet ſingular in the obſervation; for to this day the few Iriſh who are of that complexion, are ſtigmatized by their countrymen with the reproach of being Daniſh baſtards. It is obſerved by the author of the "Recherches Philoſophiques "ſur les Egyptiens & Chinois," that the Egyptians of old held, and the modern Chineſe ſtill hold, all red-haired perſons in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation. The minſtrell in Ella, celebrates the *blackneſs* of her lover's hair as a remarkable beauty.

Black his oryne as the winter nighte. v. 851.

V. 148. The oath *by God's high Hallidom* is of great antiquity: Somner applies it to the holy church, and ſo does Sir Thomas More; ſee his works, p. 237. Wilkins, in his Saxon laws, renders it *per Sanctuarium*; but Lye underſtands it to refer to *the holy reliques*. God's *halligdom* may alſo ſignify God's holineſs. Camden ſays (Remains, p. 26.) they called the ſacrament *haligdome*, as holy judgment.

When Toſtus ſent me golde and ſylver ſtore,
I ſcornd hys preſent vile, and ſcorn'd hys treaſon more.

Forgive me, Gyrthe, the brave Kynge Harolde cryd;
Who can I truſt, if brothers are not true?
Ithink of Toſtus, once my joie and pryde.
Girthe ſaide, with looke adigne [k]; my lord, I doe.
But what oure foemen are, quod Girth, I'll ſhewe;
By Gods hie hallidome [l] they preeſtes are.
Do not, quod Harolde, Girthe, myſtell [m] them ſo,
For theie are everich one brave men at warre.

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Quod

V. 151. The converſation between Harold and Girth is partly copied from Malmſbury; eſpecially Girth's miſtaking the Norman ſoldiers for prieſts, becauſe, contrary to the cuſtom of the Engliſh, their upper lips were ſhaven; and that author ſeems to have furniſhed Rowley with the circumſtance of Girth's diſſuading Harold from engaging the Normans:—"Cum (inquit) tantam fortitudinem Normanni prædices, indeliberatum æſtimo cum illo confligere, quo et robore & merito inferior habearis. p. 101."

The arrangement of Duke William's army v. 161. is taken from the ſame author: "—Pedites cum arcubus & ſagittis primam frontem muniunt, equites retro diverſis alis conſiſtunt."

Ordericus Vitalis alſo ſays, lib. iii. p. 501:—"Dux Normannorum pedites ſagittis armatos et baliſtis in fronte locavit, item pedites loricatos ſecundo loco conſtituit—in quorum medio fuit ipſe dux cum firmiſſimo robore unde in omnem partem conſuleret voce & manu."

According to this poem, the firſt line conſiſted of croſs-bow men on foot, the ſecond of light archers on horſeback, armed with a ſpear or *aſenglaive*, which they tied to their horſes when they diſmounted; and diſcharged their arrows upwards, ſtanding either on the ſide or behind their horſes.

William of Malmſbury alſo mentions the ſubſtance of Duke William's embaſſy to Harold, by a Monk of Fiſcamp, with the anſwer and rough treatment given to the embaſſadour; and the royal ſtandard, as here deſcribed, agrees with the following account of it by the ſame author:—"Rex ipſe pedes juxta vexillum ſtabat cum fratribus. Vexillum illud poſt victoriam, Papæ Willelmus miſit, *quod erat in hominis pugnantis figurâ*, auro & lapidibus arte ſumptuoſâ contextum. P. 101."

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Quod Girthe; why will ye then provoke theyr hate?
Quod Harolde; great the foe, ſo is the glorie grete.

And nowe Duke Willyam mareſchalled his band,
And ſtretchd his armie owte a goodlie rowe.
Firſt did a ranke of arcublaſtries [n] ſtande,
Next thoſe on horſebacke drewe the aſcendyng flo [o],
Brave champyones, eche well lerned in the bowe,
Theyr aſenglave [p] acroſſe theyr horſes ty'd,
Or with the loverds [q] ſquier behinde dyd goe,
Or waited ſquier lyke at the horſes ſyde.
When thus Duke Willyam to a Monke dyd ſaie,
Prepare thyſelfe wyth ſpede, to Harolde haſte awaie.

Telle hym from me one of theſe three to take;
That hee to mee do homage for thys lande,
Or mee hys heyre, when he deceaſyth, make,
Or to the judgment of Chryſts vicar ſtande.
He ſaide; the Monke departyd out of hande,
And to Kyng Harolde dyd this meſſage bear;
Who ſaid; tell thou the duke, at his likand [r]
If he can gette the crown hee may itte wear.
He ſaid, and drove the Monke out of his ſyghte,
And with his brothers rouz'd each manne to bloudie fyghte.

A ſtandarde made of ſylke and jewells rare,
Wherein alle coloures wroughte aboute in [s] bighes,
An armyd knyghte was ſeen deth-doynge there,
Under this motte, He conquers or he dies.

[n] *Croſs-bow men.* [o] *Arrow.* [p] *Lances.* *Lords.*
[r] *Liking, or choice.* [s] *Jewels.*

This

V. 184. See the note in the preceding page.

This ſtandard rych, endazzlynge mortal eyes,
Was borne neare Harolde at the Kenters heade,
Who charged hys broders for the grete empryze [t]
That ſtraite the heſt [u] for battle ſhould be ſpredde.
To evry erle and knyghte the worde is gyven,
And cries *a guerre* and ſlughornes [v] ſhake the vaulted heaven.

As when the erthe, torne by convulſyons dyre,
In reaulmes of darkneſs hid from human ſyghte,
The warring force of water, air, and fyre,
Braſt [x] from the regions of eternal nyghte,
Thro the darke caverns ſeeke the reaulmes of lyght;
Some loftie mountaine, by its fury torne,
Dreadfully moves, and cauſes grete affryght;
Now here, now there, majeſtic nods the bourne [y],
And awfulle ſhakes, mov'd by the almighty force,
Whole woods and foreſts nod, and ryvers change theyr courſe.

[t] *Enterpriſe.* [u] *Command.* [v] *Trumpet, or military horn.* [x] *Burſt.* [y] *Promontory, or projecting rock.*

So

V. 198. The word *bourne* has various ſignifications. It ſignifies a *burniſhed ſubſtance*, a *brook*, or a *boundary*. Here it ſeems applicable only in the laſt of theſe ſenſes, implying the *outline* or *boundary* of the rock, anſwering to the

——— ἀναιδὲος ἐχματα πέτρης

in the original, and to the "mountain's craggy *forehead*" in Pope's tranſlation. In this ſenſe it is uſed by Edgar in Lear, who calls the top of Dover cliff

The dread ſummit of this chalky *bourn*. Act iv. ſc. 5.

V. 200. The ſhout of *A guerre* by Harold's army is the very expreſſion uſed by Matt. Weſtminſter; *exclamatur ad arma*, p. 223. The reſpective ſignals for engagement are mentioned in the preceding poem.

The firſt onſet is illuſtrated by a moſt majeſtic ſimile, which ſhews the poet's wonderful powers of combination, and his unrivalled excellence in the terrific ſublime; the elements are called forth to war againſt each other, and are involved in

So did the men of war at once advaunce,
Linkd man to man, enſeemed [z] one boddie light;

[z] *Seemed.*

Above

one general convulſion: ideas which we find no where ſo forcibly expreſſed, except in holy ſcripture. This ſimile is evidently copied from one in Homer, which is pointed out by Mr. Pope amongſt the moſt ſublime in the Iliad.

——— ὀλοοίτροχος ὡς ἀπὸ πέτρης,
Ὄντε κατὰ ϛεφάνης ποταμὸς χειμάῤῥοος ὤϑῃ,
Ῥῆξας ἀσπέτῳ ὄμβρῳ ἀναιδέος ἔχματα πέτρης,
Ὑψι τ' ἀναϑρώσκων τέτεται, κτυπέει δέ Θ' ὑπ' αὐτῆ
Ἰσόπεδον, τότε δ' ἔτι κυλίνδεται, ἐσσύμενός περ.
Il. N. v. 137.

As from ſome mountain's craggy forehead torn,
A rock's round fragment flies, with fury borne,
Which from the ſtubborn ſtone a torrent rends,
Precipitate the ponderous maſs deſcends;
From ſteep to ſteep the rolling ruin bounds,
At every ſhock the crackling wood reſounds;
Still gathering force it ſmoaks, and, urg'd amain,
Whirls, leaps, and thunders down impetuous to the plain.
Pope, B. xiii. v. 191.

By comparing the preceding lines in Homer, which gave riſe to the ſimile, with the deſcription which follows in this poem, we ſhall be convinced that the latter poet had the former in his eye when he wrote theſe lines.

Mr. Pope remarks on this paſſage, "that the ſound of Homer's words make us hear "what they repreſent, in the noble roughneſs, rapidity, and ſonorous cadence that "diſtinguiſhes them:" And in theſe points, our poet will appear not to have wanted the aſſiſtance either of Homer or his tranſlator, to give dignity and expreſſion to his ſimilies: Rowley makes his numbers harmonious without weakening the force of his ideas; he is ſonorous but not bombaſt, and can deſcribe thoſe great convulſions of nature in terms more majeſtic and ſignificant than Mr. Addiſon's

Wreck of matter, and the cruſh of worlds.

V. 201. The compactneſs of the Engliſh army, which

Linkd man to man, enſeemed one boddie light,

is Virgil's expreſſion.

Implicuere inter ſe acies, legitque virum vir.
Æn. xi. v. 632.

Above a wood, yform'd of bill and launce,
That noddyd in the ayre moſt ſtraunge to ſyght.
Harde as the iron were the menne of mighte,
Ne neede of ſlughornes to enrowſe theyr minde;
Eche ſhootynge ſpere yreaden [a] for the fyghte,
More feerce than fallynge rocks, more ſwefte than wynd;
With ſolemne ſtep, by ecchoe made more dyre,
One ſingle boddie all theie marchd, theyr eyen on fyre.

And now the greie-eyd morne with vi'lets dreſt,
Shakyng the dewdrops on the flourie meedes,
Fled with her roſie radiance to the Weſt:
Forth from the Eaſterne gatte the fyerie ſteedes

[a] *Made ready.*

Of

V. 203. The deſcription of their armour is Homer's.

Above a wood appear'd of bill and launce.

Δῆϊον ἐς πόλεμον πυκιναὶ κίνυντο φάλαγγες,
Κυάνεαι, σάκεσίν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι.
Il. Δ. v. 281.

Such and ſo thick the embattled ſquadrons ſtood,
With ſpears erect, a moving iron wood.
Pope, B. iv. v. 322.

This is correſpondent with Malmſbury's account:—"Pedites omnes cum bipen-
"nibus, conſerta ante ſe ſcutorum teſtudine, impenetrabilem cuneum faciunt."

The deſcription cloſes with a noble groupe of alluſions, expreſſing the force, expedition, order, and eagerneſs of the army for engagement.

V. 211. This repreſentation of the morning is equalled only by his own deſcription of the ſame object in the tragedy of Ella, v. 734; nor is it eaſy to ſay which of them may claim the preference. The awaiting ſpirits are here repreſented, like the Hours of Homer, leading forth the horſes of the Sun; who, on ſeeing the armies preparing for battle, expreſſes his concern, by veiling his beams behind a cloud, and ſtopping his driving ſteeds in their diurnal courſe: But in a ſubſequent paſſage,

Of the bright ſunne awaytynge ſpirits leedes:
The ſunne, in fierie pompe enthrond on hie,
Swyfter than thoughte alonge hys jernie gledes [b],
And ſcatters nyghtes remaynes from oute the ſkie:
He ſawe the armies make for bloudie fraie,
And ſtopt his driving ſteeds, and hid his lyghtſome raye.

Kynge Harolde hie in ayre majeſtic rayſd
His mightie arme, deckt with a manchyn [c] rare;
With even hande a mighty javlyn paizde [d],
Then furyouſe ſent it whyſtlynge thro the ayre.
It ſtruck the helmet of the Sieur de Beer;
In vayne did braſſe or yron ſtop its waie;
Above his eyne it came, the bones dyd tare,
Peercynge quite thro, before it dyd allaie;
He tumbled, ſcritchyng wyth hys horrid payne;
His hollow cuiſhes [e] rang upon the bloudie pleyne.

[b] *Glides.* [c] *Sleeve.* [d] *Poiſed* [e] *Armour for the thighs.*

This

v. 561. we ſhall ſee the ſame cauſe producing an oppoſite effect; ſo happily could our poet apply every idea to adorn his ſubject. The variety that graces theſe two deſcriptions will make the mornings of Homer and Virgil appear inſipid in the compariſon.

V. 225. De Beer is mentioned here as the firſt Norman who falls in the battle by Harold's ſpear, which entered above his eyes. In the former poem, De Beque, the knight of Duke William, is the firſt perſon ſlain by Harold's ſpear, which wounded him on the ear. The reader will judge whether theſe two deſcriptions were not intended for the ſame perſon.

V. 230. His hollow cuiſhes rang upon the bloudie pleyne.

This is alſo Homer's image.

Δάπησεν δὲ πεσὼν, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ
Il. Δ. v. 504.

Pondrous

This Willyam ſaw, and ſoundynge Rowlandes ſonge
He bent his yron interwoven bowe,
Makynge bothe endes to meet with myghte full ſtronge,
From out of mortals ſyght ſhot up the floe[f];

[f] *Arrow.*

Then

Pondrous he falls, his clanging arms reſound,
And his broad buckler rings againſt the ground.
Pope, B. iv. v. 579.

And in another paſſage of this poem:

He fell, and thunder'd on the place of fame. V. 390.

The *hollow cuiſhes*, or, as they are called, *the ſilver cuiſhes*, v. 328, or the *joint cuiſhe*, v. 256, were the armour which covered the *thigh*, and hence they took their denomination: Drayton and Pope have uſed the expreſſion:

The *ſilver cuiſhes* firſt his thighs infold. Pope, B. xix. v. 398.

But the word is to be found in a much more ancient poem, prefixed to Johnſon's Dictionary, called *the Death of Zoroas*, which is aſſerted by that author to be the moſt ancient piece of poetry that he had met with in blank verſe.

V. 231. It is mentioned by Malmſbury that William began the engagement by ſounding Rowland's ſong, and celebrating the atchievements of that romantic hero to inſpire his army with courage:—"Tunc cantilenâ Rolandi inchoatâ ut mar-"tium viri exemplum pugnaturos accenderet." P. 101.—This cuſtom of exciting martial ardour in the ſoldiers, and of ſtriking terror into the enemy, by a war-ſong, is of high antiquity, and univerſal practice among all ſavage and barbarous nations: The Hunns are ſaid to have charged with the barbarous ſounds of *Hiu, hiu*, (ſee Warton's Diſſertation, vol. i.) and the Turks by the united cry of *Allah ekbar*, "God is great;" the Americans have their war-hoop: That of the Chriſtians was Κυριε ελεησον; and Bede obſerves, lib. i. cap. 19. that the Britons, when attacked by the Picts and Saxons, routed them by ordering the prieſts and the whole army to cry *Allelujah*. Agreeably to this idea, the chorus in Godwin begins,

When Freedom, dreſs'd in blood ſteynd veſte,
To every knight her *warr-ſong* ſung.

But the general ſubject of theſe war-ſongs was the hiſtory of ſome great king or hero. It is obſerved by Tacitus, that Arminius, the conqueror of Varus, and by Aventinus, that Alexander the Great, Attila, and Brennus, were celebrated in ſuch

Then ſwyfte as fallynge ſtarres to earthe belowe
It ſlaunted down on Alfwoldes paynćted ſheelde;
Quite thro the ſilver-bordurd croſſe did goe,
Nor loſte its force, but ſtuck into the feelde;

The

ſuch ſongs, as well as ſome of their German heroes; and there was a poetical book of heroes, which Charlemagne took delight in repeating. See Warton's 2d Diſſertation. Ingulf ſays that Hereward's wonderful valour was celebrated in this manner:—"Ejuſque geſta fortia etiam Angliam ingreſſa canerentur."——Probably the example of Charlemagne might bring theſe hiſtoric war-ſongs into more general uſe. The hiſtorians as well as poets of thoſe times, in order to magnify the valour of their heroes, and to excite admiration in their readers, filled their narrations with the moſt abſurd and incredible ſtories: Of this kind was the hiſtory of Charlemagne, fathered on Archbiſhop Turpin; and two poems in German, publiſhed in the 2d volume of Schilter's Theſaurus, (the one entitled, *Rhythmus de Car. Magni Expeditione Hiſpan.*; the other, *Fragmentum de bello Car. Magni contra Saracenos)* both copied from the fabulous hiſtory of Turpin, and celebrating the atchievments of *Roland* and *Oliver*, two of Charlemagne's generals: The former is repreſented in ſtory as a man of gigantic ſtature, armed with a ſword called *Duranda*, of ſuch well-tempered ſteel, that he could drive it through a ſtone; he had alſo a horn called *Olifanden*, which was heard through the whole camp, and ſtruck great terror into the enemy: It was celebrated by the Iſlandic poets in their Saga's. Olaus Wormius, in his Monum. Danica, p. 380, quotes a paſſage from one of them, which ſays it was heard at the diſtance of twenty French miles, and that he blew it with ſo much ſtrength, as to force out his brains with the blaſt.

So Alexander the Great is repreſented in Adam Davies' poem, as poſſeſſed of a wonderful horn.

He blew in horn quyk ſans doute,
His folk him ſwythe about. Warton, vol. i. p. 229.

This Roland is ſtiled in hiſtory *Comes Palatinus*, and was one of Charlemagne's twelve peers. Eginhart calls him *Britannici littoris Præfectus*, i. e. Margrave or governor of the circle of Lower Saxony, which lay oppoſite to Britain; and from the romantic accounts given of his ſtature, ſeveral cities and towns in Lower Saxony (who boaſted of having received their freedom through him) erected in their market-places Coloſſal ſtatues of 15 or 20 feet high to his memory. In that at Bremen he is repreſented in armour, cloathed in a long robe, but without a helmet: He holds the ſword *Duranda* erect in his right hand, and his ſhield (on which the Ger-

The Normannes, like theyr ſovrin, dyd prepare,
And ſhotte ten thouſande floes upryſynge in the aire. 240
As

man eagle is carved) hangs tranſverſly on his breaſt: A German inſcription, round the verge of the ſhield, records the freedom granted to the city by Charlemagne.

There are alſo Coloſſal ſtatues of him at Brandenbury, Hall, Zerbſt, and Belgern in Saxony, and poſſibly in other places: He is repreſented in different attitudes, but generally bare-headed; no wonder then that Duke William ſhould make the atchievments of ſuch a hero an incitement to provoke a martial ſpirit in his ſoldiers.

Jean de Wace confirms this account, by ſaying that Taillifer, a Norman warrior and a good ſongſter, preceded the duke in the battle, ſinging the praiſes of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver.

Taillifer qui moult bien chantout,
Sorr un cheval qui toſt alout,
Devant le Duc alout chantant,
De Karlemagne & de Rollant,
Et de Olivier & des vaſſals,
Qui morurent en Rouncevals.

In fact, theſe two heroes became the common ſubject of heroic romances; and of ſuch the prologue to the poetic hiſtory of Richard Roy de Angleterre ſays,

Of their deeds men make Romauns,
Both in England and in France;
Of Rowland and of Olyvere,
And of every douſe Pere—i. e. Charlemagne's twelve peeres.
Warton, vol. i. p. 123.

And the prologue of another work alludes to the hiſtory,

Of knights hardy that mochel is leſyngis
Of Rowland and of Olyvere, and of Guy of Warwicke.
Ibidem.

From the contemporary and equally-renowned atchievments of the two former heroes, their names are grown into an Engliſh proverb;

"*I will give you a Rowland for your Oliver*;"

or in other words, I will give you as good as you bring.

V. 231. When the Normans had ſung their war-ſong, Duke William drew his iron interwoven bow, like Pandarus in Homer.

Ἔλκε

As when a flyghte of cranes, that takes their waie
In houſeholde armies thro the flanched [g] ſkie,
Alike the cauſe, or companie or prey,
If that perchaunce ſome boggie fenne is nie,

[g] *Arched.*

Soon

Ἕλκε δ' ὁμῶ γλυφίδας τε λαβὼν, ἠ νεῦρα βόειαν·
Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῷ πέλασεν, τόξῳ δὲ σίδηρον·
Αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ κυκλοτερὲς μέγα τόξον ἔτεινε,
Λίγξε βιὸς, νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν, ἆλτο δ' ὀϊστὸς
Ὀξυβελὴς, καθ' ὅμιλον ἐπιπλέσθαι μενεαίνων.

Il. Δ. v. 122.

Now with full force the yielding horn he bends,
Drawn to an arch, and joins the doubled ends;
Cloſe to his breaſt he ſtrains the nerve below,
Till the barb'd point approach the circling bow;
The impatient weapon whizzes on the wing,
Sounds the tough horn, and twangs the quiv'ring ſtring.

Pope, B. iv. v. 152.

The diſcharge of theſe arrows from William, when he

From out of mortal fight ſhot up the floe; (v. 234.)

And his followers after his example ſhot

Ten thouſand floes uprifing in the air; (v. 239.)

has cauſed a magazine-critic (Gentleman's Magazine, May 1777) to charge the poem with forgery, and the author of it with ignorance, for giving this direction to the Norman arrows: The objector was not aware that arrows ſo diſcharged carried execution into every part of the army; whereas thoſe directed horizontally killed the perſons in the firſt rank only: and, according to Henry Huntingdon, this was done by expreſs order from Duke William:—"Docuit enim Dux Willelmus "viros ſagittarios, ut *non in hoſtem directe, ſed in aera ſurſum cuneum hoſtilem ſagittis* "*excæcarent*, quod Anglis magno fuit detrimento." P. 368.

He ſhot again in the ſame direction, verſe 281, and accordingly his arrow is ſaid to deſcend like a thunderſhaft, for it pierced Algar's ſhield, and ſtuck in his groyne. v. 286. But immediately after he took his *ſtrong arblaſter*, or croſs-bow, which he levelled horizontally at the breaſt of Alric, the brother of Algar; for as he *hoiſted his arm*, the arrow paſſed through it into his ſide.

V. 241. This ſhower of deſcending arrows is compared to falling ſtars, and

to

Soon as the muddie natyon theie eſpie,
Inne one blacke cloude theie to the erth deſcende;
Feirce as the fallynge thunderbolte they flie;
In vayne do reedes the ſpeckled folk defend:
So prone to heavie blowe the arrowes felle,
And peercd thro braſſe, and ſente manie to heaven or helle.

Ælan Adelfred, of the ſtowe of Leigh,
Felte a dire arrowe burnynge in his breſte;
Before he dyd, he ſente hys ſpear awaie,
Thenne ſunke to glorie and eternal reſte.

Nevylle,

to a flight of cranes; but as thoſe birds are not inhabitants of theſe iſlands, the image muſt have been brought from a foreign country, and is of claſſical original. It is Mr. Pope's remark on this ſimile, "That Homer flew to the remoteſt part "of the world for an image which no reader could have expected;" muſt not then our Engliſh poet have flown to Homer for it? and has he not ſhewn his addreſs in illuſtrating the ſimile with a new image? Homer deſcribes the cranes as making war with the pigmies—Rowley, as bringing deſtruction on the frogs: Homer's parallel conſiſts in the noiſe and order with which theſe birds winged their way: Rowley's ſimilitude is not leſs juſt and pertinent as to their numbers, their blackening the ſky, and the deſtruction they brought on their enemies.

Τῶν δ' ὥστ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ
Χηνῶν, ἢ γεράνων, ἢ κύκνων δειχοδείρων,
Ἀσίῳ ἐν λειμῶνι, Καϋστρίῳ ἀμφὶ ῥέεθρα,
Ἔνθα κ' ἔνθα ποτῶνται ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσι,
Κλαγγηδὸν προκαθιζόντων, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε λειμών.
Il. B. v. 459.

Nor leſs their number than the embodied cranes,
Or milk-white ſwans in Aſia's watry plains,
That o'er the windings of Cayſter's ſprings
Stretch their long necks, and clap their ruſtling wings;
Now tow'r aloft, and courſe in airy rounds,
Now light with noiſe, with noiſe the field reſounds.
Pope, B. ii. v. 540.

Nevylle, a Normanne of alle Normannes beſte,
Throw the joint cuiſhe [h] dyd the javlyn feel,
As hee on horſebacke for the fyghte addreſs'd,
And ſawe hys bloude come ſmokynge oer the ſteele;
He ſente the avengynge floe into the ayre,
And turnd hys horſes hedde, and did to leeche [i] repayre.

And now the javelyns barbd [k] with deathhis wynges,
Hurld from the Englyſh handes by force aderne [l],
Whyzz dreare [m] alonge, and ſonges of terror ſynges,
Such ſonges as alwaies clos'd in lyfe eterne.
Hurld by ſuch ſtrength along the ayre theie burne,
Not to be quenched butte ynn Normannes bloude;
Wherere theie came they were of lyfe forlorn,
And alwaie followed by a purple floude;
Like cloudes the Normanne arrowes did deſcend,
Like cloudes of carnage full in purple drops dyd end.

[h] *Armour for the thighs.* [i] *Phyſician.* [k] *Armed.* [l] *Dire, cruel.* [m] *Dreary, terrible.*

Nor,

And in the third Iliad,

Ἠΰτε πέρ κλαγγὴ γεράνων πέλει ἠρανόθι πρὸ,
Αἵτ' ἐπεὶ ἔν χειμῶνα φύγον, καὶ ἀθέσφατον ὄμβρον,
Κλαγγῇ ταίγε πέτονται ἐπ' Ωκεανοῖο ῥοάων,
Ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρεσαι·
Ἠέριαι δ' ἄρα ταίγε κακὴν ἔριδα προφέρονται.

Il. γ. v. 3.

So when inclement winters vex the plain
With piercing froſts, or thick-deſcending rain,
To warmer ſeas the cranes embodied flie,
With noiſe and order through the midway ſky:
To pigmy nations wounds and death they bring,
And all the war deſcends upon the wing.

Pope, B. iii. v. 5.

Nor, Leofwynus, dydſt thou ſtill eſtande;
Full ſoon thie pheon [n] glytted [o] in the aire;
The force of none but thyne and Harolds hande
Could hurle a javlyn with ſuch lethal geer [p];
Itte whyzzd a ghaſtlie dynne in Normannes ear,
Then thundryng dyd upon hys greave [q] alyghte,
Peirce to his hearte, and dyd hys bowels tear,
He closd hys eyne in everlaſtynge nyghte;
Ah! what avayld the lyons on his creſte!
His hatchments rare with him upon the grounde was preſt.

Willyam agayne ymade his bowe-ends meet,
And hie in ayre the arrowe wynged his waie,
Deſcendyng like a ſhafte of thunder fleete,
Lyke thunder rattling at the noon of daie,
Onne Algars ſheelde the arrowe dyd aſſaie [r],
There throghe dyd peerſe, and ſtycke into his groine;
In grypynge torments on the feelde he laie,
Tille welcome dethe came in and clos'd his eyne;
Diſtort with peyne he laie upon the borne [t],
Lyke ſturdie elms by ſtormes in uncothe [s] wrythynges torne.

Alrick his brother, when hee this perceevd,
He drewe his ſwerde, his lefte hande helde a ſpeere,

[n] *Spear.* [o] *Glided, or glittered.* [p] *Turn, or manner.* [q] *A part of armour.*
[r] *Make an attempt.* [t] *Projecting rock, or brook, or his burniſhed armour.* [s] *Strange.*

Towards

The *lethal geer*, ver. 274; *lethale javlyn*, ver. 295; *lethal anlace*, Ella, ver. 1083; *lethal wound*, B. H. ver. 357; are ſo many tranſlations of Virgil's *letalis arundo*, *letale vulnus*, &c.

Towards the duke he turnd his prauncyng ſteede,
And to the Godde of heaven he ſent a prayre;
Then ſent his lethale javlyn in the ayre,
On Hue de Beaumontes backe the javelyn came,
Thro his redde armour to hys harte it tare,
He felle and thondred on the place of fame;
Next with his ſwerde he 'ſayld the Seiur de Roe,
And braſte his ſylver helme, ſo furyous was the blowe.

But Willyam, who had ſeen hys proweſſe great,
And feered muche how farre his bronde [t] might goe,
Tooke a ſtrong arblaſter [u], and bigge with fate
From twangynge iron ſente the fleetynge floe [x].
As Alric hoiſtes [y] hys arme for dedlie blowe,
Which, han it came, had been Du Roees laſte,
The ſwyfte-wyngd meſſenger from Willyams bowe
Quite throwe his arme into his ſyde ypaſte;
His eyne ſhotte fyre, lyke blazyng ſtarre at nyghte,
He grypd his ſwerde, and felle upon the place of fyghte.

O Alfwolde, ſaie, how ſhalle I ſynge of thee
Or telle how manie dyd benethe thee falle;

[t] *Fury.* [u] *Croſs-bow.* [x] *Arrow.* [y] *Lifts.*

Not

V. 294. And to the Godde of Heaven he ſent a prayre;
This is frequently done by the warriors of Homer and Virgil, previous to their throwing their ſpear.

V. 311. This epiſode in favour of Alfwold is a ſtrong inſtance of the poet's partiality to his Briſtol friends; for he makes one third part of the Normans ſlain in this battle to have fallen either by his hand, or by thoſe of his Briſtowans: The ninth line of this ſtanza ſeems to be an interrogation, to which the 10th is an anſwer. Two ſtanzas are employed in recounting Alfwold's atchievments; he is again introduced at ver. 623, and mentioned to the laſt as a ſurvivor in the battle.

Not Haroldes ſelf more Normanne knyghtes did flee,
Not Haroldes ſelf did for more praiſes call;
How ſhall a penne like myne then ſhew it all?
Lyke thee their leader, eche Briſtowyanne foughte;
Lyke thee, their blaze muſt be canonical,
Fore theie, like thee, that daie bewrecke [z] yroughte:
Did thirtie Normannes fall upon the grounde,
Full half a ſcore from thee and theie receive their fatale wounde.

Firſt Fytz Chivelloys felt thie direful force;
Nete did hys helde out brazen ſheelde availe;
Eftſoones throwe that thie drivynge ſpeare did peerce,
Nor was ytte ſtopped by his coate of mayle;
Into his breaſte it quicklie did aſſayle [a];
Out ran the bloude, like hygra [b] of the tyde;
With purple ſtayned all hys adventayle [c];
In ſcarlet was his cuiſhe [d] of ſylver dyde:
Upon the bloudie carnage houſe he laie,
Whylſt hys longe ſheelde dyd gleem [e] with the ſun's ryſing ray.

Next Feſcampe felle; O Chrieſte, howe harde his fate
To die the leckedſt [f] knyghte of all the thronge!
His ſprite was made of malice deſlavate [g],
Ne ſhoulden find a place in anie ſonge.
The broch'd [h] keene javlyn hurld from honde ſo ſtronge
As thine came thundrynge on his cryſted beave [i];

[z] *Revenge.* [a] *Attack.* [b] *Bore of the Severn.* [c] *Armour.* [d] *Thigh armour.*
[e] *Shine.* [f] *Poltroon, ſluggiſh.* [g] *Diſloyal, unfaithful.* [h] *Pointed.* [i] *Beaver.*

Ah!

V. 335. The *broched* keen javelin, means *ſharp* and *pointed*, like a *broche* or *ſpit*; ſo again, ver. 593, the *broched launce*, and the *ybroched moon*, Godwin 96, becauſe with

Ah! neete avayld the braſs or iron thonge,
With mightie force his ſkulle in twoe dyd cleave;
Fallyng he ſhooken out his ſmokyng braine,
As witherd oakes or elmes are hewne from off the playne.

Nor, Norcie, could thie myghte and ſkilfulle lore
Preſerve thee from the doom of Alfwold's ſpeere;
Couldſte thou not kenne, moſt ſkyll'd Aſtrelagoure[k],
How in the battle it would wythe thee fare?
When Alfwolds javelyn, rattlynge in the ayre,
From hande dyvine on thie habergeon[l] came,

[k] *Aſtrologer.* [l] *Coat of mail.*

Oute

with pointed horns: The *croched* javelin, therefore, mentioned ver. 511, may probably be a miſ-ſpelling for *broched*.

V. 340. The deſtruction of trees by tempeſts, and their fall by age or the countryman's axe, are ſimilies equally familiar to Homer and Rowley, but admit no great variety or ornament.

V. 341. The ſkill of De Norcie in aſtronomy (which in thoſe days implied a knowledge of future events) could not ſecure him from Alfwold's ſpear. Is there not ſome reſemblance between his fate and the hiſtory of old Eurydamas in Homer, who, from his practice of interpreting dreams, was reputed to have an inſight into futurity, yet could not diſcover nor avert the fate of his two ſons, who were ſlain by Diomede:

Τἰέας Εὐρυδάμαντος, ὀνειροπόλοιο γέροντος·
Τοῖς οὐκ ἐρχομένοις ὁ γέρων ἐκρίνατ' ὀνείρους,
Αλλά σφεας κρατερὸς Διομήδης ἐξενάριξε.

Il. E. v. 149.

Sons of Eurydamas, who, wiſe and old,
Could fates foretel, and myſtic dreams unfold:
The youths return'd not from the doubtful plain,
And the ſad father tried his arts in vain:
No myſtic dreams could make their fates appear,
Though now determin'd by Tydides' ſpear.

Pope, B. v. v. 190.

Oute at thy backe it dyd thie hartes bloude bear,
It gave thee death and everlaſtynge fame;
Thy deathe could onlie come from Alfwolde arme,
As diamondes onlie can its fellow diamonds harme.

Next Sire du Mouline fell upon the grounde,
Quite throughe his throte the lethal javlyn preſte,
His ſoule and bloude came rouſhynge from the wounde;
He closd his eyen, and opd them with the bleſt.
It can ne be I ſhould behight [m] the reſt,
That by the myghtie arme of Alfwolde felle,
Paſte bie a penne to be counte or expreſte,
How manie Alfwolde ſent to heaven or helle;
As leaves from trees ſhook by derne [n] Autumns hand,
So laie the Normannes ſlain by Alfwold on the ſtrand.

As when a drove of wolves withe dreary yelles
Aſſayle ſome flocke, ne care if ſhepſter ken't,

[m] *Name.* [n] *Melancholy.*

Beſprenge

V. 359. As leaves from trees ſhook by derne Autumns hand.

" Quam multa in ſylvis Autumni frigore primo
" Lapſa cadunt folia." Æn. vi. v. 309.

V. 361. In this ſimile of the wolves, and in thoſe ver. 81 and 631, the poet has ſhewn great judgment in varying from his original: Homer has expreſſed the rage of wild beaſts by lions and panthers, in ſeveral paſſages of the Iliad, but there is only one or two of them which mentions the fury of wolves: Il. A. ver. 72, and Π. ver. 156. Africa, the nurſe of lions (being nearly connected with Greece and Aſia) probably furniſhed him with thoſe ideas: But wolves being the inhabitants of theſe northern kingdoms, and lions unknown in them, unleſs brought from foreign countries, our poet has judiciouſly choſen the former for the ſubject of his alluſions, as more conformable to the nature of his country. If theſe ſimilies had been borrowed by Chatterton, from Pope's tranſlation, is it probable that he would have ſhewn the ſame ſkill in varying the application?

Beſprenge [o] deſtructione oer the woodes and delles;
The ſhepſter ſwaynes in vayne theyr lees [p] lement [q];
So foughte the Bryſtowe menne; ne one crevent [r],
Ne onne abaſhd enthoughten for to flee;
With fallen Normans all the playne beſprent,
And like theyr leaders every man did flee;
In vayne on every ſyde the arrowes fled;
The Bryſtowe menne ſtyll ragd, for Alfwold was not dead.

Manie meanwhile by Haroldes arm did falle,
And Leofwyne and Gyrthe encreasd the ſlayne;
'Twould take a Neſtor's age to ſynge them all,
Or telle how manie Normannes preſte the playne;
But of the erles, whom recorde nete hath ſlayne,
O Truthe! for good of after-tymes relate,

[o] *Spread.* [p] *Sheep-paſtures.* [q] *Lament.* [r] *Coward.*

That

V. 372. Leofwyne and Gyrthe are ſaid to have encreaſed the number of the ſlain, by killing their enemies, but not by their own death, though both of them fell in that battle.

V. 373. It is a circumſtance in favour of our author's acquaintance with the Iliad, that he mentions more than once the name of Homer, ver. 400 and 442, as well as thoſe of Minerva and Neſtor.

V. 375. Having ſpecified by name ſeveral Normans who were ſlain in the battle, he proceeds to honour, with a particular encomium, ſome of his own countrymen, whom he ſays

Recorde nete hath ſlain.

Under this deſcription may be meant thoſe who falling in battle were not recorded in hiſtory: The poet therefore undertakes to celebrate their praiſes; but of the four perſons mentioned by him, viz. Adhelm, Alfwold, Hereward, and Harold, the two laſt only are ſaid to have died in the field.

V. 376. The arrangement of Rowley's plan, and the accuracy of his meaſure, afford very little ſcope for critical conjectures or alterations; but the invocation to Truth, previous to his celebrating the atchievments of his Engliſh heroes, ſeems to require

That, thowe they're deade, theyr names may lyve agayne,
And be in deathe, as they in life were, greate;
So after-ages maie theyr actions ſee,
And like to them æternal alwaie ſtryve to be. 380
Adhelm,

require that the addreſs to Turgot, ver. 581, ſhould immediately follow this ſtanza: For who ſo able to direct the poet in the ſearch of truth, as

That Sun, from whom he oft had caught a beam? (v. 588.)

or whoſe aſſiſtance could he ſo properly invoke, when he profeſſed

The deeds of Engliſhmen to write, (v. 590.)

as the Saxon hiſtorian, to whoſe materials he was indebted for the ſubſtance of his poem? As the ſpirit of Turgot is here ſaid to be accompanied by his loved Adhelm; how naturally does this circumſtance precede the encomiums given to that knight and his ſon? How improperly would he profeſs *to write the deeds of Engliſhmen*, when two of his moſt choſen perſonages had been already celebrated in the preceding ſtanzas, and when the characters of the other two, viz. Harold and Alfwold, appear leſs intereſting? Not to add, that the invocation, where it now ſtands, is unconnected with, and ſeparates the narration of a plain matter of fact contained in the preceding and following ſtanzas; in the former of which Duke William commands his ſoldiers to proceed to a cloſe engagement; in the latter, Harold is making a proper diſpoſition to meet their attack: But an invocation of Turgot can have nothing to do with either of theſe events.

Leaving then this conjecture to the judgment of the reader, the character of Adhelm, ver. 381, is made the firſt object of the poet's encomium; a connection which muſt have taken its riſe from the munificence of his father to the church of Durham, of which Turgot was Prior, and St. Cuthbert Patron:

——To whom he dyd his goodes reſygne,
And lefte hys ſon, his God's and fortunes knyghte.

But the Saint amply recompenſed the ſon for the generoſity of the father, by making him

——in gemot wyſe, and greate in fyghte.

The ſame qualities which Achilles learned from old Phœnix.

Μύθων τὲ ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.
Il. I. v. 443.

He bade me teach thee all the arts of war,
To ſhine in councils, and in ſenates dare.
Pope, B. ix. v. 570.

Adhelm, a knyghte, whoſe holie deathleſs fire
For ever bended to S^t. Cuthbert's ſhryne,
Whoſe breaſt for ever burnd with ſacred fyre,
And een on erthe he myghte be calld dyvine;
To Cuthbert's church he dyd his goodes reſygne,
And lefte hys ſon his God's and fortunes knyghte;
His ſon the Saincte behelde with looke adigne[s],
Made him in gemot [t] wyſe, and greate in fyghte;
Saincte Cuthberte dyd him ayde in all hys deedes,
His friends he lets to live, and all his fomen bleedes.

He married was to Kenewalchae faire,
The fyneſt dame the ſun or moone adave [u];
She was the myghtie Aderedus heyre,
Who was alreadie haſtynge to the grave;
As the blue Bruton, ryſinge from the wave,
Like ſea-gods ſeeme in moſt majeſtic guiſe,

[s] *Worthy.* [t] *Counſel.* [u] *Aroſe upon.*

And

But his patronage was ſtill more important, for

Saincte Cuthberte dyd him ayde in all hys deedes,
His friends he lets to live, and all his fomen bleedes. (v. 399.)

With him the Spirit of Turgot is poetically aſſociated, in their former beloved retirements near Durham; at other times, as a native of Briſtol, it is ſuppoſed to haunt the banks of the Severn;

And rowle in ferſely with ferſe Severnes tyde. (v. 585.)

V. 391. The luxuriancy of the poet's fancy is exerted in deſcribing the beauties of Kenewalche, the wife of Adhelm; no leſs than twenty ſimilies, within the compaſs of twice as many lines, are applied to expreſs the beauty of her features, the air and graces of her perſon: Some of theſe ſimilies are remarkable for their ſimplicity; others for their juſtice: In ſome we may obſerve a tincture of ancient ſuperſtition; others are local, relating to the city and neighbourhood of Durham.

V. 395. The compariſon of Kenewalche to a *blue Briton*, ſeems to be borrowed from Cæſar's account of that people; who obſerves, that all the Britons painted themſelves

And rounde aboute the riſynge waters lave [x],
And their longe hayre arounde their bodie flies,
Such majeſtie was in her porte diſplaid,
To be excelld bie none but Homer's martial maid [y].

White as the chaulkie clyffes of Brittaines iſle,
Red as the higheſt colour'd Gallic wine,
Gaie as all nature at the mornynge ſmile,
Thoſe hues with pleaſaunce on her lippes combine,
Her lippes more redde than ſummer evenynge ſkyne [z],
Or Phœbus ryſinge in a froſtie morne,
Her breſte more white than ſnow in feeldes that lyene [a],
Or lillie lambes that never have been ſhorne,
Swellynge like bubbles in a boillynge welle,
Or new-braſte brooklettes gently whyſpringe in the delle.

[x] *Waſh.* [y] *Minerva.* [z] *Sky.* [a] *Lie.*

Browne

themſelves with this colour:—"Omnes vero Britanni vitro ſe inficiunt, quod *cæru-* "*leum* efficit colorem." De Bello Gall. lib. 5.—And the *blue Briton* is with great propriety deſcribed *as riſing out of the ſea*, which is of this *cerulean* colour, and is denominated from it.

Amongſt the torrent of ſimilies which flows in the following ſtanzas, ſome allude to local and legendary anecdotes, which have been loſt in the courſe of time; ſuch as the *greie ſteel-horn'd goats by Conyan made tame*; whether this Conyan was a Saint, or a Prince is uncertain. There was a Scottiſh Biſhop of Hie, in the 7th century, of that name. *Aurelius Conanus*, a Prince of Powyſland, is mentioned by Gildas as living in 546, (ſee Baxter's gloſſary, in voce Aurelius;) *Malgo Conanus* lived at the end of that century; and *Conan, ſon of Roderick*, in 755: all remarkable for their warlike exploits; which might be figuratively expreſſed by *taming the ſteel-horned goats of Wales.*

——Hybernies holy woode,
Where ſainctes and ſoules departed maſſes ſynge, (v. 423.)

is alſo unknown, unleſs St. Patrick's purgatory is alluded to: Some legends relative to theſe places might have exiſted, if not in Rowley's, yet at leaſt in Turgot's days; to which period the following deſcription muſt be referred.

Browne as the fylberte droppyng from the ſhelle,
Browne as the nappy ale at Hocktyde game,
So browne the crokyde [b] rynges, that featlie [c] fell
Over the neck of the all-beauteous dame.
Greie as the morne before the ruddie flame
Of Phebus charyotte rollynge thro the ſkie,
Greie as the ſteel-horn'd goats Conyan made tame,
So greie appeard her featly ſparklyng eye;
Thoſe eyne, that did oft mickle pleaſed look
On Adhelm valyaunt man, the virtues doomſday book.

Majeſtic as the grove of okes that ſtoode
Before the abbie buylt by Oſwald kynge;
Majeſtic as Hybernies holie woode,
Where ſainctes and ſoules departed maſſes ſynge;
Such awe from her ſweete looke forth iſſuynge
At once for reveraunce and love did calle;
Sweet as the voice of thraſſarkes [d] in the Spring,
So ſweet the wordes that from her lippes did falle;

[b] *Crooked.* [c] *Genteelly.* [d] *Thruſhes.*

None

V. 421. ——The grove of okes that ſtoode
Before the abbie buylt by Oſwald kynge,

cannot be literally applied to the abbey of Lindisfarn, erected by that prince on a ſmall barren iſland, where it is not probable that a grove of oaks ever grew; but it may be true by way of anticipation in reſpect to Durham; to which place St. Cuthbert's body, after its various removals from Lindisfarn, was finally tranſlated, together with the epiſcopal ſee, at the end of the tenth century; for at that time the ſpot was ſo overgrown with wood, that the ancient writers ſpeak of it as an inacceſſible foreſt. — "Erat autem Dunelmum, locus quidem naturâ "munitus, ſed non facile habitabilis, quem denſiſſima undique ſylva totum occu- "paverat." Leland's Collect. tom. i. p. 330.

None fell in vayne; all ſhewed ſome entent;
Her wordies did diſplaie her great entendement.

Tapre as candles layde at Cuthberts ſhryne,
Tapre as elmes that Goodrickes abbie ſhrove[e],
Tapre as ſilver chalices for wine,
So tapre was her armes and ſhape ygrove[f].
As ſkyllful mynemenne[g] by the ſtones above
Can ken what metalle is ylach'd[h] belowe,
So Kennewalcha's face, ymade for love,
The lovelie ymage of her ſoule did ſhewe;
Thus was ſhe outward form'd; the ſun her mind
Did guilde her mortal ſhape and all her charms refin'd.

[e] *Shrouded.* [f] *Graven, or formed.* [g] *Miners.* [h] *Cloſed, confined.*

What

V. 431. The three ſimilies applied to Kenewalche's taper arms, might naturally ſtrike the fancy of a Prior of Durham, but would never have entered the imagination of any other poet.

V. 432. *The elms which ſhrove* or ſhrouded *Godric's abbey*, give a juſt idea of *Fincal*, ſituated in a retired valley ſurrounded by woods, a few miles diſtant from Durham, adding a pleaſing and romantic feature to Mr. Carr's beautiful improvements at Cocton: Godricus the hermit led a retired life of ſixty years in that place, and died in 1170, with ſo great a reputation for ſanctity, that Matt. Paris has written a long and circumſtantial account of his life and miracles. It ſeems that he was a poet alſo, for the ſame author has recorded a hymn of his in honour of the Virgin Mary, dictated by herſelf, and has illuſtrated the Saxon original with a Latin tranſlation. See alſo Mr. Tyrwhit's Eſſay on Chaucer, vol. iv. p. 56.

This foundation, however, was of too late a date to be alluded to by Turgot; our poet muſt therefore have taken it from ſome other authority.

V. 439. The beauties and accompliſhments of Kenewalche are magnified to do the more honour to her huſband Adhelm, who

——could leave the boſome of ſo fayre a dame,
Uncall'd, unaſkt, to ſerve his lorde the kynge;

and the pen of Rowley might be a very proper vehicle of his fame. It may appear vulgar to a modern ear, accuſtomed to more civilized and refined notions, that this

commiſſion

What blazours [i] then, what glorie ſhall he clayme,
What doughtie Homere ſhall hys praiſes ſynge,
That lefte the boſome of ſo fayre a dame
Uncall'd, unaſkt, to ſerve his lorde the kynge?
To his fayre ſhrine goode ſubjects oughte to bringe
The armes, the helmets, all the ſpoyles of warre,
Throwe everie reaulm the poets blaze the thynge,
And travelling merchants ſpredde hys name to farre;
The ſtoute Norwegians had his anlace [k] felte,
And nowe amonge his foes dethe-doynge blowes he delte.

As when a wolfyn gettynge in the meedes
He rageth ſore, and doth about hym flee,
Nowe here a talbot, there a lambkin bleeds,
And alle the graſſe with clotted gore doth ſtree [l];
As when a rivlette rolles impetuouſlie,
And breaks the bankes that would its force reſtrayne,
Alonge the playne in fomynge rynges doth flee,
Gaynſte walles and hedges doth its courſe maintayne;

[i] *Praiſers.* [k] *Sword.* [l] *Strew, or ſcatter.*

As

commiſſion ſhould be entruſted *to the tongues of travelling merchants.* The idea, however, was natural and juſt at the time when this poem was written; the connection with foreign countries being then chiefly carried on by this kind of correſpondence.

V. 441. "No *blaſor* of her beauty above in the windows."
Gaſcoigne's Suppoſes, p. 32.

V. 451. The rapidity of Rowley's imagination is a ſtranger to repoſe; the mind of the reader can hardly have digeſted the torrent of ſimilies on Kenewalche's beauty, when he finds the valour of Adhelm celebrated by three alluſions in the courſe of one ſtanza. The firſt only diverſified from thoſe at verſe 81, 361, and 631; and in Ella, ver. 638: The ſecond familiar enough both to Homer and Rowley: And the courſe of the overflowing water, which

Alonge the playne in fomynge ringes doth flee, (v. 457.)

muſt

As when a manne doth in a corn-fielde mowe,
With eaſe at one felle ſtroke full manie is laide lowe.

So manie, with ſuch force, and with ſuch eaſe,
Did Adhelm ſlaughtre on the bloudie playne;
Before hym manie dyd theyr hearts bloude leaſe [m],
Ofttymes he foughte on towres of ſmokynge ſlayne.
Angillian felte his force, nor felte in vayne;
He cutte hym with his ſwerde athur [n] the breaſte;
Out ran the bloude, and did hys armoure ſtayne,
He clos'd his eyen in æternal reſte;
Lyke a tall oke by tempeſte borne awaie,
Stretched in the armes of dethe upon the plaine he laie.

Next thro the ayre he ſent his javlyn feerce,
That on De Clearmoundes buckler did alyghte,
Throwe the vaſte orbe the ſharpe pheone [o] did peerce,
Rang on his coate of mayle and ſpente its mighte.

[m] *Loſe.* [n] *Athwart, acroſs.* [o] *Spear.*

But

muſt convince every reader, that no one but an accurate obſerver could have deſcribed that effect with ſo much juſtneſs and preciſion.

V. 459. But the ſimile of the reapers mowing down the harveſt is truly Homerical.

Οἱ δ', ὥστ' ἀμητῆρες ἐναντίοι ἀλλήλοισιν
Ὀγμὸν ἐλαύνωσιν, ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος κατ' ἄρουραν
Πυρῶν, ἢ κριθῶν, τὰ δὲ δράγματα ταρφέα πίπλει.

Il. Λ. v. 67.

As ſweaty reapers, in ſome wealthy field,
Rang'd in two bands, their crooked weapons wield,
Bear down the furrows, till their labours meet,
Thick fall the heapy harveſts at their feet. Pope, B. xi. v. 89.

And the judicious critic will eaſily diſcover, on comparing theſe paſſages, that Rowley has copied the ſimplicity of Homer, without burthening his ſimile with the unneceſſary expletives of Pope.

But ſoon another wingd its aiery flyghte,
The keen broad pheon to his lungs did goe;
He felle, and groand upon the place of fighte,
Whilſt lyfe and bloude came iſſuynge from the blowe.
Like a tall pyne upon his native playne,
So fell the mightie ſire and mingled with the ſlaine.

Hue de Longeville, a force doughtre-mere[p],
Advauncyd forwarde to provoke the darte,
When ſoone he founde that Adhelmes poynted ſpeere
Had founde an eaſie paſſage to his hearte.
He drewe his bowe, nor was of dethe aſtarte[q],
Then fell down brethleſſe to encreaſe the corſe;

[p] *From beyond ſea.* [q] *Started from, afraid of.*

But

V. 478. The reſemblance we find between the deſcriptions of the ſame event in the firſt and ſecond poem, is no inconſiderable proof that both were the work of the ſame hand. Thus in the mortal wound given to Fiſcamp, it is ſaid in the former poem, ver. 448,

That ſoule and bodie's bloude at one gate flewe.

In this, ver. 478,

That lyfe and bloude came iſſuynge from the blowe.

ſee alſo various other expreſſions of the ſame import in the former poem, ver. 329, 368, 380, 407, 424, 442, 448, 499, 504, 530, 535; and in this poem, ver. 287, 310, 326, 339, 354, 355, 468, 478, 486, 500, 517, 519, 677, 687, 707.

V. 479. Like a tall pyne upon his native playne.

This image is alſo copied from Homer,

—— Ὁ δ' ἐν κονίῃσι χαμαὶ πέσεν, αἴγειρος ὡς.
Il. Δ. v. 482.

So falls a poplar, that in watry ground
Rais'd high his head with lofty branches crown'd.
Pope, B. iv. v. 552.

But as he drewe hys bowe devoid of arte,
So it came down upon Troyvillains horſe;
Deep thro hys hatchments[r] wente the pointed floe;
Now here, now there, with rage bleedyng he rounde doth goe.

[r] *Horſe armour.*

Nor

V. 488. The deſcription of Troyvillian's horſe cannot be copied from the Iliad, becauſe (as Pope has obſerved) cavalry is not mentioned in it; the only uſe to which horſes were applied in the Trojan war, was to draw carriages; and wherever fighting from a horſe is mentioned, it is always to be underſtood of a chariot, or of horſes applied to that ſervice: This deſcription, therefore, muſt have been taken from Virgil; and there are two paſſages in the Æneid which ſeem to have furniſhed the idea: Mezentius's wounded horſe is thus deſcribed:

Tollit ſe arrectum quadrupes, & calcibus auras
Verberat, effuſumque equitem ſuper ipſe ſecutus
Implicat, ejectoque incumbit cernuus armo.
Æn. x. v. 892.

Seiz'd by unwonted pain, ſurpris'd by fright,
The wounded ſteed curvets and rais'd upright,
Lights on his feet before—his hoofs behind
Spring in the air aloft, and laſh the wind;
Down comes the rider headlong from his height,
His horſe came after with unwieldy weight,
And floundring forward, pitching on his head,
His Lord's incumber'd ſhoulder overlaid.
Dryden, v. 1279.

So alſo the wounded horſe of Romulus;

Quo ſonipes ictu ferit arduus, altaque jactat,
Vulneris impatiens, arrecto corpore crura:
Solvitur ille excuſſus humi.——— Æn. xi. v. 638.

The fiery ſteed, impatient of the wound,
Curvets, and, ſpringing upwards with a bound,
His hopeleſs Lord caſts backward on the ground.
Dryden, v. 948.

There is alſo a ſimilar deſcription in the former poem, v. 361.

V. 499. Deep thro hys hatchments wente the pointed floe.

The hatchment covered the horſe's body, and on it the coat armour of the

Nor does he hede his maſtres known commands,
Tyll, growen furiouſe by his bloudie wounde,
Erect upon his hynder feete he ſtaundes,
And throwes hys maſtre far off to the grounde.
Near Adhelms feete the Normanne laie aſtounde [s],
Beſprengd [t] his arrowes, looſend was his ſheelde,
Thro his redde armoure, as he laie enſoond,
He peercd his ſwerde [u], and out upon the feelde
The Normannes bowels ſteemd, a dedlie ſyghte!
He opd and closd hys eyen in everlaſtynge nyghte.

Caverd, a Scot, who for the Normannes foughte,
A man well ſkilld in ſwerde and ſoundynge ſtrynge,
Who fled his country for a crime enſtrote [x],
For darynge with bolde worde hys loiaule kynge,

[s] *Aſtoniſhed.* [t] *Scattered.* [u] *Pierced with his ſword.* [x] *Which was to be puniſhed.*

He

maſter was repreſented. Thus in the Song to Ella, the horſe is called *the hatched ſteed*; in Ella, v. 27. the *barbed horſe*; and in Shakeſpeare's Richard II. *the barbed ſteed:* Theſe hatchments are repreſented in ancient drawings and ſeals:

V. 500. He opd and closd hys eyen in everlaſtynge nyghte.

This expreſſion frequently occurs in Homer, with very little variation.

——————— τὸν δὲ σκότος ὄσσε ἐκάλυψε.
Il. Δ. v. 526.

Τὸν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψε.
Il. E. v. 659.

And ſhades eternal ſettle o'er his eyes.
His eye-balls darken with the ſhades of death.

V. 501. Two Welſh warriors were enliſted in the ſervice of Harold; on the other hand, Caverd, a Scot, becomes an auxiliary to the Normans: One of the Welſhmen had been obliged to fly his country for murder, as this Scot had done for treaſon; which is here called a crime *enſtrote*, or *enſtraffed*, a participle from the German word *ſtraffen, to puniſh*. See Ludwig's German Dictionary.—The word

He at Erle Aldhelme with grete force did flynge
An heavie javlyn, made for bloudie wounde,
Alonge his ſheelde aſkaunte [y] the ſame did ringe,
Peercd thro the corner, then ſtuck in the grounde;
So when the thonder rauttles in the ſkie,
Thro ſome tall ſpyre the ſhaftes in a torn clevis [z] flie.

Then Addhelm hurld a croched javlyn ſtronge,
With mighte that none but ſuch grete championes know;
Swifter than thoughte the javlyn paſt alonge,
Ande hytte the Scot moſt feirclie on the prowe [a];
His helmet braſted [b] at the thondring blowe,
Into his brain the tremblyn javlyn ſteck [c];
From eyther ſyde the bloude began to flow,
And run in circling ringlets rounde his neck;
Down fell the warriour on the lethal ſtrande,
Lyke ſome tall veſſel wreckt upon the tragick ſande.

[y] *Slanting, obliquely.* [z] *The cleft of a rock.* [a] *Brow, forehead.* [b] *Burſt.* [c] *Stuck.*

does not occur in our Angloſaxon Gloſſaries. Caverd, like his countrymen, excelled in backſword, and playing on the harp—*was ſkilld in ſwerde, and ſoundynge ſtrynge.*

V. 509. The ſimile of thunder is familiar with Rowley, ſee v. 284 and 610; and in the former poem, v. 509; and in Ella, v. 464 and 618.

CONTINUED.

Wherè fruytleſs heathes and meadowes cladde in greie,
Save where derne [d] hawthornes reare theyr humble heade,
The hungrie traveller upon his waie
Sees a huge deſarte alle arounde hym ſpredde,
The diſtaunte citie ſcantlie [e] to be ſpedde [f],
The curlynge force of ſmoke he ſees in vayne,
Tis too far diſtaunte, and hys onlie bedde
Iwimpled [g] in hys cloke ys on the playne,
Whylſte rattlynge thonder forrey [h] oer his hedde,
And raines come down to wette hys harde uncouthlie bedde.

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes ſtandes,
Placd on eche other in a dreare arraie,

[d] *Melancholy.* [e] *Scarcely.* [f] *To be ſpied, or attained.* [g] *Covered, wrapped up.* [h] *Deſtroy.*

It

V. 521. The Continuation of this Poem, produced by Chatterton ſome time after the former part, ſeems to be inſerted here in its proper place: From the character of Adhelm, the poet paſſes to that of Hereward, and introduces a beautiful epiſode on the origin of Stonehenge, and the ſituation of Old Sarum; differing in ſome particulars from the account given in the former poem, but agreeing in all the material points of deſcription: Some circumſtances omitted in one, are mentioned and enlarged on in the other; and, by this general conſiſtency, prove themſelves to be the work of the ſame hand.

The deſcription of Saliſbury Plain is bold and natural, but the reſemblance was more ſtriking when the picture was drawn, before that wide-extended plain had been improved by tillage, and enlivened by inhabitants: The tempeſt which the poet raiſes there, may be compared to the celebrated ſtorm of Pouſſin, well known in the ſchools of painting and engraving; nor can the colouring be heightened by any pencil but his own, as he has painted it in the Ballad of Charity, which is a maſterpiece in its kind.

V. 531. Nor will the reader leſs admire the majeſtic terms in which he deſcribes Stonehenge; the origin and uſe of which having been already conſidered, require no further illuſtration.

It ne could be the worke of human handes,
It ne was reared up bie menne of claie.
Here did the Brutons adoration paye
To the falſe god whom they did Tauran name,
Dightynge [i] hys altarre with greete fyres in Maie,
Roaſtynge theyr vyctualle round aboute the flame,
'Twas here that Hengyſt did the Brytons ſlee,
As they were mette in council for to bee.

Neere on a loftie hylle a citie ſtandes,
That lyftes yts ſcheafted [k] heade ynto the ſkies,
And kynglie lookes arounde on lower landes,
And the longe browne playne that before itte lies.
Herewarde, borne of parentes brave and wyſe,
Within this vylle fyrſte adrewe [l] the ayre,
A bleſſynge to the erthe ſente from the ſkies,
In anie kyngdom nee coulde fynde his pheer;
Now rybbd in ſteele he rages yn the fyghte,
And ſweeps whole armies to the reaulmes of nyghte.

So when derne [m] Autumne wyth hys ſallowe hande
Tares the green mantle from the lymed [n] trees,
The leaves beſprenged [o] on the yellow ſtrande
Flie in whole armies from the blataunte [p] breeze;
Alle the whole fielde a carnage-howſe he ſees,
And ſowles unknelled [q] hover'd oer the bloude;
From place to place on either hand he ſlees,
And ſweepes alle neere hym lyke a bronded [r] floude;

[i] *Dreſſing.* [k] *Adorned with turrets.* [l] *Drew.* [m] *Melancholy.* [n] *Smooth.*
[o] *Scattered.* [p] *Noiſy.* [q] *Without their funeral knell.* [r] *Furious.*

Dethe

Dethe honge upon his arme; he ſleed ſo maynt [s],
'Tis paſte the pointel [t] of a man to paynte.

Bryghte ſonne in haſte han drove hys fierie wayne
A three howres courſe alonge the whited ſkyen [u],
Vewynge the ſwarthleſs [x] bodies on the playne,
And longed greetlie to plonce [y] in the bryne.
For as hys beemes and far-ſtretchynge eyne
Did view the pooles of gore yn purple ſheene,
The wolſomme [z] vapours rounde hys lockes dyd twyne,
And dyd disfygure all hys ſemmlikeen [a];

[s] *Many.* [t] *Pencil.* [u] *Sky.* [x] *Without ſouls, or lifeleſs.* [y] *Plunge.* [z] *Loathſome.* [a] *Good appearance.*

Then

V. 561. It was obſerved on a former paſſage, ver. 211, that the ſun at his firſt appearance above the horizon, on ſeeing the preparations for war,

Stopped his driving ſteeds and hid his lightſome ray;

but when he had proceeded three hours in his courſe, and beheld the horrors of the carnage, with the purple reflection from the pools of human gore, and the ſteam of bloody vapours which obſcured the brightneſs of his rays, he urged his ſteeds to harder action, in order to clear his brows in the ocean from the bloody miſt which ſurrounded them. Theſe beautiful images greatly ſurpaſs that of Virgil; who makes the Sun thus expreſs his abhorrence of Cæſar's aſſaſſination:

Ille etiam extincto miſeratus Cæſare Romam
Et caput obſcurâ nitidum ferrugine tinxit.
Georg. Lib. i. v. 466.

He firſt the fate of Cæſar did foretel,
And pitied Rome, when Rome in Cæſar fell;
In iron clouds conceal'd the public light,
And impious mortals fear'd eternal night.
Dryden, v. 620.

Or of Spenſer, when he deſcribes the violence attempted by Sanſloy againſt Una:

And Phœbus flying ſo moſt ſhamefull ſight,
His bluſhing face in foggy clouds implyes,
And hides for ſhame.

Then to harde actyon he hys wayne dyd rowſe,
In hyſſynge ocean to make glair [b] hys browes

Duke Wyllyam gave commaunde, eche Norman knyghte,
That beer war-token in a ſhielde ſo fyne,
Shoulde onward goe, and dare to cloſer fyghte
The Saxonne warryor, that dyd ſo entwyne,
Lyke the neſhe [c] bryon and the eglantine,
Orre Cornyſh wraſtlers at a Hocktyde game.
The Normannes, all emarchialld in a lyne,
To the ourt [d] arraie of the thight [e] Saxonnes came;
There 'twas the whaped [f] Normannes on a parre
Dyd know that Saxonnes were the ſonnes of warre.

Oh Turgotte, whereſoeer thie ſpryte dothe haunte,
Whither wyth thie lovd Adhelme by thie ſyde,
Where thou mayſte heare the ſwotie [g] nyghte larke chaunte,
Orre wyth ſome mokynge [h] brooklette ſwetelie glide,
Or rowle in ferſelie wythe ferſe Severnes tyde,
Whereer thou art, come and my mynde enleme [i]
Wyth ſuch greete thoughtes as dyd with thee abyde,
Thou ſonne, of whom I ofte have caught a beeme,
Send mee agayne a drybblette of thie lyghte,
That I the deeds of Englyſhmenne maie wryte.

Harold, who ſaw the Normannes to advaunce,
Seiz'd a huge byll, and layd hym down hys ſpere;
Soe dyd ech wite laie downe the broched [k] launce,
And groves of bylles did glitter in the ayre.

[b] *Clear.* [c] *Weak.* [d] *Out, or open.* [e] *Conſolidated, thickened.* [f] *Affrighted.*
[g] *Sweet.* [h] *Mocking.* [i] *Enlighten.* [k] *Pointed.*

Wyth

Wyth ſhowtes the Normannes did to battel ſteere;
Campynon famous for his ſtature highe,
Fyrey wythe braſſe, benethe a ſhyrte of lere [l],
In cloudie daie he reechd into the ſkie;
Neere to Kyng Harolde dyd he come alonge,
And drewe hys ſteele Morglaien [m] ſworde ſo ſtronge.

Thryce rounde hys heade hee ſwung hys anlace [n] wyde,
On whyche the ſunne his viſage did agleeme [o],
Then ſtraynynge, as hys membres would dyvyde,
Hee ſtroke on Haroldes ſheelde yn manner breme [p];
Alonge the fielde it made an horrid cleembe [q],
Coupeynge [r] Kyng Harolds paynćted ſheeld in twayne,
Then yn the bloude the fierie ſwerde dyd ſteeme,
And then dyd drive ynto the bloudie playne;

[l] *Leather, or ſkin.* [m] *Enchanted ſword.* [n] *Sword.* [o] *Gleam, or ſhine upon.* [p] *Furious.* [q] *Noiſe.* [r] *Cutting.*

So

V. 596. The Normans now produce a freſh champion in the perſon of Campynon, a compleat coward, though a Goliah both in ſtature and armour: for he is ſaid to be *fiery in braſs*; and Goliah's armour was of the ſame metal, 1 Sam. chap. xviii.

So Sir Hudibras, in Spenſer,

—— was (for terror more) all armed in fiery braſs.
B. 2. C. 2. St. 17.

V. 598. In cloudie daie he reechd into the ſkie;
a literal tranſlation of that paſſage in Virgil,

Ingrediturque ſolo, & caput inter nubila condit;

or like the picture of Eris in Homer.

Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει.
Il. Δ. v. 443.

Whilſt ſcarce the ſkies her horrid head can bound,
She ſtalks on earth, and ſhakes the world around.
Pope, B. iv. v. 516.

So when in ayre the vapours do abounde,
Some thunderbolte tares trees and dryves ynto the grounde.

Harolde upreer'd hys bylle, and furious ſente
A ſtroke, lyke thondre, at the Normannes ſyde;
Upon the playne the broken braſſe beſprente [s]
Dyd ne hys bodie from dethe-doeynge hyde;
He tournyd backe, and dyd not there abyde;
With ſtraught oute ſheelde hee ayenwarde [t] did goe,
Threwe downe the Normannes, did their rankes divide,
To ſave himſelfe lefte them unto the foe;
So olyphauntes, in kingdomme of the ſunne,
When once provok'd doth throwe theyr owne troopes runne.

Harolde, who ken'd hee was his armies ſtaie,
Nedeynge the rede [u] of generaul ſo wyſe,
Byd Alfwoulde to Campynon haſte awaie,
As thro the armie ayenwarde [x] he hies,
Swyfte as a feether'd takel [y] Alfwoulde flies,
The ſteele bylle bluſhynge oer wyth lukewarm bloude;
Ten Kenters, ten Briſtowans for th' emprize [z]
Haſted wyth Alfwoulde where Campynon ſtood,
Who aynewarde [a] went, whylſte everie Normanne knyghte
Dyd bluſh to ſee their champyon put to flyghte.

As painctyd Bruton, when a wolfyn wylde,
When yt is cale [b] and bluſtrynge wyndes do blowe,

[s] *Scattered.* [t x a] *Backward.* [u] *Advice, counſel.* [y] *Arrow.* [z] *Enterpriſe.* [b] *Cold.*

Enters

V. 631. This ſimile is little inferior to the former in the boldneſs of the image, or the ſpirit of the deſcription; it ſeems to be a diſtant copy of two in Homer, which

 repreſent

Enters hys bordelle [c], taketh hys yonge chylde,
And wyth his bloude beſtreynts [d] the lillie ſnowe,
He thoroughe mountayne hie and dale doth goe,
Throwe the quyck torrent of the bollen [e] ave [f],

[c] *Cottage.* [d] *Sprinkles.* [e] *Swelling.* [f] *Wave, or water.*

Throwe

repreſent wild beaſts retreating from the purſuit of ſhepherds, after the deſtruction of their flocks. See Iliad M. v. 299, and O. 586.

The critics who attack the language of Rowley, are inattentive to the beauties of his poetry, and the force of his expreſſions; a paſſage in this ſimile has been thus queſtioned: "*for his eyne*, i. e. *before his eyes*; *but before whoſe eyes does he mean*, "*the wolf's or the ſhepherd's?*" Undoubtedly the ſhepherd's. But the expreſſion ſeems only to imply, that he killed the wolf as ſoon as he could come within view of him. I am obliged, however, to a very learned friend for a more elegant conſtruction of the phraſe; "*for his eyne*, i. e. *in revenge for his child*:" Here, as in "other paſſages, "*eyne* is ſingular. The idea is moſt exquiſitely claſſical, perhaps not to be found in any modern author. Thus Quintilian laments the death "of his ſon—Mihi filius minor quintum egreſſus annum: Prior alterum ex duobus "eruit *lumen*.—The note of Colomeſius on the paſſage is learned and curious; "*Lumen hic profilio*; uſurpavit etiam Auſonius.

"Amiſſum fleſti poſt trina decennia natum
"Saucius, & *lævo lumine* caſſus eras.

"Feſtus—Orba eſt quæ patrem aut matrem, aut filios quaſi lumen amiſit: Apud "Græcos itidem. Ὀφθαλμοι ἀντὶ παίδων. Æſchylus in Perſis. v. 169.

"Ἀμφὶ δ' ὀφθαλμοις φοβος. Ad quem locum ſcholiaſtes, ἠγουν ἀμφὶ Ξέρξη; "ὀφθάλμον γὰρ ἐκεινον κάλει. Quintilian VI. 1. edit. Caperon, p. 347.

"In the Œdipus in Colono of Sophocles, Œdipus, then blind, exclaims "againſt Creon, who had forced away his daughter from him.

"Ὃς μ' ὦ κακιστε ψίλὸν ὄμμ' ἀτοσπάσας,
"Πρὸς ὄμμασιν τοῖς προσθεν ἐξοίχη ϐια. v. 860.

"In the Andromache of Euripides, when Menelaus threatens to kill his ſon Mo"loſſus, ſhe ſays,

"Εἶς παῖς ὅδ' ἦν μοι λοιπὸς ὀφθαλμὸς ϐίου. v. 406.

"Theſe paſſages prove that the ancients, by *their eyes*, figuratively meant their "children."

Throwe Severne rollynge oer the ſandes belowe
He ſkyms alofe [g], and blents [h] the beatynge wave,
Ne ſtynts [i], ne lagges the chace, tylle for hys eyne
In peecies hee the morthering theef doth chyne.

So Alfwoulde he dyd to Campyon haſte;
Hys bloudie bylle awhap'd [k] the Normannes eyne;
Hee fled, as wolfes when bie the talbots chac'd,
To bloudie byker [l] he dyd ne enclyne.
Duke Wyllyam ſtroke hym on hys brigandyne [m],
And ſayd: Campynon, is it thee I ſee?
Thee? who dydſt actes of glorie ſo bewryen [n],
Now poorlie come to hyde thieſelfe bie mee?
Awaie! thou dogge, and acte a warriors parte,
Or with mie ſwerde I'll perce thee to the harte.

Betweene Erle Alfwoulde and Duke Wyllyam's bronde [o]
Campynon thoughte that nete but deathe coulde bee,
Seezed a huge ſwerde Morglaien [p] yn his honde,
Mottrynge a praier to the Vyrgyne:

[g] *Aloft.* [h] *Mixes, or oppoſes.* [i] *Stops.* [k] *Terrified.* [l] *War, combat.*
[m] *Armour.* [n] *Shew, exhibit.* [o] *Sword, or fury.* [p] *Enchanted ſword.*

So

V. 649. It has been obſerved, that the heroes in this poem do not figure as orators, they can, however, take proper opportunities of reproving each other: Duke William's cenſure of Campynon's cowardice is natural, and the poet's reflection no leſs juſt, on that raſhneſs and religious fear, which are excited by cowardice, the firſt reſource of timid minds under any circumſtances of diſtreſs.

V. 653. He ſeiz'd a huge ſwerde *Morglaien* in his honde,
Mottrynge a praier to the Vyrgyne.

The ſwords of heroes in romance were dignified with particular names; St. George's was called *Aſkalon*, Arthur's *Calyborne*, Roland's *Duranda*, and Bevis's

So hunted deere the dryvynge hounds will ſlee,
When theie dyſcover they cannot eſcape;
And feerful lambkyns, when theie hunted bee,
Theyre ynfante hunters doe theie oft awhape[q];
Thus ſtoode Campynon, greete but hertleſſe knyghte.
When feere of dethe made hym for deathe to fyghte.

Alfwoulde began to dyghte[r] hymſelfe for fyghte,
Meanewhyle hys menne on everie ſyde dyd ſlee,
Whan on hys lyfted ſheelde withe alle hys myghte
Campynon's ſwerde in burlie-brande[t] dyd dree[s];

[q] *Terrify.* [r] *Prepare.* [t] *In armed fury.* [s] *Draw, or drive.*

Bewopen

of Southampton *Morglaie*, whence Rowley borrowed the name. The word may be derived from *Mort Glaive*, or *Mortis Gladius*. Geoff. Monmouth ſays, Lib. i. fol. 266. that Julius Cæſar's ſword, which ſtuck in Nennius' ſhield, was buried in the tomb of Nennius, and was called *Crocea Mors*, "*being mortal to every one who* "*was wounded by it.*"

In the Dragon of Wantly,

With *morglaie* in his hand,
He aſſaulted the Dragon, I underſtand.

Percy, vol. iii. p. 279.

and in the poetical legend of Sir Bevis, (ibid. p. 214.)

He ſmote after, I you ſaie,
With his good ſword *morglaye*;
Up to the hilte *morglay* yode,
Through harte, liver, bone, and bloude.

V. 664. Campynon is ſaid to dree his ſword in *burlie brande*, i. e. armed with fury; but *burlie brand* is alſo uſed in Godwin, ver. 7, for a *great ſword*, and applied in the ſame ſenſe by a poet more ancient than Rowley or Chaucer. The hiſtory of Sir William Wallace, written by Blind Harry, 1361, mentions

His good girdle, and ſyne his *burlie brande:*

and in a ſubſequent paſſage,

His *burniſhed brand* braithly in hand he bare.

Warton, vol. i. p. 323 & 328.

The

Bewopen [t] Alfwoulde fellen on his knee;
Hys Bryſtowe menne came in hym for to ſave;
Eftſoons upgotten from the grounde was hee,
And dyd agayne the touring Norman brave;
He graſpd hys bylle in ſyke a drear arraie,
Hee ſeem'd a lyon catchynge at hys preie.

Upon the Normannes brazen adventayle [u]
The thondrynge bill of myghtie Alfwould came;
It made a dentful [x] bruſe, and then dyd fayle;
Fromme rattlynge weepons ſhotte a ſparklynge flame;
Eftſoons agayne the thondrynge bill ycame
Peers'd thro hys adventayle [y] and ſkyrts of lare [z];
A tyde of purple gore came wyth the ſame,
As out hys bowells on the feelde it tare;
Campynon felle, as when ſome cittie-walle
Inne dolefulle terrours on its mynours falle.

He felle, and dyd the Norman rankes dyvide;
So when an oke, that ſhotte ynto the ſkie,
Feeles the broad axes peerſynge his broade ſyde,
Slowlie hee falls and on the grounde doth lie,
Preſſynge all downe that is wyth hym anighe,
And ſtoppynge wearie travellers on the waie;

[t] *Stupified.* [u y] *Armour for the head.* [x] *Indented.* [z] *Skin, or leather.*

So

The Teſtament of Creſeis deſcribes Jupiter as having a *burly face*, and a *burly brand*, v. 180; and Spenſer continually calls a ſword a *brond*, a *ſteely brond*, *brond iron*, *fatal brond*, and *enchanted brond*.

V. 682. The two ſimilies comparing the fall of Campynon to a city wall, and to a large oak, are repetitions of the ſame images in part 1ſt, v. 59, and 469, and ſeem to be copied from Homer.

So ſtraught[a] upon the playne the Norman hie
* * * * * * *
Bled, gron'd, and dyed: the Normanne knyghtes aſtound[b]
To ſee the bawſin[c] champyon preſte upon the grounde.
As when the hygra of the Severne roars,
And thunders ugſom[d] on the ſandes below,

[a] *Stretched out.* [b] *Aſtoniſhed.* [c] *Great, big.* [d] *Terrible.*

The

V. 691. The laſt, and, as it ſhould ſeem, moſt favourite alluſion of Rowley, becauſe it is three times mentioned (ſee ver. 326, and in Ella, 627) is the *Hygra*, or, as it is vulgarly called, *the bore of the Severn*; which conſiſts of a high wall of water, gradually accumulated from the ſtrong influx of the Atlantick ocean into the Briſtol channel, and contracted by the narrowing banks on each ſide, till at laſt it breaks with fury againſt them, and on the channel of the river. This phenomenon is ſo remarkable and peculiar to the Severn, that William of Malmſbury has thought it worthy his notice, and has deſcribed it as here repreſented:—"In "eo quotidianus aquarum furor, quod, utrum voraginem vel vertiginem undarum "dicam, neſcio, fundo ab imo verrens arenas, & conglobans in cumulum cum im-"petu venit, nec ultra quam ad pontem pertendit; nonnunquam etiam ripas tran-"ſcendit, & magnâ vi parte terræ circuitâ victor regreditur: infelix navis ſiquam a "latere attigerit. nautæ certe gnari cum vident illam *Higram* (ſic enim Anglice "vocant) venire, navem obvertunt, & per medium ſecantes, violentiam ejus "elidunt." Lib. iv. de Pontific, p. 283.

The object itſelf could not be borrowed from Homer, but the effect agrees with his deſcription of ſtorms beating upon the coaſt; and the following ſimile bears ſome reſemblance to it.

Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν αἰγιαλῷ πολυηχεῖ κῦμα θαλάσσης
Ὄρνυτ' ἐπασσύτερον, Ζεφύρῳ ὑποκινήσαντος·
Πόντῳ μὲν τὰ πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον μεγάλα βρέμει, ἀμφὶ δέ τ' ἄκρας
Κυρτὸν ἐὸν κορυφοῦται, ἀποπλύει δ' ἁλὸς ἀχνην.

Il. Δ. v. 422.

As when the winds, aſcending by degrees,
Firſt move the whitening ſurface of the ſeas;
The billows float in order to the ſhore,
The wave behind rolls on the wave before;

Till

The cleembe[e] reboundes to Wedeceſters ſhore,
And ſweeps the black ſande rounde its horie prowe[f];
So bremie[g] Alfwoulde thro the warre dyd goe;
Hys Kenters and Bryſtowans ſlew ech ſyde,
Betreinted[h] all alonge with bloudleſs foe,
And ſeemd to ſwymm alonge with bloudie tyde;
Fromme place to place beſmeard with bloud they went,
And rounde aboute them ſwarthleſs[i] corſe beſprente[k].

A famous Normanne who yclepd Aubene,
Of ſkyll in bow, in tylte, and handeſworde fyghte,
That daie yn feelde han manie Saxons ſleene,
Forre hee in ſothen[l] was a manne of myghte.

[e] *Noiſe.* [f] *Brow.* [g] *Furious.* [h] *Drenched.* [i] *Lifeleſs.* [k] *Scattered.* [l] *In truth.*

Fyrſte

Till with the growing ſtorm the deep ariſe,
From o'er the rocks, and thunder to the ſkies.
Pope, B. iv. v. 478.

Drayton has given a pictureſque deſcription of this hygra in the beginning of his ſeventh canto.

V. 701. A famous Norman called Aubene (but probably not the ſame perſon with De Aubignee, mentioned in the former poem, ver. 241. and ſaid to have been ſlain by Ethelward) is here celebrated *for his ſkill* "*in bow, in tylte, and handeſworde fyghte*; three very conſiderable accompliſhments of a warrior in thoſe days; but when compared with Alfwold, the poet makes him only a man of ſtraw. This is the laſt event recorded in the poem, which does not appear to be drawing to a concluſion: The death of Harold, that great prelude to the event of this deciſive battle, and the victory obtained by the Norman army in conſequence of it, are yet unſung. How much cauſe then have we to lament, that the ſame pen which has ſo claſſically adorned the recital of this engagement, ſhould not have compleated the poem, by deſcribing the more important and intereſting concluſion of that remarkable event!

The remarks on theſe two poems cannot be cloſed without taking notice of a circumſtance in favour of their authenticity, which merits the reader's

Fyrſte dyd his ſwerde on Adelgar alyghte, 705
As hee on horſeback was, and peersd hys gryne [m],
Then upwarde went: in everlaſtynge nyghte
Hee closd hys rollyng and dymſyghted eyne.

[m] *Groin.*

Next

attention: I mean the conformity in the names of theſe Norman warriors with thoſe printed in our hiſtorians, from the Chronicle of Normandy and Battle Abbey Roll. A very ſmall number of the Normans could be diſtinguiſhed by our poet; but almoſt all the perſons mentioned in theſe two poems will be found in the liſts of the hiſtorians, or at leaſt names ſo nearly reſembling them, that, allowing for miſtakes of tranſcribers, and difference of ſpelling, they may be ſatisfactorily verified. In order to give the reader a more perfect idea of this conformity, Rowley's names are placed in one column, with a reference to the poem and verſe where they occur; and in another column, the correſponding names, as they are to be found, either in the Hiſtoriæ Nomannorum Scriptores, Brompton, Hollingſhead, Stowe, and Fox's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory; or in the Poetical French Chronicle of Jean de Wace, and in William of Wirceſtre's Annals, ſubjoined to Hearne's Liber Niger, tom. ii. p. 522.

Poem.	Verſe.	Rowley's List.	The Historians List.
1	465	Angillion,	Angilliam, *Battle Abbey Roll.*—Agilon, *Fox.*
2	701	Aubene,	Albene, *B. A. R.*
1	241	D'Aubignæ,	Le Boutiller D'Aubignée, *Holl. Stowe, Fox.*
1	152	Du Barlie,	Barl, *W. Wirceſtre.*
1	54	De Beque,	Beke, *B. A. R.* Touſtan de Bec, *Stowe, Fox.*
2	225	De Beer,	Bere Bures, *B. A. R.* Le Sire de Biars, *Wace and Fox.*
1	255	Romara de Biere,	Guill de Romara, *Holl. Stowe, Wace, and Fox.*
1	173	Bertrammel Maine,	Meigne, *W. Wirceſtre.* Bertram le tort, *Holl. Stowe, and Fox.* E. Bertram, *Wace and Fox.*
2	296	De Beaument,	Roger, Earl of Beaumont, *Holl. and Stowe.* Roger, Comte de Beaumont, *Fox.* Roger de Belmont, *Wace.*
1	136	Bonoboe,	Le Seigneur de Bonnebault, *Holl.* Le Sire de Bonnebos, *Fox and Wace.* Le Sire de Donnebos, *Stowe.*

Rowley's

Next Eadlyn, Tatwyn, and fam'd Adelred,
Bie various cauſes ſunken to the dead.

But now to Alfwoulde he oppoſynge went,
To whom compar'd hee was a man of ſtre [n],
And wyth bothe hondes a mightie blowe he ſente
At Alfwouldes head, as hard as hee could dree [o];

[n] *Straw.* [o] *Drive.*

But

Poem.	Verſe.	Rowley's List.	Historians List.
1	375	De Broque,	Brok, *W. Wirceſtre.*
1	391	Fitz Broque,	
2	472	De Clearmondes,	Cleremount, *Brompton.* Cleremaus, *B. A. R.*
2	596	Campynon,	Champaigne, Champeney, *B. A. R.*
1	421	Du Chatelet,	
1	543	Fitz Chatulet,	
1	341	Chatillion,	Chaſtelein, *W. Wirceſtre.*
2	321	Fitz Chivelloys,	
1	108	Douille Naibor,	Le Sire de Doully, *Stowe and Fox.*
2	331	Feſcampe,	Pierre de Bailleul,
1	443	Fiſcampe,	Seigneur de Fiſcamp, *Holl. Stowe, and Fox.*
1	325	Fitz Botevilleine,	Botville, Bertevile, Bertevyley, *B. A. R.* Boutevillain, *Fox.*—Butevilein, *W. Wirceſtre.* Botevilayn, *Wace.*
1	505	Fitz du Valle,	
2	49	Fitz du Gore,	Gover, Goverges, *B. A. R.*
2	34	Hugh Fitz Hugh,	Ditto, *B. A. R.*—Fizhu, *W. Wirceſtre.*
1	531	Fitz Pierce,	Fitz Peres, *B. A. R.*—Fizpers, *W. Wirceſtre.*
1	163	Fitz Port,	Le Sire de Port, *Stowe and Fox.* Chev. de Port, *Wace.*
1	231	Fitz Salnarville,	Le Sire de Salnarville, *Stowe and Fox.*
1	426	Fitz Warren,	Gul. de Garennes, *Holl. Stowe, and Fox.*
1	197	Auffroie de Griel,	Greyle, *B. A. R.*
1	272	Hubert,	Paennel du Montier Hubert, *Holl. Fox, W. Wirceſtre.* Hubert Robert, *Stowe.*

But on hys paynćted ſheelde ſo biſmarlie [p] 715
Aſlaunte [q] his ſwerde did go ynto the grounde;
Then Alfwould him attack'd moſt furyouſlie,
Athrowe hys gaberdyne [r] hee dyd him wounde,

[p] *Whimſically.* [q] *Slanting, or acroſs* [r] *Cloak.*

Then

Poem.	Verſe.	Rowley's List.	Historians List.
2	481	Hue de Longeville,	Le Seigneur de Longueville, *Holl.* Gualtier Guiſart Comte de Longueville, *Stowe.* Gualtier Gifford Comte de Longueville, *Fox.*
1	526	De Laque,	Le Sire de Lacy, *Stowe.*—Lacy, *B. A. R.*—Lachy, *Holl.*
2	351	Du Mouline,	Guilleaume des Moulins, *Holl. and Fox.* Moulinous, *Stowe.*
2	255	Nevylle,	Nevile, *B. A. R.*
2	341	Norcie,	Norice, *B. A. R.*
1	427	Partaie,	Le Vidam de Patays Seigneur de la Lande, *Holl.* Le Vidam de Partay, *Stowe and Fox.* Chevalier de Partou, *Wace.*
1	251	Pikeny,	Le Seigneur de Picquigny, *Holl.*—Piggny, *Stowe.* Le Sire de Piquegny, *Fox.*
2	299	De Roe,	——— Ros, *B. A. R.*
1	113	Deſtoutville,	Seigneur Deſtouteville, *Holl. Stowe, and Fox.* Stoteville, *Wace.*
2	51	Tancarville,	The Erle of Tanquerville, *Holl.*—Le Sire de Tankerville, *Stowe.*—Tancarville, *Fox.*—Tancharville, *Wace.*
1	497	Sauncelotte,	Le Sire de Sanceaulx, *Stowe and Fox.* Le Sire de Sauncy, *Stowe.*—Sauncy, *B. A. R.*
1	278	De Torcie,	Le Seneſchal de Torchy, *Holl. Stowe, and Fox.* Le Sire de Torchy, *Stowe and Fox.*
1	193	De Tracie,	Le Seigneur de Traſſy, alias Tracy, *Holl.* Le Sire de Tracy, *Stowe, Wace, and Fox.*
2	488	Troyvillain,	Treville, *B. A. R.*
1	331	De Viponte,	Gul. de Vipont, *Holl.*—Vielz Pont, *Stowe.*—Viez Pont, *Fox.*
1	451	Walleri,	Le Seigneur de St. Valleri, *Holl. Wace, and Fox.* Le Sire de St. Walery. *Stowe.*

There

Then ſoone agayne hys ſwerde hee dyd upryne[1],
And clove his creſte and ſplit hym to the eyne. 720

* * * * * * * * * *

[1] *Upriſe, or lift up.*

There is very little reaſon, therefore, for the objection ſtarted in a letter printed ſome years ſince in the St. James's Chronicle, which aſſerts that this liſt of Norman warriors was copied by Chatterton from that in Fox's book of Martyrs, which he ſays was taken from an incorrect edition of Tailleure's Norman Chronicle. As to Mr. Warton's objection to this evidence, "that any modern forger might have "collected theſe names from the liſts in the printed books," it would have ſome weight, if our poet's liſt correſponded with thoſe of the hiſtorians, either in number, order, or ſpelling: But neither of theſe is the caſe; Rowley's liſt containing only forty-ſeven names, whereas Hollingſhed's has above eight hundred. They do not follow in the ſame order; ſome of them are ſpelt alike, others differently; even the ſame names are differently ſpelt in Hollingſhed's two liſts. It may be inferred, therefore, either that the poet ſelected the names at his own pleaſure from the hiſtory in general, or that he might follow ſome ancient record formerly extant, in which theſe names were particularly diſtinguiſhed.—It is certainly a circumſtance in favour of the authenticity of the poem, that the perſonages are real; though it would have been no objection to it, if the names, as well as many of the events therein mentioned, had been ſuggeſted only by the poet's imagination.

END OF THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS. N°. 2.

Æ L L A:

A

TRAGYCAL ENTERLUDE,

OR

DISCOORSEYNGE TRAGEDIE,

WROTENN BIE

THOMAS ROWLEIE;

PLAIEDD BEFORE

MASTRE CANYNGE,

ATTE HYS HOWSE NEMPTE THE RODDE LODGE;

[ALSOE BEFORE THE DUKE OF NORFOLCK,

JOHAN HOWARD.]

PERSONNES REPRESENTEDD.

ÆLLA, bie *Thomas Rowleie*, Preeſte, the Aucthoure.

CELMONDE, *Johan Iſcamm*, Preeſte.

HURRA, Syrr *Thybbotte Gorges*, Knyghte.

BIRTHA, Maſtre *Edwarde Canynge*.

Odherr Partes bie *Knyghtes Mynſtrelles*.

THE

THE

TRAGEDY OF ELLA.

THE powers of Rowley's genius, as an epic or hiſtorical poet, have been diſplayed in the Battle of Haſtings; which appears, both in its plan and conduct, to be a cloſe imitation of Homer's battles: The ideas, characters, and alluſions in it being borrowed immediately from the Iliad, and not from any of its tranſlators. But, whatever claim might have been made in favour of Chatterton as the author, founded either on his own unſupported and improbable aſſertion, or on the ſuppoſed poſſibility of his writing theſe two poems, aſſiſted by Mr. Pope's tranſlation; no plea of this kind can be urged with regard to any other poem in the collection; and leaſt of all to the dramatic works, or the Tragedy of Ella; which required not only an elevation of poetic genius far ſuperior to that poſſeſſed by Chatterton, but alſo ſuch moral and mental qualifications, as never entered into any part of his character or conduct, and which could not poſſibly be acquired by a youth of his age and inexperience; I mean, that knowledge and judgment which ariſes from a proper obſervation of times, of men, and of manners; from an extenſive communication with perſons of improved knowledge and experi-

ence; and from ſuch an acquaintance with literature, as can only be obtained by much reading and deep reflection.

This knowledge, and the power of applying it judiciouſly, muſt be eſſentially neceſſary to any forger of poems, who ſhould attempt to dreſs them up in a ſtile different from that of the age in which they were produced.—It is not in the power of nature or genius to confer this knowledge; it can only be acquired by time and experience, together with particular circumſtances of rank and ſituation in life.

In the inſtance before us, Ella is ſtiled *A Tragical Enterlude*, or a *Diſcoorſeynge Tragedie*, written by a prieſt in the fifteenth century, at a time when tragedies, ſo called, were nothing more than ballads, without either dialogue or plot, and incapable of repreſentation. The improvement of this plan conſiſted in making the perſons concerned *diſcourſe* for themſelves, with the addition of a plot; and cauſing the action repreſented to be *really performed* by the party, which in former tragedies was only *ſaid* to be done. The qualities neceſſary to give grace and beauty to ſuch a repreſentation were—ſimplicity of idea, ſentiment, and expreſſion—natural and obvious images—moral turns and applications, ſuitable to, and naturally ariſing from, the ſubject.—In the dialogue, ſimplicity without the critical refinements of the modern age—no regular proportion in the length of the ſpeeches—the dramatis perſonæ not numerous—no unneceſſary under-character—the part of each obviouſly marked by the uniformity of their reſpective ſpeeches and conduct—the plot ſimple, and inartificially opened in an early part of the play—no complicated contrivance to bring about the cataſtrophe, which ſhould flow naturally from the principles and conduct of thoſe who are to produce it—the whole ſhould rather be ſparing, than too much abounding in events—not too buſy in action, nor admitting too great a variety—the principal object of the play ſhould be ſteadily and uniformly purſued, and the cataſtrophe unhappy.

Such

Such are the characteriſticks of the Greek tragedians, who firſt formed the ſongs of the poets at the Dionyſia into real dramatic performances; and they were more particularly attentive, that the Chorus, which was the old Ode or Poem, and (to pleaſe the people) was preſerved as part of the Tragedy, ſhould continue to breathe uſeful, moral, and virtuous ſentiments, which the poet with great art contrived to draw out, and apply to the particular circumſtances of the characters brought forward on the ſtage. Many of theſe are the ſimple effects of nature, and ſome of art; of which the moſt remarkable was, announcing the cataſtrophe to the audience by an eye-witneſs, or meſſenger, and not exhibiting it *coram populo*. This was a refinement of the Athenian poet, who probably conſulted the feelings of his audience, more than the impulſe and directions of nature: An unhappy cataſtrophe was generally choſen by them, as beſt ſuited to produce a powerful effect on the mind, and therefore preferred, by the great maſter of the art of poetry, to that in the other extreme.

If the Tragedy of Ella be examined by theſe rules, it will be found to agree with them almoſt in every inſtance—The ſimplicity, the unity, the moral intent, are too ſtriking not to affect the reader upon the firſt peruſal: A more critical examination of its ſeveral parts will juſtify the concluſion, that it is an *original piece*, written (as it is ſaid to be) at a very early period, when the advances towards poetical perfection in this country were ſlow and diſtant. It will appear to be imitative in thoſe parts and points *only*, where the uniformity of nature, and of the thoughts of men in the moſt diſtant ages or countries, will reconcile the reſemblance: It will be found original in its plot, its character, and events; and the Songs of the Minſtrells may be adduced in proof of the moral and pure ſentiment of the author.

To this claim of originality, is oppoſed that of a youth of the age of ſixteen, born and bred in indigence, newly diſcharged from a ſchool, where the intention of the eſtabliſhment was fully ſatisfied with reading and writing well. A youth, who ſpent the

greateſt part of his leiſure time with company of the ſame age and principles with himſelf, admitted to no library, known to or encouraged by no men of learning, but left to ſtruggle, in his way to letters, through difficulties, greater perhaps than have ever been oppoſed to any genius in this country. The poetical compoſitions with which he was acquainted, could be only ſuch as fell in the way of a youth ſo circumſtanced; he might have ſeen Shakeſpeare, Spenſer, Milton, Pope, and other modern poets; but he had no time to beſtow on the ſtudy of their beauties: He might alſo have ſeen plays repreſented on the Briſtol theatre;—but could the complicated plots of Hamlet and Macbeth have ſuggeſted to him one of ſo pure and ſimple a form as that of Ella? —Could the latitude of time, and variety of events in the hiſtorical plays of Shakeſpear, have taught him to confine the wildneſs of that great dramatic poet within the rules of Ariſtotle, of whom he knew nothing but the name? Could the modern plays ſuggeſt to him plans of the pureſt ſimplicity? Or where could he learn the nice rules of the Interlude, by the introduction of a Chorus, and the application of their ſongs to the moral and virtuous object of the performance; ſtill preſerving the propriety of their introduction, at the time and in the place where they appear? Could the moſt experienced critic, apprized of the difficulties which ſuch a forgery required, have ſucceeded ſo well in it? And, what is ſtill more wonderful, could an uninformed and illiterate genius have ſo placed himſelf with reſpect to nature, and to the progreſſive ſtate of learning in a preceding age, as to produce a performance, in invention and deſcription, in language and manner, the ſame as would have been compoſed by a perſon living in that age, without blundering, or indeed forgetting that it was not to be conſidered as his own? Such attentions were moſt unlikely to be found in Chatterton, whoſe genius could not ſtoop to theſe minutiæ, and whoſe turn of mind was incapable of purſuing that principle, which pervades theſe poems; viz. *the improvement of the human mind, by inculcating the precepts of morality.*

morality. Is there a picture more ſtriking to the moraliſt, than the death of Celmond—the virtue of Birtha, expreſſed in her pious and charitable wiſh for Celmond's future fame—or the conduct of Hurra, who, in the purſuit of a barbarous reſolution, feels generouſly for a diſtreſſed female; checks his own reſentment; prevents the bloody deſign of his comrades, and reſtores to the arms of his enemy, his wife—the chaſte but unhappy Birtha?

The ſtruggle between Celmond and Birtha afforded, to a warm imagination, the opportunity of indulging his fancy. Poets more chaſte and leſs profligate than Chatterton, have fallen into ſuch ſnares: But here the idea is not enlarged upon; not a line, nor even a word is introduced, that can offend the moſt delicate ear: The very apprehenſion of it is anticipated by Celmond's threat, which, forcing a ſcream from Birtha, procures her inſtant deliverance.

It is alſo a remarkable circumſtance in theſe poems, eſpecially in the dramatic compoſitions, that we find no exuberance or flight of fancy, no wild or enthuſiaſtic digreſſion on general and favourite topics, ſuch as courage, liberty, patriotiſm; in which a young and untutored genius would be very apt to indulge his imagination. The ſentiments and hints are ſhort and inſtructive, the concluſions are drawn from facts, the replies are pertinent, and the aſſent to them is confirmed more by immediate action, than by a long ſtudious harangue about them—a fault often to be found in the modern poets, eſpecially in their tragedies, even upon the moſt trite and common topics.

Beſides the Entroductionne, which ſerves as a prologue to this tragedy, the two poetic epiſtles prefixed to it, and addreſſed to Mr. Canning, contain ſpecimens of the author's abilities in judicious criticiſm and pleaſant raillery; in neither of which does he appear at all inferior to Mr. Pope, and (allowing for the

difference in language and phraseology) not unlike him in the stile of his Epistles and Satires. The former of these letters, professed to be written on the subject of Ella, was sent as a *Lenvoi*, to recommend the tragedy to Mr. Canning's approbation; wherein he points out the origin, use, and beauty of poetry, justly lamenting the degenerate and insipid state to which it was reduced in his time.

EPISTLE

EPISTLE TO MASTRE CANYNGE ON ÆLLA.

"TYS ſonge bie mynſtrelles, thatte yn auntyent tym,
Whan Reaſonn hylt [a] herſelfe in cloudes of nyghte,
The preeſte delyvered alle the lege [b] yn rhym;
Lyche peyncted [c] tyltynge ſpeares to pleaſe the ſyghte,

[a] Hid, concealed. [b] Law. [c] Painted.

The

V. 1. If it be aſked what minſtrels the poet here alludes to, it will hardly be ſuppoſed that he means thoſe of our own country; they did not uſually mention ſuch remote facts of learned hiſtory. It is therefore more probable, that he borrowed his ideas from a more claſſical author, and that he had Horace in his eye, when he penned theſe lines; by whom we are informed, that the ancient Greek laws were written in verſe, and that Orpheus was a prieſt, a lawgiver, and a poet.

Silveſtres homines *ſacer interpreſque deorum*
Cædibus et victu fœdo deterruit *Orpheus*;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres, rabidoſque leones.
Dictus et Amphion Thebanæ conditor arcis,
Saxa movere ſono teſtudinis, et prece blandâ
Ducere quo vellet; fuit hæc ſapientia quondam,
Publica privatis ſecernere, ſacra profanis;
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis,
Oppida moliri, leges incidere ligno;
Sic honor et nomen *divinis vatibus* atque
Carminibus venit, &c. De Arte Poet, v. 391.

If Rowley meant to ſpeak of more minſtrels than one, Ariſtophanes has the beſt claim to a diſtinction, for to him Horace was indebted for the whole paſſage: See his Ranæ, v. 163.

V. 3. The compariſon between the *law delivered in rime*, and the painted tylting ſpears, is an original, and undoubtedly a very ancient idea. The former was calculated

The whyche yn yttes felle [d] uſe doe make moke [e] dere [f],
Syke dyd theire auncyante lee [g] deftlie [h] delyghte the eare.

Perchaunce yn Vyrtues gare [i] rhym mote bee thenne,
Butte efte [k] nowe flyeth to the odher ſyde;
In hallie [l] preeſte apperes the ribaudes [m] penne,
Inne lithie [n] moncke apperes the barronnes pryde:
But rhym wythe ſomme, as nedere [o] widhout teethe,
Make pleaſaunce to the ſenſe, botte maie do lyttel ſcathe [p].

Syr Johne, a knyghte, who hath a barne of lore [q],
Kenns [r] Latyn att fyrſt ſyghte from Frenche or Greke,
Pyghtethe [s] hys knowlachynge [t] ten yeres or more,
To rynge [u] upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.

[d] *Bad.* [e] Much. [f] Hurt, damage. [g] *Song.* [h] Sweetly, *rather agreeably.* [i] Cauſe. [k] Oft. [l] Holy. [m] Rake, lewd perſon. [n] Humble, *rather gentle.* [o] Adder. [p] Hurt, damage. [q] Learning. [r] Knows. [s] Plucks or tortures, *pitches.* [t] Knowledge. [u] *Poring.*

Whoever

calculated to charm the ear, as the latter was to pleaſe the eye; but the ſeverity or *fell uſe* of both was attended with very diſagreeable conſequences to thoſe who offended againſt either.

V. 11. This may be ſuppoſed to form the poet's apology for the ridicule contained in the following lines, and to imply that he meant only to amuſe his friend Canning, without prejudicing the reputation or character of the perſons here repreſented, ſuppoſing them to be real.

V. 13. Sir John, a pedantic knight, is ſatyriſed for his ſuperficial knowledge and affected love of the learned languages.

V. 15. *Pyghtethe hys knowlachynge*, may ſignify *he pitches, or ſtakes the credit of his learning* on his knowledge of the Latin word.—The following line wants ſome correction to make it ſenſe, and the alteration of one letter will ſerve the purpoſe; inſtead of *To rynge*, read

Porynge upon the Latynne worde to ſpeke.

Whoever ſpekethe Englyſch ys deſpyſed,
The Englyſch hym to pleaſe moſte fyrſte be latynized.

Vevyan, a moncke, a good requiem [x] ſynges;
Can preache ſo wele, eche hynde [y] hys meneynge knowes;
Albeytte theſe gode guyfts awaie he flynges,
Beeynge as badde yn vearſe as goode yn proſe.
Hee ſynges of ſeynctes who dyed for yer Godde,
Everych wynter nyghte afreſche he ſheddes theyr blodde.

To maydens, huſwyfes, and unlored [a] dames,
Hee redes hys tales of merryment & woe.
Loughe [b] loudlie dynneth [c] from the dolte [d] adrames [e];
He ſwelles on laudes [f] of fooles, tho' kennes [g] hem ſoe.
Sommetyme at tragedie theie laughe and ſynge,
At merrie yaped [h] fage [i] ſomme hard-drayned water brynge.

Yette Vevyan ys ne foole, beyinde [k] hys lynes.
Geofroie makes vearſe, as handycraftes theyr ware;
Wordes wythoute ſenſe fulle groffyngelye [l] he twynes,
Cotteynge hys ſtorie off as wythe a ſheere;

[x] A ſervice uſed over the dead. [y] Peaſant. [a] Unlearned. [b] Laugh, *rather laughter*. [c] Sounds. [d] Fooliſh, *or ſtupid*. [e] Churls, *rather dreamers*. [f] *Praiſes*. [g] Knows. [h] Laughable. [i] Tale, jeſt. [k] Beyond. [l] Fooliſhly, *coarſely, vulgarly*.

Waytes

V. 19. Vevyan, a Monk, is ridiculed for miſtaking his abilities, neglecting the duties of his profeſſion wherein he excelled, in order to amuſe old women and peaſants with the rehearſal of doleful ditties (the tragedies of thoſe days) on the martyrdom of the ſaints; and nothing can be more original, or humorous, than the deſcription of this Monk and his audience.

V. 24. The word *and* muſt be prefixed to this line, to compleat both the ſenſe and the metre.

V. 32. Jeoffroi is pointed out as a tedious compoſer of inſipid tales. It may be thought an injuſtice done both to Chaucer and Rowley, to ſuppoſe that the father

Waytes monthes on nothynge, & hys ſtorie donne,
Ne moe you from ytte kenn, than gyf [m] you neere begonne.

Enowe of odhers; of mieſelfe to write,
Requyrynge whatt I doe notte nowe poſſeſs,
To you I leave the taſke; I kenne your myghte
Wyll make mie faultes, mie meynte [n] of faultes, be leſs.
ÆLLA wythe thys I ſende, and hope that you
Wylle from ytte caſte awaie, whatte lynes maie be untrue.

[m] If. [n] Many.

Playes

ther of our Engliſh poetry was deſigned under this name and character; and yet it ſeems by no means improbable, that a writer, whoſe ideas were ſo ſublime and elegant, might not reliſh the tedious and unintereſting relation of Chaucer's tales: This ſuppoſition is rendered ſtill more probable, by the Chriſtian name of Chaucer being uſed on the occaſion, and by Milton's alluſion, in his Penſeroſo, to this circumſtance, ſo particularly pointed out by our poet; viz. the abrupt concluſion of the Squire's Tale; which Milton thus deſcribes:

Or call him up, that left half told
The ſtory of Cambuſcan bold.

If ſo grave a poet as Milton amuſed himſelf by reflecting on this buſkin'd tale, why ſhould it be thought unlikely, that Rowley ſhould take notice of it? eſpecially when he was cenſuring a falſe taſte, both in learning and poetry; and notwithſtanding he is ſaid, in the printed memoirs of Canning, to have been ſuch an admirer of Chaucer's poetry, that it prevented him from reading his own with pleaſure; (a confeſſion which was well ſuited to Rowley's modeſty,) yet the niceſt obſerver will ſcarcely diſcover a feature of ſimilitude between the two poets. In fact, we trace Rowley's ideas in no other author except the inſpired writers, and in the Greek and Latin claſſics. He neither imitates the preceding, nor his contemporary Engliſh poets; and thoſe who lived ſince his time could not borrow from his works, which for three centuries together were buried in Redcliff church.

The ſuperiority of Rowley's ideas and judgment are exemplified in his obſervations at the cloſe of this epiſtle, alluding to a ſpecies of dramatical repreſentations, which, under the title of "Myſteries and Miracles," had been exhibited during three preceding centuries, by Monks and Friars, for the amuſement and inſtruction of the populace: The ſubject of them was generally ſcripture hiſtory, or legends of

the

Playes made from hallie [o] tales I holde unmeete;
Lette ſomme greate ſtorie of a manne be ſonge;
Whanne, as a manne, we Godde and Jeſus treate,
In mie pore mynde, we doe the Godhedde wronge.
Botte lette ne wordes, whyche droorie [p] mote ne heare,
Bee placed yn the ſame. Adieu untylle anere [q].

THOMAS ROWLEIE.

[o] Holy. [p] Strange perverſion of words. *Droorie* in its ancient ſignification ſtood for *modeſty*. [q] Another.

the ſaints. The Grey Friars of Coventry excelled in this kind of repreſentation; two ſpecimens of which appear in Stevens's Supplement to Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. i. p. 139; one called Ludus Coventriæ, or the play of Corpus Chriſti; the other repreſenting part of the Bible hiſtory, wherein Adam and Eve, Noah and the Patriarchs, even God himſelf, are made the dramatis perſonæ. One of the earlieſt and moſt magnificent repreſentations of this kind, was exhibited by the Engliſh biſhops at Conſtance, in 1417, to teſtify their joy on the Emperor Sigiſmund's return to that council:—"Les Anglois, (as L'Enfant obſerves,) ſe ſignala-"rent entre les autres par une ſpectacle nouveau, ou au moins inuſité juſque alors "en Allemagne: Ce fut une comedie ſacre, que les Evêques Anglois firent repre-"ſenter devant L'Emperour le Dimanche 31 de Janvier, *ſur la naiſſance du Sau-"veur, ſur l'arrivee des mages, & ſur le maſſacre des innocens.*" P. 440.

This piece was moſt probably performed in Latin; and it ſeems as if the term *Comedy* was then applied to ſerious ſcriptural repreſentations, as Dante's poems were called the *Comedy of Hell, of Purgatory*, &c. L'Enfant obſerves alſo, that the firſt profane or claſſical comedy produced in Germany, was exhibited by Reuchlin, at Heidelburg, anno 1497.

The groſs abſurdity of theſe ſcriptural comedies, could not but give offence to the claſſical taſte of Rowley; and they are alſo touched upon with ſome humour by Ludovicus Vivès, in his Comment. on St. Auguſtin de Civ. Dei. lib. viii. cap. 27; who having lived ſome time in England, had probably ſeen the abſurdity of ſome of theſe repreſentations. As he died in 1536, he was not much poſterior, either in his age, or ſentiments on this ſubject to Rowley; who was not only the firſt to condemn them, but alſo to produce a tragedy written on the plan which he recommends in this epiſtle; and, on ſuppoſition of its being genuine, is acknowledged by Mr. Warton to be the moſt ancient regular drama extant in the Engliſh language.

LETTER TO THE DYGNE MASTRE CANYNGE.

STRAUNGE dome ytte ys, that, yn theſe daies of oures,
Nete [a] butte a bare recytalle can hav place;
Nowe ſhapelie poeſie haſt loſte yttes powers,
And pynant hyſtorie ys onlie grace;
Heie [b] pycke up wolſome [c] weedes, ynſtedde of flowers,
And famylies, ynſtedde of wytte, theie trace;
Nowe poeſie canne meete wythe ne regrate [d],
Whylſte proſe, & herehaughtrie [e], ryſe yn eſtate.

[a] Nought. [b] They. [c] *Loathſome.* [d] Eſteem. [e] Heraldry.

Lette

This Letter, addreſſed *to the dygne Maſtre Canynge*, ſeems prefixed to Ella without ſufficient authority; for it has no apparent connection with the ſubject of that tragedy; nor is it probable that Rowley would addreſs two poetic epiſtles to his friend on the ſame ſubject: It might have accompanied ſome other poem preſented to his patron, which, by the tenor of the letter, ſhould ſeem to have been rather of the hiſtoric than dramatic kind; for he connects the cauſe of Hiſtory with that of Poetry, conſidering them under one united view, and attributing the neglect and decline of poetry, to the predominant paſſion for heraldry and pedigrees.

Nowe poeſie canne meete wythe ne regrate,
Whylſte proſe, and herehaughtrie, ryſe yn eſtate, V. 7.

He laments the fate of Hiſtory, at that time dwindled into a dry recital of unintereſting events, ſuch as uſually compoſed the Chronicles of thoſe times—and thus far every reader will approve the poet's cenſure; but his love for invention, ſo diſtinctly marked in all his works, takes a bold ſtep in this Letter, wherein he profeſſes himſelf more concerned for the *graces*, than for the *truth* of hiſtory; ridiculing thoſe wiſe *greybarbes* (as he calls them) who demand the authority of ancient writers for the authentication of hiſtorical facts; ſuch as Aſſer, Ingulf,

Lette kynges, & rulers, whan heie gayne a throne,
Shewe whatt theyre grandfieres, & great granſieres bore,
Emarſchalled armes, yatte, ne before theyre owne,
Now raung'd wythe whatt yeir fadres han before;
Lette trades, & toune folck, lett ſyke [f] thynges alone,
Ne fyghte for ſable yn a fielde of aure [g];
Seldomm, or never, are armes vyrtues mede [h],
Shee nillynge [i] to take myckle [k] aie dothe hede.

A man aſcaunſe [l] upponn a piece maye looke,
And ſhake hys hedde to ſtyrre hys rede [m] aboute;
Quod he, gyf I aſkaunted [n] oere thys booke,
Schulde fynde thereyn that trouthe ys left wythoute;
Eke, gyf [o] ynto a vew percaſe [p] I tooke
The long beade-rolle of al the wrytynge route,

[f] Such. [g] *Or, in heraldry.* [h] *Reward.* [i] Unwilling. [k] Much.
[l] *Obliquely.* [m] Wiſdom, council. [n] *Glanced.* [o] If. [p] Perchance.

Aſſerius,

Turgot, and Bede, whom he very undeſervedly and contemptuouſly points out under the character of

The long beade-rolle of al the wrytynge route; (v. 22.)

nor is he aſhamed openly to avow, that he and his friend Canning ſometimes gave a looſe rein to their poetic ſteed, and diſdaining to be chained to one paſture, interſperſed their facts with poetic fiction; cleaning them from old ruſt (as he calls it) and making them wear a new and different face; or, to ſpeak in his own words,

Soared above the truth of hiſtory. V. 40.

This declaration appears like an apology for the Battle of Haſtings; which, altho' founded in true hiſtory, and illuſtrated with ſome authentic facts from ancient writers, contains alſo many others, which are the ſole production of the poet's fancy; it being profeſſedly his deſign to pleaſe his patron's ear, who ſtudied ſenſe more than language, and preferred *dygne and wordie thoughtes* to the fetters of metre and the jingling of rhime.

V. 18. This is not unlike the deſcription of Sidrophel in Hudibras;

Who having three times ſhook his head,
To ſtir his wit up, thus he ſaid.

Aſſerius, Ingolphus, Torgotte, Bedde,
Thorow hem [q] al nete lyche ytte I coulde rede.—

Pardon, yee Graiebarbes [r], gyff I ſaie, onwiſe
Yee are, to ſtycke ſo cloſe & byſmarelie [s]
To hyſtorie; you doe ytte tooe moche pryze,
Whyche amenuſed [t] thoughtes of poeſie;
Somme drybblette [u] ſhare you ſhoulde to yatte [x] alyſe [y],
Nott makynge everyche thynge bee hyſtorie;
Inſtedde of mountynge onn a wynged horſe,
You onn a rouncy [z] dryve yn dolefull courſe.

Cannynge & I from common courſe dyſſente;
Wee ryde the ſtede, botte yev to hym the reene;
Ne wylle betweene craſed molterynge bookes be pente,
Botte ſoare on hyghe, & yn the ſonne-bemes ſheene;
And where wee kenn ſomme iſhad [a] floures beſprente,
We take ytte, & from oulde rouſte doe ytte clene;
Wee wylle ne cheynedd to one paſture bee,
Botte ſometymes ſoare 'bove trouthe of hyſtorie.

[q] Them. [r] Greybeards. [s] Curiouſly, *capriciouſly*. [t] Leſſened. [u] Small.
[x] That. [y] Allow. [z] Cart-horſe, *Hackney-horſe*. [a] Broken, *ſcattered*.

Saie,

Ben Johnſon has alſo a ſimilar expreſſion in the comedy of "Every Man in his "Humour:"——"Edward Knowell.—'Slight, he ſhakes his head like a bottle, to "feel an' there be any brain in it." Act iv. Scene 2.—But it does not follow that theſe are plagiariſms either from Johnſon or Butler; for the idea connected with the action, like others annexed to various geſtures of the body, is founded in nature, and eſtabliſhed by ancient and general cuſtom, and therefore at all times open to every man's obſervation.

V. 37. *Iſhad* means *ſcattered* or *ſeparated*, not *broken*, which would be an improper epithet in this paſſage. Mr. Warton has quoted a line from Robert le Brunne, in which the word *ſhad* occurs; and adds, *ſhad is ſeparated*. vol. i. p. 166.

Saie, Canynge, whatt was vearſe yn daies of yore?
Fyne thoughtes, and couplettes fetyvelie [b] bewryen [c],
Notte ſyke as doe annoie thys age ſo ſore,
A keppened [d] poyntelle [e] reſtynge at eche lyne.
Vearſe maie be goode, botte poeſie wantes more,
An onliſt [f] lecturn [g], and a ſonge adygne [h];
Accordynge to the rule I have thys wroughte,
Gyff ytt pleaſe Canynge, I care notte a groate.

The thynge yttſelf moſte bee yttes owne defenſe;
Som metre maie notte pleaſe a womannes ear.
Canynge lookes notte for poeſie, botte ſenſe;
And dygne, & wordie thoughtes, ys all hys care.
Canynge, adieu! I do you greete from hence;
Full ſoone I hope to taſte of your good cheere;
Goode Byſhoppe Carpynter dyd byd mee ſaie,
Hee wyſche you healthe and ſelineſſe for aie.

T. ROWLEIE.

[b] Elegantly. [c] Declared, expreſſed, *diſplayed*. [d] *Studied*. [e] A pen, uſed metaphorically, as a muſe or genius. [f] Boundleſs. [g] Subject, *lecture*. [h] Nervous, worthy of praiſe.

V. 42. It ſhould ſeem by this obſervation, that our more ancient poetry was compoſed in couplets, which probably is true; to which is oppoſed

The *keppened* poyntelle reſtynge at eche line;

meaning the dull and careful poet (*kepen* ſignifying to take *care*) who made his ſenſe terminate with each verſe, inſtead of extending it to

An onliſt lecturn, or a ſonge adygne;

that is to ſay, a boundleſs or extenſive ſubject, properly dignified by good poetry.

V. 50. It may be thought a wild conjecture, to ſuppoſe this line had a particular view, and was meant as an apology to Canning's wife for his poems on the Battle of Haſtings, a ſubject ſo little intereſting or agreeable to a female reader. But the conjecture will be candidly excuſed, though it ſhould not be approved.

V. 55. From the manner in which Biſhop Carpenter is mentioned at the cloſe of

of this letter, we may conclude that it was written from Weſtbury, the favourite retirement and burial-place of that Biſhop, and which he honoured by adding its name to his epiſcopal titles; ſtiling himſelf Biſhop of Worceſter and Weſtbury. Though it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the friend of Canning might have paſſed ſome time with the good biſhop at this place, yet it is highly improbable that Chatterton ſhould have been acquainted with that circumſtance, or have applied his art and attention to introduce it into the poem, merely to give an air of plauſibility to the account.

John Carpenter was made Biſhop of Worceſter in 1443. He is ſaid, by ſome, to have reſigned his ſee: However that be, he ſpent a great part of his time at Weſtbury, from which place there is an inſtrument in the Epiſcopal Regiſter at Exeter, bearing date July 29th 1474: The time of his death is uncertain, but it appears by his Regiſter, that he conſecrated a chapel contiguous to his cathedral church, on the 8th of June 1476, at which time his Regiſter ends: He is therefore ſuppoſed to have died ſoon after. Biſhop Alcock, his ſucceſſor, was appointed in 1477. Though Biſhop Carpenter died at Northwich in Worceſterſhire, yet he was buried at Weſtbury, where he enlarged, and partly rebuilt the college, founding a chapel there for ſix prieſts and as many almſmen: Some further mention will be made of him in the obſervations upon the poem on our Lady's Church.

TRAGEDY OF ELLA.

THE title-page to Ella will furniſh another argument in favour of its authenticity; for it is ſtiled a *Diſcoorſeynge Tragedie*, directing us to the æra when the rhythmical tales, (before called Tragedies) firſt aſſumed a regular dramatic form. That name had been uſually given to ballads and interludes compoſed on melancholy ſubjects; ſuch as Chevy Chace, the Battle of Otterburn, and ſome of Chaucer's Hiſtorical Tales; to which may be added, the Hiſtory of Sir Charles Bawdin, expreſsly called a Tragedy by its author. On the other hand, merry hiſtorical tales in verſe were ſtiled *Comedies*; and, by the preceding quotation from L'Enfant and Dante, it ſeems that ſacred hiſtories, dramatically repreſented, were alſo called by that name. Chaucer is celebrated by his friend Lidgate, for his compoſitions in both kinds:

> My Maſter Chaucer with freſh *Comedies*,
> Is dead, alas! cheif poet of Britaine,
> That whilom made ful piteous *Tragedies*.

And indeed Chaucer himſelf gives this definition of the word:

> *Tragedy* is to tell a certain ſtory,
> As old bokis makin ofte memory
> Of hem that ſtode in grete proſperite,
> And be fallen out of her high degree.
>
> Prol. to Monks Tale.

Of ſuch tragedies as theſe his Monk ſays,

> —— he had an hundred in his cell.

and

and the name was continued to this kind of poetry ſo late as the 16th century.

In thoſe ancient tragical interludes, though ſeveral perſons were introduced, yet the ſtory was generally told by the poet only. Lidgate has given a curious deſcription of a man rehearſing one of theſe ancient Tragedies (as they were then called).

> And this was tolde and redde by the poete:
> And while that he in the pulpet ſtode,
> With deadlye facè, all devoyd of blode,
> Syngynge his dites with treſſes al to rent,
> Amydde the theatre, ſhrowded in a tent,
> There came out men, gaſtfull of their cheres,
> Disfygured their faces with vyſeres,
> Playing by ſygnès in the people's ſyght,
> That the poete ſonge hath on height:
> So that there was no maner diſcourdaunce,
> Atween his ditees and their countenaunce.
> For lyke as he aloftè dyd expreſſe,
> Wordes of joyè or of hevineſſe,
> So craftely they could them transfygure.
>
> Lidgate's Siege of Troy, Book ii. Chap. 10. and Warton's Hiſt. of Ancient Poetry, vol. ii. p. 94.

This deſcription is very ſuitable to the account before given of Vevyan the poet, in the Epiſtle to Canning; but in the *Diſcoorſeynge Tragedie* (which was an improvement of the drama) each perſon ſpoke his ſpeech, and acted his part, without any apparent interpoſition of the poet.

This Tragedy is ſaid to have been *plaiedd before Maſtre Canynge* (and perhaps by his requeſt) *atte hys howſe nempte the Rodde Lodge*, probably ſo called from its vicinity to *Redcliff* church, and from the colour of the rock on which both were built. The name and ſituation of this houſe could not have been the invention of Chatterton,

Chatterton; for it is called, in ſome unpubliſhed papers of Rowley, relating to Canning's life, *the Redd lodge*, and ſaid to be ſituated "in Redcliff-ſtreet, not far from the church, where he enter-"tained Edward the IVth, and accompanied him from thence "on the water, when he viſited Briſtol, in the firſt year of his "reign." But as this teſtimony may be thought equally ſuſpicious with the tragedy itſelf, we may further appeal to the uncontroverted evidence of William de Wirceſtre; who, deſcribing the walls and towers which ſurrounded Briſtol, thus ſpeaks of Canning's houſe or tower.

"Memorandum.—In manſione pulcherrimâ de le Bak ex poſ-"teriore parte de Radclyf-ſtrete, ſuper aquam de Avyn eſt pul-"cher Turris per Willelmum Cannyngis ædificata; continet "4 feneſtras vocatas Bay windowes ornatiſſimo modo cum came-"ris; continet circa 20 virgas, in longitudine 16 virgas." p. 254.

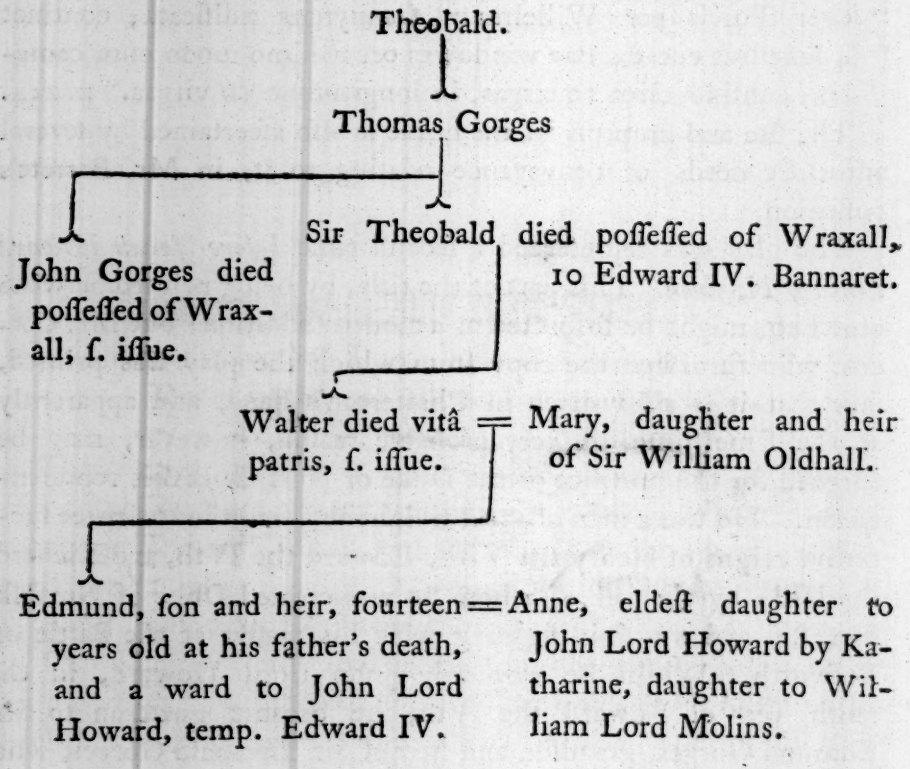
The ſite and property of the houſe is alſo aſcertained by ſeveral authentic deeds of conveyance relating to it, in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion.

The play was repreſented a ſecond time *before Johan Howard Duke of Norfolck*. This part of the title, by being printed between crotchets, might be ſuſpected as a modern addition; but Mr. Catcot, who furniſhed the copy from which the play was printed, ſays that it is all written in Chatterton's hand, and apparently at the ſame time. A very probable reaſon, however, may be aſſigned for the preſence of the Duke of Norfolk at this repreſentation. He was a man of great weight and credit in the three ſucceſſive reigns of Henry the VIth, Edward the IVth, and Richard the IIId; by the laſt of whom he was created Duke of Norfolk in 1483, and was ſlain fighting with his maſter at the Battle of Boſworth. Whilſt he was only John Lord Howard, in the tenth year of Edward the IVth, he became guardian to Sir Edmund Gorges, grandſon and heir of Sir Theobald Gorges, who died that year: In conſequence of this connection, Sir Edmund afterwards married Anne, the eldeſt daughter of that nobleman,

by Katherine, daughter of William Lord Molins*. As Sir Theobald had acted a part in this tragedy, and probably diſtinguiſhed himſelf on the occaſion, it is not improbable that Sir Edmund, his grandſon, might have had a ſhare in the ſecond repreſentation, and that his father-in-law, the Duke of Norfolk, might be preſent to do honour to his performance; which conſequently muſt have been exhibited between the years 1483 and 1485.

The pedigree of Gorges, in the Heralds-office, will explain this alliance more ſatisfactorily.

Theobald, younger ſon of Theobald Ruſſel, married an heireſs of Gorges, and took that name.



* Dugd. Bar. vol. ii. page 267.

It

It may be objected, that if this part of the title was written ſubſequent to the creation of the Duke of Norfolk in 1483, how could the tragedy have been depoſited with Rowley's other papers in Redcliff church, by Canning, who died in 1474? But is it neceſſary to ſuppoſe that Canning's papers were lodged there before his death, or indeed to define the exact period of that depoſit? It might be accounted for in this manner:—William de Wirceſtre, about the year 1480, ſpeaks of ſome public works performed by the executors of Canning, in purſuance of his will; viz. a fountain of freeſtone near St. Peter's church, *noviter erectum & fundatum de bonis Willelmi Canynges*; and an hoſpital in Lewen's Mead, erected *de bonis Willelmi Canynges, Decani Collegii de Weſtbury, circa annum* 1478. Theſe works could not have been finiſhed, and the accounts of the executors who compleated them finally lodged in Redcliff church, till ſeveral years after Canning's death: Might not then Rowley's papers be depoſited at the ſame time as Canning's, and with them a later copy, or at leaſt a later title to the ſame copy of the play?

The perſons concerned in this tragedy are numerous; viz. the Prieſt, Egwine, Coernyke, ſoldiers, and minſtrels; beſides the dramatis perſonæ, under the title of the *Perſonnes repreſentedd*, who are only four, viz. Ella, *bie Thomas Rowleie, Preeſte, the auctthoure*; Celmonde, *bie Johan Iſcamm, the poet*, who is here ſtiled *preeſte*; Hurra *bie Syrr Thybbotte Gorges, knyghte*; and Birtha *bie Maſtre Edwarde Canynge*, who ſeems, by the female part aſſigned to him, to have been a youth, and probably a relation of William Canning, before whom the play was repreſented. No actor's name is aſſigned to the character of Magnus, though he bears ſo conſiderable a part in the play.

The three firſt-mentioned actors were the intimate and convivial friends of Canning. As to Iſcamm, we muſt refer to Rowley for his character; who ſays of him, in his "Liſt of "ſkillde Painters and Carvellers,"

"John Iſcamme now liveth, a poet good;"

and in his Emendals, or notes on Turgot's Hiſtory of Briſtol, (a manuſcript in Mr. Barrett's hands) he quotes two copies of his verſes, the former of which relates to Lamyngton the pirate; of whom he gives the following account:

" Johannes Laymyngetone, Eſquier, was of the famylie of the " Fitz-Bernards, and by comaund of Kynge Henrie, when prynce, " employed in honourable ſervitude; but hee yſpent ſo faſt, that " he waſted one hundrede markes a yeere, and then token evyl " corſes: He was diſcovered, and put in warde, beynge condemned " to die, but was pardoned by the Kynge, and made a banyſhde " man; nevertheleſs, he ſtaid in Englande, and plaied his former " knaveries: Thus, as aforeſayd, beyng agayne taken, he was " agayne condemned, but Kynge Henrie dyd him pardon, but " withaul requeſted him to lead a godlie life, and reere the " chyrchs of ouer Ladie, founded by Syr Symon de Burton, (as yee " maie ſee at large in mie Rolle calde Vita de Simon de Burtonne) " the ſpyre of which was ſunken down and all in rewin; but he was " not quyck in diſpaytch of the ſame; whereupon Kynge Henrie " ſayd, that unleſs he dyd ſette thereabowte ſwotelie, he ſhould " dyen algate the releaſe: This make him ſore adradde, and eft- " ſoon he pulled downe Burtonnes chyrche even to the grownde; " but lefte the chamber of oure Ladie, ybuylden by his cogname- " ſake *Lamyngton*, ycleped Lamyngtons ladies chamber, ſtande " ſecure, ſaying aftertymes maie think ytt mie warke, if I dyen " before this is edone; thinkeynge to poſſeſs the renome of another, " who was a good man, *and a preeſte*—But havynge pulled downe " he was in ne haſte to buyld up agayne, complaynynge ne ſtone " of large ſhape was to be ygotten; and at laſte, havynge ſtone, he " buylden, and then pulled down, till the Yorkyſts beganne to be " at warre; then lefte he the chyrch, of which was onlie ybuilden " a wall three elles in heyght and three in lengeth, of ſo ſleyghte " a warke, that a man mighte puſhe the ſame downe with eiſe: " Hee goeynge to the Yorkyſtes was ſleyne in battel, and buried in " the common barrow, a meet dome for ſo great a ungrace.—Then

" dyd

" dyd the vykar of Chryſte iſſue a brevet for rebuylden the ſayd " chyrche: But the eyes of the natione were emploied on the " Yorkyſts and Lancaſters, ſo that it laie in rewyn; till the fa- " vourite of Godde, the friend of the Chyrche, the companion of " Kynges, and the father of his natyve cittye, the greete and " good William Canynge, out of love to the good thynges of " Heaven, and deſpiſals of theſe of earthe, beganne to ybuyld the " ſame, not where Burtonnes ſtode, but on a newe place, em- " ploieynge ne one ſtone that was not his own."

This account is confirmed by a remarkable circumſtance which happened not many years ſince.—In the year 1762, on pulling down an old ſchool-houſe, which ſtood in Redcliff church-yard, on the north ſide of the church, an ancient grave-ſtone was diſcovered, with the recumbent figure of a prieſt in relief; his hands joined in the poſture of prayer, his head reſting on a cuſhion, and at his feet Johes ? Lampngtonn in Gothic letters. This monument, as repreſented in the annexed engraving,



is

is ſtill to be ſeen in Redcliff church; and there can be no doubt but that it belongs to the prieſt of that name mentioned in the preceding account. Although this monument might have come under Chatterton's obſervation, as being viſible in his time, yet it cannot be ſuppoſed, that ſo unintereſting a piece of antiquity could have induced him to fabricate the hiſtory connected with it—much leſs to ſupport its credibility by additional forgeries; for if the hiſtory of Lamington be an invention of Chatterton, the verſes relating to him, which are aſcribed to Iſcamme, muſt have been the produce of the ſame brain; as well as the part aſſigned to Lamington, in the poem called the *Parliament of Sprytes*, wherein he is introduced as the builder of a church in Briſtol. This monument, therefore, bears an authentic teſtimony to ſome part at leaſt of Rowley's *Emendals*, and proves that the whole could not be the fiction of Chatterton. It would be impoſſible, indeed, in a hiſtory of this kind, to aſcribe a part of it to any one author, without concluding him to have been the writer of the whole. But ſuppoſing the ſtory to be either doubtful or fictitious, Rowley was certainly better qualified, by his learning and poetic abilities, to dreſs up ſuch a fable, than a youth totally uninſtructed in all branches of learning, and a ſtranger to every part of hiſtory which lay out of the beaten track of our Engliſh compilers.

Rowley obſerves, alſo, that the Vicar of Chriſt iſſued a brevet for the rebuilding Redcliff church; now it is remarkable that Mr. Barrett found no leſs than three indulgences granted in the thirteenth century by different Biſhops for this purpoſe, depoſited in a trunk in the room over Redcliff church, after it had been ranſacked by other perſons: One of theſe is granted by John Biſhop of Ardfert, in 1232; who, tho' he had been deprived of his ſee ſome years before, continued ſtill to exerciſe epiſcopal functions, and lived at the abbey of St. Albans *. Another indulgence

* See Sir James Wace's Hiſt. of the Iriſh Biſhops, and Matthew Paris's Hiſt. of the Abbots of St. Albans.

was

was granted by Robert Burnell, Biſhop of Wells, in 1274; and a third by Peter Quivil, Biſhop of Exeter, in 1285.

The ſtory of Lamington, according to Rowley, "cannot be "more deftlie ſhewn than in the pleaſaunte diſcoorſes of Mayſtre "John a. Iſcam, hight the *merrie Tricks of Lamyngetowne*; of "whych take ye the whole, which I metten with in my jour-"neies for Mayſtre Canynge."

DISCOURSE I.

"A rygourous doome is myne, upon my faie:
"Before the parent ſtarre, the lyghtſome ſonne,
"Hath three tymes lyghted up the cheerful daie,
"To other reaulmes muſt Laymingtonne be gonne,
"Or elſe my flymſie thredde of lyfe is ſpunne;
"And ſhall I hearken to a cowarts reede,
"And from ſo vain a ſhade, as lyfe is, runne?
"No! flie all thoughtes of runynge to the Queed[a];
"No! here I'll ſtaie, and let the Cockneies ſee,
"That Laymyntone the brave, will Laymyngetowne ſtill be.

II.

"To fyght, and not to flee, my ſabatans[b]
"I'll don, and girth my ſwerde unto my ſyde;
"I'll go to ſhip, but not to foreyne landes,
"But act the pyrate, rob in every tyde;
"With Cockneies bloude Thamyſis ſhall be dyde,
"Theire goodes in Briſtowe markette ſhall be ſolde.
"My bark the laverd[c] of the waters ryde,
"Her ſayles of ſcarlet and her ſtere of golde;
"My men the Saxonnes, I the Hengyſt bee,
"And in my ſhyppe combyne the force of all their three.

III.

L. "Go to my truſtie menne in Selwoods chace,
"That through the leſſel[d] hunt the burled[e] boare,

[a] *The devil.* [b] *Boots.* [c] *Lord.* [d] *Buſhes.* [e] *Armed.*

"Tell

" Tell them how ſtandes with me the preſent caſe,
" And bydde them revel down at Watchets ſhore,
" And ſaunt [e] about in hawlkes and woods no more;
" Let every auntrous [f] knyghte his armour braſe,
" Their meats be mans fleſhe, and theyre beverage gore,
" Hancele [g], or Hanceled, from the human race;
" Bid them, like mee theyre leeder, ſhape theyre mynde
" To be a bloudie foe in arms, gaynſt all makynde.

R. " I go my boon companions for to fynde. [*Ralph goes out.*]

III.

" Unfaifull Cockneies dogs! your God is gayne.
" When in your towne I ſpent my greete eſtate,
" What crowdes of citts came flockynge to my traine,
" What ſhoals of tradeſmenne eaten from my plate,
" My name was alwaies Laymyngeton the greate;
" But whan my wealth was gone, yee kennd mee not,
" I ſtoode in warde, ye laughed at my fate,
" Nor car'd if Laymyngeton the great did rotte;
" But know ye, Curriedowes [h], ye ſhall ſoon feele,
" I've got experience now, altho' I bought it weele.

IV.

" You let me know that all the worlde are knaves,
" That lordes and cits are robbers in diſguiſe;
" I and my men, the Cockneies of the waves,
" Will profitte by youre leſſons and bee wiſe;
" Make you give back the harveſt of youre lies;
" From deep fraught barques I'le take the myſers ſoul,
" Make all the wealthe of every * my prize,
" And cheating Londons pryde to Dygner Briſtowe rolle.

[e] *Saunter.* [f] *Adventurous.* [g] *Cut off.* [h] *Flatterers.*

* The word *one*, or *man*, muſt be here ſupplied, in order to compleat the ſenſe and the verſe.

The

The following ſpeech is put into Lamington's mouth, in the poem called the Parliament of Sprytes:

LAMYNGTON ſpeaketh.

Lette alle mie faultes bee buried ynn the grave,
Alle obloquyes be rotted with my duſte;
Lette hym fyrſt carpen that ne wemes * have,
Tys paſte mannes nature for to bee aye juſte.
Butte yette in ſothen to rejoyce I muſte,
That I dyd not immeddle for to buylde;
Sythe thys quaintyſſed place ſo glorioufe,
Seemynge alle chyrches joyned yn one guylde,
Has now ſupplyed for what I had † donne,
Whyche to my ‡ Cierge is a glorioufe ſonne.

But to return to Iſcamme. The following dialogue, ſaid in the MS. to be *between Maſter Philpot and Walworth Cockneies*, is ſubjoined to Iſcamme's poem on Lamyngton:

PHIL. God ye God den §, my good naighbour, howe d'ye ayle;
How does your wyfe, man! what never aſſole?
Cum rectitate vivas, verborum mala ne cures.

WAL.

* *Faults*—ſee Mr. Tyrwhit's Gloſſary.

† The word *not* muſt be here ſupplied.

‡ *Wax taper*——The expreſſion of all churches joyned yn one guylde is undoubtedly an ancient and original idea.

§ This ſalutation, which ſhould be written *God ye good Den*, is more than once uſed by Shakeſpear:

In Love's Labour Loſt, the clown ſays,

God dig you den all. Act iv. Sc. 1.

That is to ſay, *God give you a good evening*; for *dig* is undoubtedly a miſtake for *give*.

So in the Dialogue between the Nurſe and Mercutio, in Romeo and Juliet, Act ii. Sc. 5. the former ſays,

God ye good morrow, gentlemen;

WAL. Ah, Maſtre Phyllepot, evil tongues do ſaie,
That my wyfe will lyen down to daie:
Tis ne twaine moneths ſyth ſhee was myne for aie.

PHIL. Animum ſubmittere noli rebus in adverſis,
Nolito quædam referenti ſemper credere.
But I pity you, nayghbour, is it ſo?

WAL. Quæ requirit miſericordiam mala cauſa eſt.
Alack, alack, a ſad dome mine in fay,
But oft with cityzens it is the caſe;
Honeſta turpitudo pro bonâ
Cauſâ mori, as auntient penſmen ſayſe.

This dialogue is not produced either for the merit or beauty of its compoſition, but becauſe it contains a variety of evidence, tending to confirm the authenticity of theſe poems. In the firſt place, this ſort of macaronic verſe of mixed languages, is a ſtile uſed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Dante has ſome of theſe amongſt his *Rime*, (P. 226. Vol. 2d. Venice 1741.) which are compoſed of French, Italian, and Latin, and conclude thus:

" Namque locutus ſum in linguâ trinâ.

Skelton, who lived not long after Rowley, has alſo poems in the ſame kind of verſe. Secondly, the correctneſs of the Latin, and the propriety of the anſwers in Engliſh, ſhew it to have been written at leaſt by a better ſcholar than Chatterton. Thirdly, the low humour of the dialogue, although ſuited to the taſte of that early

to which the latter replies,

God ye good den, fair gentlewoman.

And in the Exmoor Courtſhip,

Good den, good den;

which the Gloſſariſt on that pamphlet properly explains by the wiſh of *a good evening*; and Mr. Steevens obſerves on the paſſage in Love's Labour Loſt, that this contraction is not unuſual in our ancient comic writers, and quotes the play called the Northern Laſs, by R. Brome, 1633, for the following phraſe:

God you good even.

and illiterage age, could be no object of imitation to a modern poet. But it is a moſt remarkable circumſtance, that he has introduced his two Cockneies under the names of two moſt reſpectable aldermen of the city of London, who lived about the year 1380, Sir William Walworth and Sir John Philpot; men of ſuch diſtinguiſhed reputation, not only in their own city, but alſo in the whole kingdom, that the firſt parliament of Richard the Second, in granting a ſubſidy to that king, made it ſubject to the controul and management of theſe two citizens. (Walſingham, p. 200. Rapin, vol. i. p. 454 and 458.)

Sir John Philpot is ſaid by Stowe to have been a conſiderable benefactor to the city, and Philpot-lane ſtill bears his name: Sir William Walworth is alſo recorded with honour, for having reſolutely attacked and killed the rebel Wat Tyler in the king's preſence: Though the names of theſe reſpectable aldermen are diſhonoured in the preſent application, yet the particular mention of them ſhews that the writer of this dialogue was no ſtranger to the hiſtory of London at that period; which is more than can with the leaſt degree of probability be ſaid of Chatterton.

Iſcamm was eſteemed by Canning a good actor, as well as a good poet; which appears by a letter written to Rowley by Canning, when he was rebuilding Redcliff church:—"Now for a wondrous "pyle to aſtounde the eyne: Penne an enterlude to be plaiedd "uponne layeying the fyrſte ſtone of the buyldynge and wriete "parte for Iſcamme; ſuch ys hys deſyre."

In conſequence of this requeſt, Rowlie prepared an interlude, which is ſtill extant in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion, entitled, "A moſt "merrie Entyrlude plaied by the Carmelyte Freeres at Maſtre "Canynge his greete houſe, before Maſtre Canynge and Biſhoppe "Carpenterre on dedycatynge the chyrche of our Ladie of Red-"cliff; hight *The Parlyamente of Sprytes*;" wroten by T. Rowlie and J. Iſcam.

It is a circumſtance which gives an air of originality to the title

of this poem, that Chaucer has written one with a ſimilar name; the printed editions, indeed, call it *The Aſſemblee* of Foules; but Lidgate, and Chaucer himſelf, ſtile it *The Parliament* of Foules:

" *Of* foules alſo he wrote *the Parliament*."

(Lidgate's Prologue to the Fall of Princes. See alſo the Legend of Good Women, v. 419.)

It conſiſts of an introduction of eighteen lines by Queen Mabbe; a dedication to Joannes Carpenterre by T. Rowlie, conſiſting of thirty-two lines; which is followed with the ſpeeches of the Sprites of Nimrod, by Iſcam; of Aſſyrians, in unequal meaſure and ſtanza's; of Ella, Brytryc, and Fitz Harding the founder of the Auguſtinian convent; of Gaunt, the founder of the almſhouſe called after his name; Burton, the founder of Redcliff church; Lamyngeton, who undertook to rebuild it; Framptone, the founder of St. John's church; the Knight Templars, who built a church in the ſuburb of St. Thomas; and one Segowen, the ſuppoſed founder of St. Thomas's church: The name of this laſt perſon is not to be found in any record, nor could Mr. Barrett diſcover the leaſt traces of it in any MS. relating to the hiſtory of Briſtol. He examined Chatterton very ſtrictly on this ſubject; who told him, that, according to Rowley's account, he was an *Elenge*, a foreign merchant, a Lombard, and a great uſurer; and that he was the founder of St. Thomas church in that city. This account of Chatterton is countenanced by a paſſage in Rowley's Liſt of ſkillde Painterrs, &c. where " Adeliſia, a fine " embroiderer, is ſaid to be buryedde in St. Thomas church, near " *Segowen, on the outſide.*" The manner in which this is mentioned does not look like a forgery; and it was not unuſual, in thoſe early days, for the founder of a church to be buried on the outſide of it. Theſe benefactors mention their reſpective works at Briſtol, but acknowledge them to be inferior to what Canning had done to Redcliff church. The whole poem contains about two

two hundred and thirty lines; in the notes another interlude is quoted, by the name of *The Apoſtate*, and ſaid to be written by Canning.

The poetry of this interlude is far inferior to the printed works of Rowley; poſſibly a great part of it might have been penned by Iſcham. The ſpecimen given of it in Lamyngton's ſpeech, with that which follows in the perſon or ſprite of Fitz Harding, will enable the reader to judge of its merit, and afford ſome convincing proofs of its originality, eſpecially in the alluſion to a fact, long buried in oblivion, till it was accidentally diſcovered by Mr. Barrett in the original record. It ſeems that Robert Fitz Harding, about the end of the twelfth century, brought, at his own expence, a ſupply of water through pipes, for the benefit of Redcliff church. The grant containing this benefaction is now in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion; and John, who was Abbot of St. Auguſtine's from 1186 to 1215, is a witneſs to the deed; the authenticity of which cannot be queſtioned, and it is almoſt impoſſible that Chatterton, or indeed any other modern writer, ſhould have known the fact, unleſs they had ſeen the deed.

SPRYTE of FYTZ HARDYNGE ſpeeketh.

I.

From royalle parents * dyd I have retaynynge,
The redde-hayred Dane confeſste to be mie Syre;
The Dane, who often throwe thys kyngdom drayninge,
Woulde marke theyre waie athrowgh wyth bloude and fyre.

* "Roger de Berkleie, temp. conqueſt, being ſhorn a Monk, Robert Fitz Harding "obtained a grant of the Caſtle and Honour of Berkley, from Henry fill Imperatricis; "whereupon his deſcendants aſſumed that ſurname. Harding, his father, is ſaid by "ſome to have been the youngeſt ſon to one of the kings of Denmark, by others, "ex Regiâ proſapiâ Regum Daniæ ortus." Harding, his father, is alſo ſaid to "have come over with William the Conqueror, and to have been at the Battle of "Haſtings." Dugdale's Baron, vol. i. p. 350.—See alſo the Cronic de Tewkeſbury Monaſtic. t. i. p. 155.——Leland ſays, in his Collectanea, vol. i. p. 621. "That "Robert Fitz Harding was ſunne and heir to the younger brother of the King of "Denmark."

As

As ſtopped ryvers alwaies riſe moe hygher,
And Rammes ſtones † bie oppoſures ſtronger bee;
So theie when vanquiſhed dyd prove moe dyre,
And for one Peyſan [a] theie dyd threeſcore ſleie:
From them of Denmark's royalle bloude came I,
Welle mighte I boaſte of mie gentilitie.

II.

The pypes maie ſounde, and bubble forth my name,
And tellen what on Radcliff ſyde I dyd;
Trinitye Colledge ‡ ne agrutche [b] mie fame,
The fayreſt place in Briſtol ybulded;
The royale bloude that threw mie veins ſlydde,
Dyd tyncte mie harte nythe manie a noble thoughte;
Lyke to mie mynde, the mynſter yreared,
Wyth noble carvel workmanſhippe was wroughte,
Hie at the deys, like a King on his throne,
Dyd I take place, and was myſelf alone, &c.

Sir Theobald Gorges, the third principal actor in this play, (author of the Minſtrells Song, v. 208, and one of Canning's convivial friends) was deſcended from the family of the Ruſſels, who, on marrying the heireſs of the Gorges family, aſſumed that name. In the eighth year of Edward the IVth, he alienated the manor of Kingſton Ruſſel, in the pariſh of Long Briddy,

† *Rammes ſtones*, probably miſ-ſpelt for *rammed ſtones*, or ſtones forced together.

[a] *Paganus, or Peaſant.* [b] *Grudge.*

‡ Leland explains alſo, in his Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 85, this expreſſion about Trinity College, by ſaying, that the Fraternity of the Calendars at Briſtol (called, in a patent 34 Edw. iii. m. 11. the Prior and Brethren *Collegii Kalendarum*, See Tanner's Monaſt.) was firſt kept at the church of the *Trinitye*, ſince at All-Hallows, but was removed thither by Robert Earl of Glouceſter and *Robert Fitz Harding*. Leland alſo calls it *Fanum Auguſtini, nunc Trinitatis*. Is it credible that either of theſe circumſtances ſhould have come to the knowledge of Chatterton?

Dorſetſhire;

Dorſetſhire; (Hutchins's Hiſt. of Dorſetſhire, vol. i. p. 299) and in the tenth year of that king, was poſſeſſed of the manor of Georgeſland, in the pariſh of Sturminſter Marſhall, which he held of the King in chief; (vol. ii. p. 125.) but his connection with Mr. Canning probably aroſe from his eſtate at Wraxall, in Somerſetſhire, eight miles diſtant from Briſtol, where he was buried, and where the family afterwards ſettled. His ſon Walter dying without iſſue, during his father's life, Edmund, his grandſon and next heir, was found by the inquiſit poſt mortem, to be fourteen years old at his grandfather's death; and was knighted 5th Henry VIIth, at the creation of the Prince of Wales. (Anſtis's Eſſay, Append. p. 39.) By Sir Theobald's alienation of his family eſtate at Kingſton Ruſſel, it ſeems as if his circumſtances were not in a flouriſhing condition; which is confirmed by the introductory account, which ſays, "that he mortgaged his family jewels to "Mr. Canning for 160l." His monument is ſtill viſible in Wraxall church, conſiſting of a flat ſtone, with the following inſcription engraved round the verge in Gothick letters:

Here lythe Syr Tybbot Gorges Knyghte and Bannerett,
of whoſe ſoule God have mercy. Amen.

1824

i. e.—1468.

See Dr. Morton's alphabets of Arabia and Perſia, from the year 900.

It is remarkable, that the Chriſtian name is here ſpelt in the ſame manner as in the poems: Does not this monument, and the hiſtorical facts connected with it, add credit to the account here given? and how could Chatterton have collected, and ſo accurately put together, the circumſtances of Sir Theobald's hiſtory?

When we view Canning accompanied with theſe three poets, whoſe agreeable converſation he has celebrated in the *Account of his Feaſt*, can we forbear drawing the parallel between this party, and that of Mæcenas with his three friends, Virgil, Horace, and Varius,

Varius, united by the ſimilar ties of Friendſhip, Genius, and Poetry? The compariſon, however, will be much to the advantage of Mr. Canning, who not only equalled Mæcenas in liberality, and in the patronage of literature, but was alſo a better man, and a ſuperior poet.

Mæcenas, according to Seneca, Ep. 114, was as affected and effeminate in his ſtile, as he was in his dreſs; and his compoſitions were as diſſolute as his manners.

"Quomodo Mæcenas vixerit, notior eſt, quam ut narrari nunc "debeat; quomodo ambulaverit, quam delicatus fuerit, quam "cupierit videri, quam vitia ſua latere noluit. Quid ergo? "Non oratio ejus æque ſoluta eſt, quam ipſe diſcinctus?" The quotations given by Seneca from his works juſtify the cenſure. Velleius Paterculus ſays of him, that he was, "Vir "otio ac mollitiis pene ultra fæminam fluens." Lib. ii. ſect. 88. How different is the poetry of Canning, in its ſubject, harmony, and excellence? But to proceed with the play.

The Introduction is very applicable to the ſubject of the Tragedy, from which a moral inſtruction is drawn, and a laudable ambition excited after that everlaſting fame, which crowns the memory of heroes, who have ſaved their country by the valour of their arms. Their faults (as the poet truly obſerves) are buried with them, whilſt their names are perpetuated with honour to the lateſt poſterity.

ELLA, the hero of this Tragedy, is ſuppoſed to have been Governor of Briſtol caſtle, or (as he is here called) *Warden of the Caſtle ſtede*, towards the cloſe of the Saxon Monarchy, when the kingdom was ſo much infeſted by the Danes, againſt whom he headed the Saxon forces, and gave them a ſignal defeat at *Watchet* in Somerſetſhire.

It will add little to the merit of the poem, or to the ſatisfaction of the reader, to determine whether Ella was a real or only an imaginary perſonage. The name is undoubtedly Saxon; but our hiſtorians record no ſuch perſon: The unpubliſhed Hiſtory of

of Briſtol, aſcribed by Rowley to Turgot, mentions, indeed, a long ſucceſſion of governors, from the earlieſt Saxon period down to Robert Earl of Glouceſter, the natural ſon of Henry the firſt; amongſt whom Ella ſtands as one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters: He was undoubtedly ſuch in the poet's eſteem; for he has not only made him the hero of this Tragedy, but has alſo penned an Ode to his honour, and which he ſtiles

The beſt performance of his lyttel wytte.
Chall. to Lydgate.

Conſcious of his wanting authentic hiſtory to ſupport the character of Ella, he puts this queſtion, in his poem on Canning;

Why is thy action left ſo ſpare in ſtory?

Hiſtory, however, affords ſome foundation for the ſubject of the play. The Saxon Chronicle, Huntingdon, and Hoveden, agree, that in the year 918, the Danes, who infeſted the Britiſh Channel, under the conduct of their Earls Hroald and Ohter, were attacked and beaten by forces ſent from Hereford and Glouceſter, in which engagement, (according to the Saxon Chronicle) Hroald, and the brother of Count Ohter were killed; and the Daniſh troops being ſurrounded, attempted twice to eſcape, once to the eaſt of *Weced*, and another time at *Porloc*. Magnus was a name very common among the Danes; one of whom, deſcended of the blood royal, is buried in St. John's church at Lewes in Suſſex; and by his epitaph in Leonine verſes, publiſhed by Camden in his Britannia, it appears that he became an anchoret there.

Conditur hic miles, Danorum Regia Proles
Magnus nomen ei, magnæ nota progeniei;
Deponens Magnum ſed moribus induit agnum,
Præpete pro vitâ fit parvulus Anachorita.

Camden has not copied this inſcription juſtly; he reads *prudentior*, in the third verſe, inſtead of *ſed moribus*.

The Saxon Chronicle obſerves further, that Watchet was laid

waſte by the Danes in 987: They alſo committed great ravages there and in the neighbourhood in 997.

Watchet is a very ancient corruption of its original Saxon name *Weced*, or *Weced Port*, which it ſeems to have retained to Lambard's time. See his Topography, in v. *Weced* and *Holme*.—Rowley, indeed, calls it *Wedeceſter*, but upon what authority does not appear, unleſs he choſe to add the ancient name of *Ceſter* to give a dignity to the found.

The ſcene is laid at Briſtol and Watchet; the former being the place of Ella's reſidence and marriage, the latter the ſcene of engagement; the whole tranſaction is included within the ſpace of three days. The Tragedy opens with Ella's wedding-day: In the evening he is ſummoned to join the army: On the next day, "having done his mattynes and his vows," he engages, defeats the Danes, and is wounded at Watchet.—Celmond attempts his act of treachery againſt Birtha that night; and on the ſucceeding morning ſhe is conveyed to her diſtracted Lord, expiring, not under the wounds that he had received from his enemies, but from thoſe he had given to himſelf, in which the diſtreſs of the Tragedy conſiſts. See v. 1195 and 1210.

ENTRODUCTIONNE.

SOMME cheriſaunce [a] it ys to gentle mynde,
Whan heie have chevyced [b] theyre londe from bayne [c],
Whan theie ar dedd, theie leave yer name behynde,
And theyre goode deedes doe on the earthe remayne;
Downe yn the grave wee ynhyme [d] everych ſteyne,
Whyleſt al her gentleneſſe ys made to ſheene,
Lyche fetyve [e] baubels [f] geaſonne [g] to be ſeene.

ÆLLA, the wardenne of thys [h] caſtell [i] ſtede,
Whyleſt Saxons dyd the Englyſche ſceptre ſwaie,
Who made whole troopes of Dacyan men to blede,
Then ſeel'd [k] hys eyne, and ſeeled hys eyne for aie,
Wee rowze hym uppe before the judgment daie,
To ſaie what he, as clergyond [l], can kenne,
And howe hee ſojourned in the vale of men.

[a] Comfort. [b] Preſerved, *redeemed*. [c] Ruin. [d] Interr. [e] *Elegant*. [f] Jewels. [g] Rare. [h] Briſtol. [i] Caſtle. [k] Cloſed. [l] Taught, *learned*.

CELMONDE, att BRYSTOWE.

BEFORE yonne roddie ſonne has droove hys wayne
Throwe halfe hys joornie, dyghte [a] yn gites [b] of goulde,
Mee, happeleſs mee, hee wylle a wretche behoulde,
Mieſelfe, and al that's myne, bounde ynne myſchaunces chayne.

Ah! Birtha, whie, dydde Nature frame thee fayre?
Whie art thou all thatt poyntelle [c] canne bewreene [d]?
Whie art thou nott as coarſe as odhers are?—
Botte thenn thie ſoughle would throwe thy vyſage ſheene,
Yatt ſhemres [e] onn thie comelie ſemlykeene [f]
Lyche nottebrowne cloudes, whann bie the ſonne made redde,
Orr ſcarlette, wythe waylde [g] lynnen clothe ywreene [h],
Syke [i] woulde thie ſpryte upponn thie vyſage ſpredde.

[a] *Cloathed.* [b] Robes, mantles. [c] A pen. [d] Expreſs. [e] *Shines.* [f] Countenance, *appearance.* [g] *Choſen.* [h] Covered. [i] Such.

Thys

The firſt ſcene opens with a ſoliloquy of Celmond, exhibiting, in very natural colours, a ſtrong conflict in his mind between love and deſpair. The tender expoſtulation about her beauty, in the ſixth line,

Whie art thou all thatt poyntelle canne bewreene?

is artfully anſwered by himſelf, and illuſtrated by two very natural ſimilies; one copied from nature, the other from the dreſs of the times.

V. 11. *Wailde* cloth, that is to ſay, *choice* and *fine*. It is applied in this ſenſe to wine and meats in the complaint of Creſeis;

For

Thys daie brave Ælla dothe thyne honde & harte
Clayme as hys owne to be, whyche nee ftomm hys moſte parte.

And cann I lyve to ſee herr wythe anere[i]!
Ytt cannotte, muſte notte, naie, ytt ſhalle not bee.
Thys nyghte I'll putte ſtronge poyſonn ynn the beere,
And hymm, herr, and myſelfe, attenes[k] wyll ſlea.
Aſſyſt mee, Helle! lett Devylles rounde mee tende,
To ſlea mieſelfe, mie love, & eke mie doughtie[l] friende.

ÆLLA, BIRTHA.

ÆLLA.

Notte, whanne the hallie prieſte dyd make me knyghte,
Bleſſynge the weaponne, tellynge future dede,

[i] Another. [k] At once. [l] Mighty.

Howe

For *wailed* wine and metis thou had tho,
Take moulid bread, pirace, and ſider ſour: v. 29.

And *outwaile*, in the Teſt of Creſeis, v. 129, ſignifies the outcaſt, i. e. *what is not choſen*. In this ſenſe the word *walit* occurs in many paſſages of Gawin Douglas's Virgil: In the preſent inſtance it may imply that kind of tranſparent fineneſs, under which the ſcarlet cloth might be ſeen; reſembling her bluſhes appearing through the whiteneſs of her ſkin. It was alſo uſual in theſe days to wear ſtriped garments, of different colours: Gower deſcribes ſome ladies richly attired,

In kirtles and in copies riche,
Thei were clothed al aliche;
Departed even of white and blue. p. 70. a.

V. 17. This deſperate reſolution of Celmond is perfectly conſiſtent with his character; and the method of adminiſtering the poiſon no leſs ſuited to the language and manners of that age.

V. 21. Amongſt the three happy and honourable events of Ella's life, previous to his marriage, one was his receiving the honour of knighthood, which, among the Saxons, was attended with great ſolemnity, and is particularly deſcribed by Ingulf, p. 70. The candidate having applied to ſome Biſhop or Abbot, was prepared,

the

Howe bie mie honde the prevyd [m] Dane ſhoulde blede,
Howe I ſchulde often bee, and often wynne, ynn fyghte;

Notte, whann I fyrſte behelde thie beauteous hue,
Whyche ſtrooke mie mynde, & rouzed mie ſofter ſoule;
Nott, whann from the barbed [n] horſe yn fyghte dyd viewe
The flying Dacians oere the wyde playne roule,
Whan all the troopes of Denmarque made grete dole [o],
Dydd I fele joie wyth ſyke reddoure [p] as nowe,
Whann hallie preeſt, the lechemanne [q] of the ſoule,
Dydd knytte us both ynn a caytyſnede [r] vowe:
Now hallie [s] Ælla's ſelyneſſe [t] ys grate;
Shap [u] haveth nowe ymade hys woes for to emmate [w].

[m] Hardy, valorous, *well tried.* [n] *Armed.* [o] *Great lamentation.* [p] Violence. [q] *Phyſician.* [r] Binding, enforcing, *captive.* [s] *Happy.* [t] *Happineſs.* [u] Fate. [w] Leſſen, decreaſe, *or be deſtroyed, or quenched.*

BIRTHA.

the day before his conſecration, by the exerciſe of faſting, prayer, confeſſion, abſolution, and watching the whole night in the church. The next day he offered his ſword on the altar, which was bleſſed by the eccleſiaſtic, and by him laid on the neck of the knight—"Gladium ſuper altare offerret, & poſt Evangelium "ſacerdos benedictum gladium collo militis cum benedictione imponeret."—So likewiſe John of Saliſbury, De Nugis Curialium, l. vi. c. 10. "Inolevit con-"ſuetudo ſolennis, ut, eâ ipſâ die quâ quiſque militari cingulo decoratur, eccle-"ſiam ſolenniter adeat, gladioque ſuper altare poſito & oblato, quaſi celebri "profeſſione factâ, ſe ipſum obſequio altaris devoveat, & *gladii* id eſt officii ſui "jugem Deo ſpondeat famulatum."—But the Normans, according to Ingulf, abhorred this ceremony, accounting all perſons ſo created to be tame and degenerate knights.

V. 23. Prevyd Dane, does not ſignify *hardy*, but *approved, tried, eſtabliſhed:* So Lidgate, in his Ballade of good Council,

Of Judith the *prevyd* ſtableneſs.

BIRTHA.

Mie lorde, and huſbande, ſyke a joie ys myne;
Botte mayden modeſtie moſte ne ſoe ſaie,
Albeytte thou mayeſt rede ytt ynn myne eyne,
Or ynn myne harte, where thou ſhalte be for aie;
Inne ſothe, I have botte meeded [x] oute thie faie [y];
For twelve tymes twelve the mone hathe bin yblente [z],
As manie tymes hathe vyed the Godde of daie,
And on the graſſe her lemes [a] of ſylverr ſente,
Sythe thou dydſt cheeſe [b] mee for thie ſwote to bee,
Enactynge ynn the ſame moſte faiefullie to mee.

Ofte have I ſeene thee atte the none-daie feaſte,
Whanne deyſde [c] bie thieſelfe, for wante of pheeres [d],
Awhylſt thie merryemen dydde laughe and jeaſte,
Onn mee thou ſemeſt all eyne, to mee all eares.

[x] *Rewarded.* [y] Faith, [z] Blinded. [a] Lights, rays. [b] *Chuſe.* [c] *Seated.* [d] Fellows, equals.

Thou

V. 40. This reduplication of numbers is frequent with Rowley and other ancient poets: Thus Alfwold

Braved the fuir of *twa ten thouſand* fights. B. H. ii. v. 130.
Twayne of twelve years han lemed up her mind. Metam. v. 31.

And Spencer,

For now *three moons* have changed *twice their* form,
And have been *thrice* hid underneath the ground.
B. i. c. 8. ſt. 38.
And Cynthia had *thrice three times* fill'd her crooked horns.
B. ii. c. 1. ſt. 53.

So the King-player, in Hamlet, begins his ſpeech in this bombaſt ſtile.

Full thirty times has Phœbus' car gone round
Neptune's ſalt waſh, and Tellus' orbed ground;
And *thirty dozen* moons, with borrowed ſheen,
About the world have times *twelve thirties* been.
Act iii. Sc. 1ſt.

V. 46. *Deyſde bie thieſelfe*, i. e. ſeated diſtinct from the reſt of the company.

Thou wardeſt [d] mee as gyff ynn hondred feeres,
Aleſt [e] a daygnous [f] looke to thee be ſente,
And offrendes [g] made mee, moe thann yie compheeres [h],
Offe ſcarpes [i] of ſcarlette, & fyne paramente [k];
All thie yntente to pleaſe was lyffed [l] to mee,
I ſaie ytt, I moſte ſtreve thatt you ameded [m] bee.

ÆLLA.

Mie lyttel kyndneſſes whyche I dydd doe,
Thie gentleneſs doth corven [n] them ſoe grete,
Lyche bawſyn [o] olyphauntes [p] mie gnattes doe ſhewe;
Thou doeſt mie thoughtes of paying love amate [q].
Botte hann mie actyonns ſtraughte [r] the rolle of fate,
Pyghte [s] thee fromm Hell, or broughte Heaven down to thee,
Layde the whol worlde a falldſtole [t] atte thie feete,
On ſmyle woulde be ſuffycyll [u] mede [x] for mee.

[d] *Watcheſt.* [e] *Leſt.* [f] Diſdainful. [g] Preſents, offerings. [h] *Equals, companions.* [i] Scarfs. [k] Robes of ſcarlet. [l] Bounded, *limited, confined.* [m] *Rewarded.* [n] *Figure, or repreſent.* [o] Large. [p] Elephants. [q] Deſtroy. [r] Stretched. [s] *Plucked.* [t] *Kneeling-ſtool.* [u] *Sufficient.* [x] *Reward.*

I amm

V. 51. Compheeres, *fellows*; ſo the word *pheeres* or *feers* is often uſed; v. 202, and 518, and often by Gaſcoigne and other poets.

V. 55. Ella modeſtly eſtimates the diſproportion of his own merit to that of Birtha, by that of a *gnat* to an *elephant*. The ſcriptural compariſon is between a *gnat* and a *camel*; but it is obſervable, that *Olfand* is the Saxon name for a *camel*, and is uſed in the Saxon verſion of the Bible. See alſo Junius's curious note, in his Etymol. voce *Lopſter*.

V. 61. We may admire another beautiful contraſt here, between the loftineſs of Ella's ideas as a warrior, and the humility of them as a lover. The *faldſtool* differed from the *footſtool*; the former being placed *before*, and the latter *under* the *feet*. The ceremonial of the royal coronations mentions a *faldſtool* placed before the King and Queen, on which they might kneel. A modern writer, not aware of the difference, would probably have called it a *footſtool*, as the more common expreſſion, and conveying nearly the ſame idea.

I amm Loves borro'r, & canne never paie,
Bott be hys borrower ſtylle, & thyne, mie ſwete, for aie.

BIRTHA.

Love, doe notte rate your achevmentes [y] ſoe ſmalle;
As I to you, ſyke love untoe mee beare;
For nothynge paſte wille Birtha ever call,
Ne on a foode from Heaven thynke to cheere.
As farr as thys frayle brutylle [z] fleſch wylle ſpere [a],
Syke, & ne fardher I expecte of you;
Be notte toe ſlacke yn love, ne overdeare;
A ſmalle fyre, yan a loude flame, proves more true.

ÆLLA.

Thie gentle wordis doe thie volunde [b] kenne
To bee moe clergionde [c] thann ys ynn meyncte [d] of menne.

ÆLLA, BIRTHA, CELMONDE, MYNSTRELLES.

CELMONDE.

Alle bleſſynges ſhowre on gentle Ælla's hedde!
Oft maie the moone, yn ſylverr ſheenynge lyghte,
Inne varied chaunges varyed bleſſynges ſhedde,
Beſprengeynge [e] far abrode miſchaunces nyghte;
And thou, fayre Birtha! thou, fayre Dame, ſo bryghte,
Long mayeſt thou wyth Ælla fynde muche peace,
Wythe ſelyneſſe [f], as wyth a roabe, be dyghte,
Wyth everych chaungynge mone new joies encreaſe!

[y] Services. [z] *Brittle, frail.* [a] *Allow.* [b] Memory, underſtanding, *diſpoſition.* [c] *Better inſtructed.* [d] *Many.* [e] *Scattering.* [f] *Happineſs.*

I, as

V. 81. This ſeems to be a ſcriptural alluſion, reminding the reader of that paſſage

I, as a token of mie love to ſpeake,
Have brought you jubbes[g] of ale, at nyghte youre brayne to breake.

ÆLLA.

Whan ſopperes paſte we'lle drenche youre ale ſoe ſtronge,
Tyde[h] lyfe, tyde death.

CELMONDE.

Ye Mynſtrelles, chaunt your ſonge.

[g] *Jugs.* [h] *Betide, or happen.*

Mynſtrelles

in the Pſalms, civ. 2.—" Thou deckeſt thyſelf with light as it were with a " garment;"—and in Job xxix. 14. " I put on righteouſneſs, and it cloathed me; " my judgment was as a robe and a diadem."

V. 84. The *jubbes* of ale ſeem to be too vulgar a concluſion for ſo elegant a ſpeech; nor is Ella's return of the compliment more refined, or, as he expreſſes it at v. 237;

And then in ale and wine be drenched every woe.

Chaucer ſpeaks of

——— *jubbes* of Malvaſie,
And eke another full of fine Vernage.

But the ſuppoſed indelicacy of theſe expreſſions (which by the way proves their originality) ariſes in a great meaſure from the luxury of ſubſequent ages, and the importation of more elegant liquors: But drunkenneſs was the predominant ſin both of the Germans and Anglo Saxons. See Keyſler's Antiq. p. 154, and 363; and Huntingdon, as before quoted.

V. 86. *Tyde lyfe, tyde death*, a familiar expreſſion, and repeated v. 138 and 291. So the ancient ballad called the Hiſtory of St. George;

Betyde me weal, betyde me woe,
I'le try to eaſe the pain. Percy, vol. iii. p. 218, 220.

And in Sir Thopaz, v. 3379.

Betide, what ſo betide.

V. 87. The Minſtrells ſong is here properly introduced, as entertainments of this kind were generally accompanied with vocal and inſtrumental muſick. This cuſtom, as Dr. Percy obſerves (Reliques of Ancient Poetry, Preface to vol. i.) commenced

Mynſtrelles Songe, bie a Manne and Womanne.

MANNE.

Tourne thee to thie Shepſterr [i] ſwayne;
Bryghte ſonne has ne droncke the dewe
From the floures of yellowe hue;
Tourne thee, Alyce, backe agayne. 90

[i] Shepherd.

WOMANNE.

from the earlieſt times among the Northern nations, and continued in uſe till the time of Queen Elizabeth, when it declined in reputation.

The ſongs of thoſe Minſtrells were of various kinds, but always ſuited to the occaſion: Some were martial and hiſtoric, recording battles fought, and conqueſts gained by their warriors: Others, of a feſtal nature, celebrated the praiſes of love and friendſhip: Sometimes they were penned in a paſtoral ſtile, deſcribing the pleaſures and amuſements of a country life; whilſt others were melancholy ditties, or funeral dirges, ſung in memory of their deceaſed friends. Our poet has given a ſpecimen of his abilities in all theſe different kinds of compoſition: Of the firſt ſort are the Minſtrells ſong in the Tournament, on William the Conqueror; the ſong to Ella; and the chorus in Godwin: In the ſecond ſtile is the Minſtrells ſong in the Tournament, v. 161, and the three in Ella which follow, v. 160: Of the third kind is the dialogue between the man and woman, v. 208; and to the laſt may be referred the Roundelai, v. 843.

Some of theſe ſongs are interſperſed with prudent advice and leſſons of morality, ſerving the ſame purpoſe with the Chorus in the Greek Tragedies: And the poet has ſhewn a particular attention and judgment in adapting the ſubject of his ſongs to the circumſtances of the perſons before whom they were to be performed; of which the ſecond ſong in the Tournament is an inſtance, v. 161.

But the ſong which follows is merely a paſtoral eclogue, compoſed in heptaſyllabic four line ſtanza's alternately rhiming: The ſimplicity of its ideas, and the harmony of its numbers, muſt pleaſe every poetic and muſical ear; and the eaſe with which it has been tranſpoſed, with very little variation, into ſmooth and harmonious modern poetry *, ſhews the juſtice of the poet's ideas, in ſpeaking the language of nature.

It is penned, indeed, much in the ſtile of the twenty-ſeventh Idyll of Theocritus (or rather of Moſchus); the argument to which ſuggeſts two remarks, both very applicable to the uſe made of this and the other Minſtrells ſongs in this

* And printed in the Magazines.

WOMANNE.

No, beſtoikerre [h], I wylle go,
Softlie tryppynge o'ere the mees [i],
Lyche the ſylver-footed doe,
Seekeynge ſhelterr yn grene trees.

MANNE.

See the moſs-growne daiſey'd banke
Pereynge [k] ynne the ſtreme belowe; 95

[h] Deceiver. [i] Meadows. [k] *Appearing.*

Here

tragedy. "Singularis ſuavitas eſt, et facilitas hujus Idyllii.—Præcipuus in hoc "Idyllio locus eſt, antitheſis commodorum et incommodorum conjugii." Iſaac Caſaubon calls it, "*melitiſſimum carmen.*" Compare v. 115, 116 of this Dialogue, with v. 52, 54, and 58 of the Idyll.

Shepſter ſwayne, you tare mie gratche.
——— ἕιματα κάλὰ μιαίνεις.
——— You dirty my fine cloaths.
Τὠμπὲχονον ποιήσας ἐμὸν ῥᾶχος,
You have torn my garments.
Φεῦ φεῦ κ᾽ τὰν μίτραν ἀπὲσχισες
Alas, alas, you have alſo torn off my girdle.

And v. 117, 118, with v. 18 of this Idyll.

Leave mee ſwythe, or I'lle alatche.
Μὴ 'πιβάλης τὴν χεῖρα, κ᾽ εισέτι χειλος ἀμύξω.
Unhand me, or I'll ſcratch your face.

So again, v. 119 of the Dialogue, with v. 45 of this Idyll.

See! the crokynge brionie
Rounde the popler twyſte hys ſpraie.
Δεῦρ᾽ ἴδε πῶς ἀνθεῦσιν ἐμαὶ ῥαδιναὶ κυπάρισσοι.
See how my taper cypreſs-trees do thrive.

They who compare the ſong with the Idyll, will diſcover the traces of imitation, and admire the art and delicacy with which our Engliſh poet has treated the ſubject.

Here we'lle ſytte, yn dewie danke;
Tourne thee, Alyce, do notte goe.

WOMANNE.

I've hearde erſte [l] mie grandame ſaie,
Yonge damoyſelles ſchulde ne bee,
Inne the ſwotie moonthe of Maie,
Wythe yonge menne bie the grene wode tree.

MANNE.

Sytte thee, Alyce, ſytte, and harke,
Howe the ouzle [m] chauntes hys noate,
The chelandree [n], greie morn larke,
Chauntynge from theyre lyttel throate.

WOMANNE.

I heare them from eche grene wode tree,
Chauntynge owte ſo blatauntlie [o],
Tellynge lecturnyes [p] to mee,
Myſcheefe ys whanne you are nygh.

MANNE.

See alonge the mees ſo grene
Pied daiſies, kynge-coppes [q] ſwote;
Alle wee ſee, bie non bee ſeene,
Nete botte ſhepe ſettes here a fote.

WOMANNE.

Shepſter ſwayne, you tare mie gratche [r],
Oute uponne ye! lette me goe.

[l] *Formerly.* [m] The black-bird. [n] Gold-finch. [o] Loudly. [p] Lectures.
[q] *Butter-flowers.* [r] Apparel.

Leave

Leave mee ſwythe [s], or I'lle alatche [t].
Robynne, thys youre dame ſhall knowe.

MANNE.

See! the crokynge [u] brionie
Rounde the popler twyſte hys ſpraie;
Rounde the oake the greene ivie
Florryſchethe and lyveth aie.

Lette us ſeate us bie thys tree,
Laughe, and ſynge to lovynge ayres;
Comme, and doe notte coyen [x] bee;
Nature made all thynges bie payres.

Drooried [y] cattes wylle after kynde;
Gentle doves wylle kyſs and coe:

WOMANNE.

Botte manne, hee moſte bee ywrynde [z],
Tylle ſyr preeſte make on of two.

Tempte mee ne to the foule thynge;
I wylle no mannes lemanne [a] be;
Tyll ſyr preeſte hys ſonge doethe ſynge,
Thou ſhalt neere fynde aught of mee.

[s] *Immediately.* [t] *Accuſe.* [u] *Crooked, twiſting.* [x] *Coy.* [y] *Courted.* [z] *Separated.* [a] *Miſtreſs.*

MANNE.

V. 125. The Promptuar-parvul explains the word *coy* by *modeſt*, in the ſame ſenſe as is affixed to it here; Gaſcoigne alſo uſes it in the modern ſenſe; though the learned editor, by putting a *qu.* to the word in the index, ſeems to doubt whether there be authority for this ſignification,

And how *content* was coined out of *coy*. Gaſcoigne's Reporter, p. 104.

By

MANNE.

Bie oure ladie her yborne [b],
To-morrowe, ſoone as ytte ys daie,
I'lle make thee wyfe, ne bee forſworne,
So tyde me lyfe or dethe for aie.

WOMANNE.

Whatt dothe lette, botte thatte nowe
Wee attenes [c], thos honde yn honde,
Unto diviniſtre [d] goe,
And bee lyncked yn wedlocke bonde?

MANNE.

I agree, and thus I plyghte
Honde, and harte, and all that's myne;
Good ſyr Rogerr, do us ryghte,
Make us one, at Cothbertes ſhryne.

BOTHE.

We wylle ynn a bordelle [e] lyve,
Hailie [f], thoughe of no eſtate;
Everyche clocke moe love ſhall gyve;
Wee ynn godeneſſe wylle bee greate.

[b] *The Virgin's ſon.* [c] At once. [d] A divine. [e] A cottage. [f] *Happy.*

ÆLLA.

By the way, he uſes the adjective as a ſubſtantive, which is not uncommon with our ancient poets.

V. 150. *To be great in goodneſs*, is objected to as an expreſſion more modern than Rowley's time; but the idea is natural, and as ancient as goodneſs itſelf: Nor could it be conveyed in more comprehenſive terms. It is equally ſuitable to the genius of Rowley's and of Pope's Shepherd.

ÆLLA.

I lyche thys ſonge, I lyche ytt myckle well;
And there ys monie for yer ſyngeyne nowe;
Butte have you noone thatt marriage-bleſſynges telle?

CELMONDE.

In marriage, bleſſynges are botte fewe, I trowe.

MYNSTRELLES.

Laverde[g], we have; and, gyff you pleaſe, wille ſynge,
As well as owre choughe-voyces[h] wylle permytte.

ÆLLA.

Comme then, and ſee you ſwotelie[i] tune the ſtrynge,
And ſtret[j], and engyne[k] all the human wytte,
Toe pleaſe mie dame.

MYNSTRELLES.

We'lle ſtrayne owre wytte and ſynge.

Mynſtrelles Songe.

FYRSTE MYNSTRELLE.

The boddynge flourettes bloſhes atte the lyghte;
The mees be ſprenged[l] wyth the yellowe hue;
Ynn daiſeyd mantels ys the mountayne dyghte[m];

[g] Lord. [h] *Or raven voices.* [i] *Sweetly.* [j] Stretch. [k] *Wrack.* [l] *Sprinkled.* [m] *Cloathed.*

The

V. 160. This ſong in four parts (a dialogue or reſponſive Hymn in the ſtile of the Greek Chorus) is introduced to celebrate the bleſſings of matrimony; which Celmond, with great propriety of character, ſuppoſes to be very few.

The powers of imagery and deſcription are here exerted, to prove that the beauties of nature, and pleaſures of innocence, are not complete without female ſociety, for,

Albeytte alle ys fayre, there lackethe ſomethynge ſtylle.

The

The neſh [n] yonge coweſlepe bendethe wyth the dewe;
The trees enlefed [o], yntoe Heavenne ſtraughte [p],
Whenn gentle wyndes doe blowe, to wheſtlyng dynne [q] ys broughte.

The evenynge commes, and brynges the dewe alonge;
The roddie welkynne [r] ſheeneth to the eyne;
Arounde the aleſtake [s] Mynſtrells ſynge the ſonge;
Yonge ivie rounde the doore poſte do entwyne;
I laie mee onn the graſſe; yette, to mie wylle,
Albeytte alle ys fayre, there lackethe ſomethynge ſtylle.

SECONDE MYNSTRELLE.

So Adam thoughtenne, whann, ynn Paradyſe,
All Heavenn and Erthe dyd hommage to hys mynde;
Ynn Womman alleyne mannes pleaſaunce lyes;
As Inſtrumentes of joie were made the kynde.
Go, take a wyfe untoe thie armes, and ſee
Wynter, and brownie hylles, wyll have a charme for thee.

THYRDE MYNSTRELLE.

Whanne Autumpne blake [s] and ſonne-brente doe appere,
With hys goulde honde guylteynge [t] the falleynge lefe,

[n] Tender. [o] *Full of leaves.* [p] *Stretched.* [q] *Sound.* [r] *Sky.* [s] *Maypole.* [s] Naked, *rather yellow.* [t] *Gilding.*

Bryngeynge

The ſame doctrine is enforced by the ſecond Minſtrell, whoſe deſcription of Adam's ſuperiority, expreſſed v. 173,

All heavenn and erthe dyd hommage to hys mynde,

is not exceeded by any paſſage in Milton.

V. 178. The ſong of the third Minſtrell is warm and mellow, as the ſeaſon which it deſcribes, affording a beautiful picture of autumnal fruitfulneſs.

The ſubject is reſumed by the ſecond Minſtrell, on a more philoſophical plan; he reaſons on the difference between angelic and human beings, ſhewing, from the

Bryngeynge oppe Wynterr to folfylle the yere,
Beerynge uponne hys backe the riped [u] ſhefe;
Whan al the hyls wythe woddie ſede ys whyte;
Whanne levynne-fyres [x] and lemes [y] do mete from far the ſyghte;

Whan the fayre apple, rudde as even ſkie,
Do bende the tree unto the fructyle [z] grounde;
When joicie [a] peres, and berries of blacke die,
Doe daunce yn ayre, and call the eyne arounde;
Thann, bee the even foule, or even fayre,
Meethynckes mie hartys joie ys ſteynced [b] wyth ſomme care.

SECONDE MYNSTRELLE.

Angelles bee wrogte to bee of neidher kynde;
Angelles alleyne fromme chafe [c] deſyre bee free;
Dheere ys a ſomwhatte evere yn the mynde,
Yatte, wythout wommanne, cannot ſtylled bee;
Ne ſeyncte yn celles, botte, havynge blodde and tere [d],
Do fynde the ſpryte to joie on ſyghte of womanne fayre:

Wommen bee made, notte for hemſelves, botte manne,
Bone of hys bone, and chyld of hys deſire;
Fromme an ynutyle [e] membere fyrſte beganne,
Ywroghte with moche of water, lyttele fyre;

[u] *Ripened.* [x] *Flaſhes of lightning.* [y] *Flames.* [z] *Fruitful.* [a] *Juicy.* [b] *Alloyed, ſtupified, made heavy.* [c] Hot. [d] Health, *or conſtitution.* [e] *Uſeleſs.*

Therefore

origin, nature, and end of the female creation, that the happineſs of both ſexes conſiſted in their union; and that the man, being joined or *takeld* to an *angel* or woman, partook of angelic joy; for ſo the word *tockelod* ſeems to be moſt naturally explained: The burthen of the ſong, however, is an injunction to marry, whether the conſequence of it be happineſs or miſery.

V. 194. *Blodde and tere*; Chatterton explains the latter of theſe words by *health*; it rather ſignifies *the human conſtitution*; or, according to Biſhop Douglaſs's Gloſſariſt,

Therefore theie ſeke the fyre of love, to hete
The milkyneſs of kynde, and make hemſelfes complete.

Albeytte, wythout wommen, menne were pheeres [f]
To ſalvage kynde, and wulde botte lyve to ſlea,
Botte wommenne efte [g] the ſpryghte of peace ſo cheres,
Tochelod [h] yn Angel joie heie Angeles bee;
Go, take thee ſwythyn [i] to thie bedde a wyfe,
Bee bante [k] or bleſſed hie, yn proovynge marryage lyfe.

Anodher Mynſtrelles Songe, bie Syr *Thybbot Gorges*.

As Elynour bie the green leſſelle [l] was ſyttynge,
As from the ſones hete ſhe harried [m],

[f] *Fellows, equals.* [g] *Often.* [h] *Tackeld, or joined to.* [i] Quickly. [k] *Curſed.* [l] *Buſh, or brake.* [m] *Hurried, haſtened.*

She

Gloſſariſt, *to digeſt, or concoct in the ſtomach*; and thence metaphorically applied *to bear or digeſt an affront, injury, &c.*

V. 208. The ſong of Syr Thybbot Gorges differs in its meaſure from every other in the collection; being compoſed in four-line ſtanza's of eleven and nine ſyllables, alternately rhiming; a meaſure ſometimes uſed by ancient poets, but not by Chaucer: Deſdemona's ſong in Othello is not much unlike it.

The poor ſoul ſat ſinging by the ſycamore tree, &c.

This meaſure is not uncommon in modern ballads. The ſtanza's might be formed into ſix lines, by dividing them thus:

Mie huſbande, Lorde Thomas,
a forreſter boulde,
As ever clove pynne, or the baſkette,
does no cheryſauncys
from Elynour houlde,
I have ytte as ſoone as I aſke ytte:

The ſubject is an experimental encomium on matrimony, which the preceding Minſtrells had celebrated only in theory. It preſents an entertaining picture of the occupations and amuſements of a Knight and his Lady in the country, according to the ſtile of living in thoſe days: The Knight engaged in hunting and other exerciſes of activity: the Lady in domeſtick and œconomical employments, encouraging induſtry both by her command and example. The picture is natural,

She ſayde, as herr whytte hondes whyte hoſen was knyttynge,
Whatte pleaſure ytt ys to be married! 211
Mie

but the deſcription wants the ſoftneſs and delicacy of Rowley's pencil, as well as the ſmoothneſs and harmony of his numbers. The third line has been charged with anachroniſm, for giving an earlier date to the art of knitting ſtockings, than is allowed by Stowe; who ſpeaking, in his Chronicle, of the dreſs which prevailed in Queen Elizabeth's reign, p. 869, ſays, "that in 1564, William Rider, an appren-"tice with Thomas Burdett, at the Bridge foot, chanced to ſee a pair of *knit worſted* "*ſtockings* in the lodging of an Italian merchant who came from Mantua; borrowed "them, and cauſed others to be made by them; and theſe were *the firſt worſted* "*ſtockings* made in England." But *ſilk knit ſtockings*, according to the ſame author, p. 867, were of an earlier date; for he ſays, "That in the ſecond year of that "Queen (1560) her ſilk-woman, Mrs. Montague, preſented her Majeſty with "a pair of *black ſilk ſtockings* for a new-year's gift; which pleaſed her ſo well, that "ſhe ſent for Mrs. Montague, and aſked here where ſhe had them, and if ſhe could "procure her any more: She replied, that ſhe had made them on purpoſe for the "Queen, and that ſhe would ſet more in hand; and from that time the Queen wore "no more cloth ſtockings. He adds, that King Henry wore only cloth hoſe, cut "of ell-broad taffeta, or that by great chance there came a pair of *long Spaniſh ſilk* "ſtockings ſent him for a great preſent; and that Edward the VIth had a preſent "of that kind made to him." But an earlier æra is aſſigned to this art by Chambers's Dictionary; which ſays, "that though it is difficult to aſſign the origin "of this art, yet it is commonly attributed to the Scots, on this ground, that the "firſt works of this kind came from thence; and on this account the *company of* "*ſtocking-knitters*, eſtabliſhed at Paris in 1527, took for their patron St. Fiacre, "who is ſaid to be the ſon of a king of Scotland."—If this Scotch art was ſo far advanced in a foreign country at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, can there be a doubt of its being known in England half a century earlier? At leaſt the art of knitting, and weaving bone lace, was more ancient than Queen Elizabeth's time; for Shakeſpeare ſpeaks of *old* and *antick* ſongs, which

> The ſpinſters and the *knitters* in the ſun,
> And the free maids that *weave their thread with bone*,
> Did uſe to chaunt.——Twelfth Night, Act ii. ſc. 4.

But the art of *knitting hoſen* may be traced back to the beginning of the ſixteenth century at leaſt, by the authentic teſtimony of John Palſgrave, inſtructor in the French tongue to the Princeſs Mary, daughter of Henry the VIIth; who, in his "Eclairceſſement de la langue Françoiſe, printed in 1530," thus explains the ſeveral meanings of the word *knit*:

"1ſt.

Mie huſbande, Lorde Thomas, a forreſter boulde,
As ever clove pynne, or the baſkette,

Does

" 1ſt. I *knitt* a knott—Je noue.——2d. I *knytt* as a matt-maker knytheth—Je " tys—J'ay tyſſe—tyſtre. He can knitt netts well—Il ſcayt bien tyſtre des raytz. " ——3d. I *knitt* bonnetts or *hoſen*—Je laſſe. She that ſytteth *knyttinge* from " morrow to eve can ſcantly win her bread—Celle qui ne fait que laſſer depuis " matin, juſqu au ſoyre, a grant peyne peut elle gagner ſon payn.——4th. I *knytt* " or bind together—Je annexe."

As, therefore, the expreſſion of *knitting hoſen* is uſed by Palſgrave, there can be little doubt but it obtained in Rowley's time, eſpecially as the ſenſe is not neceſſarily confined to *the preſent mode of knitting ſtockings*; for it might only imply *lacing*, agreeably to the French explanation of Palſgrave; but it was certainly much more than *faſtening* or *binding together*, which he mentions as a different ſenſe of the word.—*Hoſen*, or ſtockings, of whatever materials made, (before knitting was invented) were neceſſarily to be cut, ſhaped, and faſtened to the leg. Eleanor might in this manner have been *knitting her white hoſen*, and preparing them for wear.—Gaſcoigne, in his ſatire called the Steel of Glaſs, p. 296, deſcribes one part of the finery of dreſs in his time, viz. Anno 1579, as conſiſting

In *ſilk knitt hoſe* and Spaniſh leather ſhoes.

It is a part of Sir Thomas's character, that he was

——A forreſter boulde,
As ever *clove pynne or the baſkette*;

alluding probably to his ſkill in archery and backſword, two principal amuſements of gentlemen in thoſe days, and both connected with the character of a forreſter. The *pin* was the center of a butt or ſhield erected as a mark for the archers; and the cleaving it with the arrow ſhewed the perfection of the archer's ſkill. In alluſion to this, in a trial of archery, (Love's Labour Loſt, Act v. ſc. 1.) Coſtard ſays of Marcia, " Then will ſhe get the upſhot *by cleaving the pin.*"—So likewiſe Drayton deſcribes the excellence of Robin Hood's bowmen;

Of archery they had the perfect craft,
With broad arrows or butts, or prick or roving ſhaft;
At marks full forty ſcore they uſed to prick and rove,
Yet higher than the breaſt for conqueſt never ſtrove;
Yet at the furtheſt mark a foot could hardly win,
At long buttes, ſhort and Hoyles, each one *could cleave the pin.*

The *Baſket* ſeems to relate to the backſword, in which Caverd the Scot is ſaid to have

Does no cheryſauncys [n] from Elynour houlde,
I have ytte as ſoone as I aſke ytte.

Whann I lyved wyth mie fadre yn merrie Clowd-dell,
Tho' twas at my liefe [o] to mynde ſpynnynge,
I ſtylle wanted ſomethynge, botte whatte ne coulde telle,
Mie lorde fadres barbde [p] haulle han ne wynnynge.

Eche mornynge I ryſe, doe I ſette mie maydennes,
Somme to ſpynn, ſomme to curdell [q], ſomme bleachynge,
Gyff any new entered doe aſke for mie aidens,
Thann ſwythynne [r] you fynde mee a teachynge.

Lorde Walterre, mie fadre, he loved me welle,
And nothynge unto mee was nedeynge,
Botte ſchulde I agen goe to merrie Cloud-dell,
In ſothen [s] twoulde bee wythoute redeynge.

[n] *Comfort.* [o] *Choice.* [p] *Hung with armour.* [q] *Card.* [r] *Immediately.* [s] *In truth.*

Shee

have excelled, (Battle of Haſtings, N°. 2. v. 512.) The ſhields with which they protected themſelves, or the guard that ſurrounded the wriſt of their ſword-arm, were made of baſket or wicker work; and it ſhewed the ſtrength and dexterity of the combatant, to cleave it with the ſword.

V. 219. The idea of a *barbed hall*, or a hall in a gentleman's country ſeat hung round with armour, is not yet antiquated or obſolete, and is well deſcribed in the Ballad of the Old Courtier:

With an old hall hung about with pikes, guns, and bows,
With old ſwords and bucklers that had born many ſhrewd blows.

And the javelin is ſaid to be *barbed* (or armed) with deathes wynges, B. H. N°. 2. v. 271. With ſubmiſſion, therefore, to the learned editor's objection, why is not the term *barbed hall*, as juſt as that of *barbed horſe*, v. 27 of this poem, and in

Shee ſayde, and lorde Thomas came over the lea,
As hee the ſatte derkynnes [s] was chacynge,
Shee putte uppe her knyttynge, and to hym wente ſhee;
So wee leave hem bothe kyndelie embracynge.

ÆLLA.

I lyche eke thys; goe ynn untoe the feaſte;
Wee wylle permytte you antecedente [t] bee;
There ſwotelie ſynge eche carolle, and yaped [u] jeaſte;
And there ys monnie, that you merrie bee;
Comme, gentle love, wee wylle toe ſpouſe-feaſte goe,
And there ynn ale and wyne bee dreyncted [x] everych woe.

ÆLLA, BIRTHA, CELMONDE, MESSENGERE.

MESSENGERE.

Ælla! the Danes ar thondrynge onn our coaſte;
Lyche ſcolles [y] of locuſts, caſte oppe bie the ſea,
Magnus and Hurra, wythe a doughtie hoaſte,
Are ragyng, to be quanſed [z] bie none botte thee;
Haſte, ſwyfte as levynne [a] to theſe royners flee:
Thie dogges alleyne can tame thys ragynge bulle.

[s] *Young deer.* [t] *To go before.* [u] Laughable. [x] Drowned. [y] *Swarms.*
[z] Stilled, quenched. [a] *Lightning.*

Haſte

Shakeſpeare's Richard II; and the *unbarbed* or unarmed *ſconce* of Coriolanus, which he was ſo unwilling to ſhew before the Roman ſenate, becauſe it had been uſually covered with his helmet? Sir Thomas Hanmer has thus explained the word. Dr. Johnſon, from a different etymology, calls it his *unſhaven* head: But would that appearance have been particular at Rome in the time of Coriolanus?

V. 238. The tranſition from the feaſt to the alarm on the Danes approach, is a dramatic beauty: The armies of the latter are compared to *ſcolles of locuſts*; a ſcriptural alluſion, which ſpeaks of them as *armies*, and deſcribes, in terms of the greateſt horror, their devaſtation of the fruits of the earth. Nahum iii. 15.

Haſte ſwythyn, fore [a] anieghe the towne theie bee,
And Wedeceſterres rolle of dome [b] bee fulle.
Haſte, haſte, O Ælla, to the byker [c] flie,
For yn a momentes ſpace tenne thouſand menne maie die.

ÆLLA.

Beſhrew thee for thie newes! I moſte be gon.
Was ever lockleſs dome ſo hard as myne!
Thos from dyſportyſmente [d] to warr to ron,
To chaunge the ſelke veſte for the gaberdyne [e]!

[a] *Before.* [b] *Judgment, or fate.* [c] *Battle.* [d] *Enjoyment.* [e] *Military cloak.*

BIRTHA.

V. 251. The *Gabardine* (which is here put by way of antitheſis to *a ſilk veſt*, alluding to a ſtate of war and difficulty, as oppoſed to a life of eaſe and luxury) was not, as Chatterton has explained it (Tournament, v. 88.) *a piece of armour*, but *a coarſe cloak*, worn chiefly by the ſoldiers to protect them from cold; and ſo it is explained by Skynner: It was probably worn alſo by inferior perſons: Shylock, in the Jew of Venice, charges Antonio with having ſpit upon his *Jewiſh Gabardine*; and if Chatterton had been as well acquainted with Shakeſpeare, as his advocates are willing to ſuppoſe, he would not have called any part of a Jew's dreſs at Venice, *a piece of armour*. Camden, in his Remains (title Apparel) ſpeaks of *a ſhort Gabberden, called a Court Pie*, worn in the time of Richard II; which Chaucer alſo deſcribes as the dreſs of his clerk of Oxenford.

Full thread bare was his everiſt *courtepy*.

Skynner calls it a ſhort veſt that does not reach to the feet; but Mr. Tyrwhit, on the authority of Kilian, derives it from the German words *Kort* curtus & *Pije* penula coactilis ex villis craſſioribus. See Tournament, v. 88.—Butler had the ſame idea of a Gaberdine, when, in Talgol's wound, he meant to burleſque the Prince of Poets, perhaps on the wound given by Mars to Diomede;

——— The ſhot let fly
At random 'mong the enemy,
Pierc'd Talgol's *gaberdine*, and, grazing
Upon his ſhoulder in the paſſing,
Lodg'd in Magnano's braſs habergeon;
Who ſtraight A ſurgeon, cry'd, a ſurgeon!
He tumbled down, and, as he fell,
Did murther, murther, murther yell.
Hudibraſs, p. i. c. 3. v. 535.

So

BIRTHA.

O! lyche a nedere [f], lette me rounde thee twyne,
And hylte [g] thie boddie from the ſchaftes of warre.
Thou ſhalte nott, muſt not, from thie Birtha ryne [h]
Botte kenn the dynne of ſlughornes from afarre.

ÆLLA.

O love, was thys thie joie, to ſhewe the treate,
Then groffyſhe [i] to forbydde thie hongered gueſtes to eate?

O mie upſwalynge [k] harte, whatt wordes can ſaie
The peynes, thatte paſſethe ynn mie ſoule ybrente?
Thos to bee torne uponne mie ſpouſalle daie,
O! 'tys a peyne beyond entendemente [l].
Yee mychtie Goddes, and is yor favoures ſente
As thous faſte dented [m] to a loade of peyne?
Moſte wee aie holde yn chace the ſhade content,
And for a bodykyn [n] a ſwarthe [o] obteyne?
O! whie, yee ſeynctes, oppreſs yee thos mie ſowle?
How ſhalle I ſpeke mie woe, mie freme [p], mie dreerie dole [q]?

CELMONDE.

Sometyme the wyſeſte lacketh pore mans rede [r].
Reaſonne and counynge wytte efte flees awaie.
Thanne, loverde, lett me ſaie, wyth hommaged drede
(Bieneth your fote ylayn) mie counſelle ſaie;

[f] *Adder, or ſerpent.* [g] *Hide, cover.* [h] *Run.* [i] *Rudely, uncivilly.* [k] Swelling. [l] *Comprehenſion.* [m] *Joined, faſtened.* [n] Body, ſubſtance. [o] *Ghoſt, or ſpirit.* [p] *Strange.* [q] *Grief, diſtreſs.* [r] *Counſel.*

Gyff

So Thomas Drant, in his tranſlation of Horace's Epiſtles, printed 1567, thus renders Ep. i. v. 96.

My cote is bare, my *gaberdine* amis.

Gyff thos wee lett the matter lethlen [s] laie,
The foemenn, everych honde-poyncte [t], getteth fote.
Mie loverde, lett the ſpeere-menne, dyghte for fraie,
And all the ſabbataners [u] goe aboute.
I ſpeke, mie loverde, alleyne to upryſe
Youre wytte from marvelle, and the warriour to alyſe [x].

ÆLLA.

Ah! nowe thou potteſt takells [y] yn mie harte;
Mie ſoulghe dothe nowe begynne to ſee herſelle;
I wylle upryſe mie myghte, and doe mie parte,
To ſlea the foemenne yn mie furie felle.
Botte howe canne tynge [z] mie rampynge [a] fourie telle,
Whyche ryſeth from mie love to Birtha fayre?
Ne coulde the queede [b], and alle the myghte of Helle,
Founde out impleaſaunce [c] of ſyke blacke a geare [d].
Yette I wylle bee mieſelfe, and rouze mie ſpryte
To acte wythe rennome, and goe meet the bloddie fyghte.

BIRTHA.

No, thou ſchalte never leave thie Birtha's ſyde;
Ne ſchall the wynde uponne us blowe alleyne;

[s] Still, dead. [t] *Minute, or hour.* [u] *Booted ſoldiers.* [x] *To free, or deliver.* [y] Arrows, darts. [z] *Tongue.* [a] *Furious.* [b] *The devil.* [c] *Unpleaſantneſs.* [d] *Nature, ſort.*

I, lyche

V. 273. The *honde point*, means the index of a clock, and ſuch were in uſe in Rowley's time.—In the Nonnes Prieſts Tale, mention is made of a "Clock or "Abbey Horloge:" Ric. de Wallingford, Abbot of St. Albans, gave, in 1328, a clock to the Abbey Church, "*the like whereof was not to be ſeen in England.*" Willis's Hiſt. of Mitred Abbies, in Leland's Collectan. vol. vi. p. 134.

V. 275. The *Sabatoners*, mentioned again v. 584, were *booted ſoldiers*, anſwering to Homer's ἐυκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοι. Lidgate uſes the word *Sabaton* for a ſoldier's boot; and *ſabot* is the modern French name for a ſlipper.

I, lyche a nedre [e], wylle untoe thee byde;
Tyde [f] lyfe, tyde deathe, ytte ſhall behoulde us twayne.
I have mie parte of drierie dole and peyne;
Itte braſteth [g] from mee atte the holtred [h] eyne;
Ynne tydes of teares mie ſwarthynge [i] ſpryte wyll drayne,
Gyff drerie dole ys thyne, tys twa tymes myne.
Goe notte, O Ælla; wythe thie Birtha ſtaie;
For wyth thie ſemmlykeed [k] mie ſpryte wyll goe awaie.

ÆLLA.

O! tys for thee, for thee alleyne I fele;
Yett I muſte bee mieſelfe; with valoures gear
I'lle dyghte [l] mie hearte, and notte [m] mie lymbes yn ſtele,
And ſhake the bloddie ſwerde and ſteyned ſpere.

BIRTHA.

Can Ælla from hys breaſte hys Birtha teare?
Is ſhee ſo rou [n] and ugſomme [o] to hys ſyghte?
Entrykeynge [p] wyght! ys leathall warre ſo deare?
Thou pryzeſt mee belowe the joies of fyghte.
Thou ſcalte notte leave mee, albeytte the erthe
Hong pendaunte bie thie ſwerde, and craved for thy morthe [q].

ÆLLA.

Dyddeſt thou kenne howe mie woes, as ſtarres ybrente [r],
Headed bie theſe thie wordes doe onn mee falle,

[e] *Adder.* [f] *Happen.* [g] *Burſteth.* [h] *Hidden.* [i] *Dying, departing.* [k] *Countenance.* [l] *Dreſs, or prepare.* [m] *Faſten.* [n] *Horrid, grim.* [o] *Terrible.* [p] *Deceitful.* [q] *Death.* [r] *Burnt.*

Thou

V. 307. Should not the word *my* be ſubſtituted here inſtead of *thy morthe?* "I will not leave you, though the whole world hung pendant on your ſword, "and demanded my death."

V. 308. The ſimile of burnt and falling ſtars, is founded on an ancient

Thou woulde ſtryve to gyve mie harte contente,
Wakyng mie ſlepynge mynde to honnoures calle.
Of ſelyneſſe [s] I pryze thee moe yan all
Heaven can mee ſende, or counynge wytt acquyre,
Yette I wylle leave thee, onne the foe to falle,
Retournynge to thie eyne with double fyre.

BIRTHA.

Moſte Birtha boon [t] requeſte and bee denyd?
Receyve attenes [u] a darte yn ſelyneſſe and pryde?
Doe ſtaie att leaſte tylle morrowes ſonne apperes.

ÆLLA.

Thou kenneſte welle the Dacyannes myttee powere;
Wythe them a mynnute wurchethe bane for yeares;
Theie undoe reaulmes wythyn a ſyngle hower.
Rouze all thie honnoure, Birtha; look attoure [x]
Thie bledeynge countrie, whych for haſtie dede
Calls, for the rodeynge [y] of ſome doughtie power,
To royn [z] yttes royners, make yttes foemenne blede.

BIRTHA.

Rouze all thie love; falſe and entrykyng [a] wyghte!
Ne leave thie Birtha thos uponne pretence of fyghte.

Thou nedeſt notte goe, untyll thou haſte command
Under the ſygnette of oure lorde the kynge.

[s] *Happineſs.* [t] *Aſk a favour.* [u] *At once.* [x] *Round about.*
[y] *Riding, or command.* [z] *Ruin.* [a] *Deceitful.*

ÆLLA.

idea, that ſtarrs were gradually conſumed by their own fire, and then fell on the earth.—Thus Spenſer ſays,

That molten ſtars do drop like weeping eyes.
F. Q. B. i. C. 6. St. 6.

ÆLLA.

And wouldeſt thou make me then a recreande[b]?
Hollie Seyncte Marie, keepe mee from the thynge!
Heere, Birtha, thou haſt potte a double ſtynge,
One for thie love, anodher for thie mynde.

BIRTHA.

Agylted[c] Ælla, thie abredynge[d] blynge[e].
Twas love of thee thatte foule intente ywrynde[f].
Yette heare mie ſupplycate, to mee attende,
Hear from mie groted[g] harte the lover and the friende.
Lett Celmonde yn thie armour-brace[h] be dyghte[i];
And yn thie ſtead unto the battle goe;
Thie name alleyne wylle putte the Danes to flyghte,
The ayre thatt beares ytt woulde preſſe downe the foe.

ÆLLA.

Birtha, yn vayne thou wouldſte mee recreand[k] doe;
I moſte, I wylle, fyghte for mie countries wele,
And leave thee for ytt. Celmonde, ſweftlie goe,
Telle mie Bryſtowans to [be] dyghte yn ſtele;
Tell hem I ſcorne to kenne hem from afar,
Botte leave the vyrgyn brydall bedde for bedde of warre.

ÆLLA, BIRTHA.

BIRTHA.

And thou wylt goe: O mie agroted[l] harte!

ÆLLA.

Mie countrie waites mie marche; I muſte awaie;
Albeytte I ſchulde goe to mete the darte

[b] *Coward.* [c] Offended. [d] Upbraiding. [e] Ceaſe [f] *Diſcloſed.* [g] Swollen.
[h] *Suit of armour.* [i] *Dreſſed.* [k] *Coward.* [l] *Swollen.*

Of

Of certen Dethe, yette here I woulde notte ſtaie.
Botte thos to leave thee, Birtha, dothe aſſwaie [m]
Moe torturynge peynes yanne canne be ſedde bie tyngue,
Yette rouze thie honoure uppe, and wayte the daie,
Whan rounde aboute mee ſonge of warre heie ſynge.
O Birtha, ſtrev mie agreeme [n] to accaie [o],
And joyous ſee mie armes, dyghte oute ynn warre arraie.

BIRTHA.

Difficile [p] ys the pennaunce, yette I'lle ſtrev
To keepe mie woe behyltren [q] yn mie breaſte.
Albeytte nete maye to mee pleaſaunce yev [r],
Lyche thee, I'lle ſtrev to ſette mie mynde atte reſte.
Yett oh! forgeve, yff I have thee dyſtreſte;
Love, doughtie love, wylle beare no odher ſwaie.
Juſte as I was wythe Ælla to bleſte,
Shappe [s] foullie thos hathe ſnatched hym awaie.
It was a tene [t] too doughtie to bee borne,
Wydhoute an ounde [u] of teares and breaſte wyth ſyghes ytorne.

ÆLLA.

Thie mynde ys now thieſelfe; why wylte thou bee
All blanche, al kyngelie, all ſoe wyſe yn mynde,

[m] *Put me to the trial.* [n] Torture. [o] Aſſwage. [p] Difficult.
[q] *Hidden.* [r] *Give.* [s] *Fate.* [t] *Pain, or torment.* [u] *Flood.*

Alleyne

V. 355. The war ſongs to be ſung round Ella were thoſe of victory, and differed from the war ſong at the prelude of an engagement.—The *long warr ſhield* of the Saxons, mentioned more than once, v. 374, and B. H. 2. v. 330, agrees with the ſhape of the early ſhields engraved in Strutt's Antiquities, and other ancient repreſentations. It will be unneceſſary to obſerve with what wonderful art and dramatic ſkill the parting ſcene between Ella and Birtha is worked up, as every reader muſt diſcover its merit.

Alleyne to lett pore wretched Ælla ſee,
Whatte wondrous bighes [x] he nowe muſte leave behynde?
O Birtha fayre, warde [y] everyche commynge wynde,
On everych wynde I wylle a token ſende;
Onn mie longe ſhielde ycorne [z] thie name thoul't fynde.
Butte here commes Celmonde, wordhie knyghte and friende.

ÆLLA, BIRTHA, CELMONDE *ſpeaking.*

Thie Bryſtowe knyghtes for thie forth-comynge lynge [a];
Echone athwarte hys backe hys longe warre-ſhield dothe ſlynge.

ÆLLA.

Birtha, adieu; but yette I cannotte goe.

BIRTHA.

Lyfe of mie ſpryte, mie gentle Ælla ſtaie.
Engyne [b] mee notte wyth ſyke a drierie woe.

ÆLLA.

I muſte, I wylle; tys honnoure cals awaie.

BIRTHA.

O mie agroted [c] harte, braſte, braſte ynn twaie.
Ælla, for honnoure, flyes awaie from mee.

ÆLLA.

Birtha, adieu; I maie notte here obaie [d].
I'm flyynge from mieſelfe yn flying thee.

BIRTHA.

O Ælla, houſband, friend, and loverde, ſtaie.
He's gon, he's gone, alaſs! percaſe he's gone for aie.

[a] Jewels. [y] *Watch.* [z] *Engraved.* [a] Stay. [b] *Torture.* [c] *Swelling, or ſwollen.* [d] *Wait.*

CELMONDE.

Hope, hallie [e] ſuſter, ſweepeynge thro' the ſkie,
In crowne of goulde, and robe of lillie whyte,
Whyche farre abrode ynne gentle ayre doe flie,
Meetynge from dyſtaunce the enjoyous ſyghte,
Albeytte efte thou takeſt thie hie flyghte
Hecket [f] ynne a myſte, and wyth thyne eyne yblente [g],
Nowe commeſt thou to mee wythe ſtarrie lyghte;
Ontoe thie veſte the rodde ſonne ys adente [h];

[e] *Holy.* [f] Wrapped cloſely, covered. [g] *Blinded.* [h] Faſtened.

The

V. 388 This ſoliloquy of Celmond is indiſputably one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed paſſages in the play for its lofty ideas, powerful imagery, and poetic expreſſion; nor is it, in point of reaſoning, unlike or unequal to Shakeſpeare. The reader will examine, with great pleaſure, its various beauties.

Though the character of Celmond doth not imply much acquaintance with the graces of Chriſtianity, yet the appellation of *ſiſter*, ſeems to connect *Hope* with the virtues of *Faith* and *Charity*. How graceful and majeſtic is her attitude, ſweeping through the ſkie! With what emblematical juſtice is ſhe arrayed in a robe of lillie white, fair and thin as the air which ſhe is ſuppoſed to inhabit! The crowns of gold allude to thoſe rich and pleaſing proſpects which open themſelves to her votaries, who frequently enjoy them only in imagination.—To Celmond ſhe revealed herſelf *wythe ſtarrie light:* Not with thoſe faint and feeble rays, which only leſſen the obſcurity of night; but with the brightneſs and glory aſcribed to thoſe heavenly luminaries in ſcripture. Her robe, which ſeems to include the whole firmament, is gilded with the warmth of the ſun, painted with the bloſſoms of ſpring, and with the beauties of ſummer; and her *Aumere* (the meaning of which word will be explained and juſtified hereafter) may with equal propriety be applied either to the robe itſelf, or to the border which is ſuppoſed to ſurround it. How far does Spenſer's deſcription of Hope fall ſhort of our poet's image!

> With *Fear* went *Hope* in rank; a handſome maid,
> And of a chearful look, and lovely to behold:
> In ſilken ſamite ſhe was light array'd,
> And her fayre locks were woven up in gold.
> She always ſmiled.
>
> B. iii. C. 12. St. 8.

The Sommer tyde, the month of Maie appere,
Depycte wythe ſkylledd honde upponn thie wyde aumere [i].

I from a nete [k] of hopelen [l] am adawed [m],
Awhaped [n] atte the fetyveneſs [o] of daie;
Ælla, bie nete moe thann hys myndbruche [p] awed,
Is gone, and I moſte followe, toe the fraie.
Celmonde canne ne'er from anie byker [q] ſtaie.
Dothe warre begynne? there's Celmonde yn the place.
Botte whanne the warre ys donne, I'll haſte awaie.
The reſte from nethe [r] tymes maſque muſt ſhew yttes face.
I ſee onnombered joies arounde mee ryſe;
Blake [s] ſtondethe future doome, and joie dothe mee alyſe [t].

O honnoure, honnoure, whatt ys bie thee hanne?
Hailie the robber and the bordelyer [u],

[i] *Robe or girdle.* [k] *Night.* [l] *Hopeleſſneſs, or ſmall hope.* [m] *Awakened.* [n] Aſtoniſhed. [o] *Agreeableneſs.* [p] *Firmneſs of mind.* [q] *Battle.* [r] *Beneath.* [s] Naked, *or open.* [t] *Sets me free.* [u] *Cottager.*

Who

V. 398. A *nete of hopelen* means a night of deſpair, or rather of ſmall hope. *Hopelen* is the diminutive of hope.

V. 400. The myndbruche of Ella, like that of Canning and of Truth, (ſee Storie of Canning, ver. 74 and 145) probably means *firmneſs* and *fortitude*; but Cowel explains the word by *ambition*.

V. 408. The conſiſtence of Celmond's character is wonderfully ſupported in this ſoliloquy; wherein he appears no leſs brave than wicked and treacherous: His diſquiſition on Honour, is in the ſtile of Shakeſpeare, and ſpeaks the language of a man not wholly loſt to its feelings, nor inſenſible of reaſon; but firmly reſolved not to obey its dictates:

——Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora ſequor.

Agitated by ſuch a convulſion in his mind, he compares himſelf to a mountain torn by a tempeſt, v. 416. and in that reſpect leſs happy than the robber or the peaſant, *(Bordelyer)* the former inſenſible to the dictates of honour, the latter unacquainted

Who kens ne thee, or ys to thee beſtanne [w],
And nothynge does thie myckle gaſtneſs [x] fere.
Faygne woulde I from mie boſomme alle thee tare.
Thou there dyſperpelleſt [y] thie levynne-bronde [z];
Whyleſt mie ſoulgh's forwyned [a], thou art the gare [b];
Sleene ys mie comforte bie thie ferie honde;
As ſomme talle hylle, whann wynds doe ſhake the ground,
Itte kerveth [c] all abroade, bie braſteynge [d] hyltren [e] wounde.

Honnoure, whatt bee ytte? tys a ſhadowes ſhade,
A thynge of wychencref [f], an idle dreme;
On of the fonnis [g] whych the clerche have made
Menne wydhoute ſprytes, and wommen for to fleme [h];
Knyghtes, who efte kenne the loude dynne of the beme [i],
Schulde be forgarde [k] to ſyke enfeeblynge waies,
Make everych acte, alyche theyr ſoules, be breme [l],
And for theyre chyvalrie alleyne have prayſe.
O thou, whatteer thie name,
Or Zabalus [m] or Queed [n],
Comme, ſteel mie ſable ſpryte,
For fremde [o] and dolefulle dede.

[w] *Oppoſed, loſt.* [x] *Terribleneſs.* [y] Scattereſt. [z] *Lightning.* [a] *Withered.* [b] *Cauſe.* [c] *Cutteth.* [d] *Burſting.* [e] *Hidden.* [f] *Witchcraft.* [g] *Devices.* [h] *Affright.* [i] *Trumpet.* [k] *Loſt.* [l] *Furious.* [m n] *The devil.* [o] Strange.

MAGNUS,

with its precepts; he therefore invokes the devil, under the ancient titles of *Zabulus* and *Queed*, to harden his heart againſt all ſenſibility and compunction. *Queed*, in Robert Glouceſter, ſignifies *evil*, or *the devil*. See the Gloſſary to that work.

V. 426. This invocation ſhould have been written in two lines, not in four, making the ſtanza to cloſe with two Alexandrines inſtead of one; there is another inſtance of a redundant foot in v. 710.

MAGNUS, HURRA, *and* HIE-PREESTE,
wyth the ARMIE, *neare* Watchette.

MAGNUS.

SWYTHE [p] lette the offrendes [q] to the Goddes begynne,
To knowe of hem the iſſue of the fyghte.
Potte the blodde-ſteyned ſword and pavyes [r] ynne;
Spreade ſwythyn all arounde the hallie lyghte.

[p] Quickly. [q] Offerings. [r] *Shields.*

HIE

V. 430. The ſcene of the Daniſh enchantment, like that of the witches in Macbeth, exhibits a picture of northern ſuperſtition. This in Ella, however, is dignified by more noble ideas.

Shakeſpeare has preſented to his readers a diſguſtful combination of unnatural objects, well ſuited to the invocation of evil ſpirits: Rowley, on the other hand, in his account of this religious ſacrifice, offers *blodde-ſteyned ſwords* and *ſhields*, as the moſt grateful tribute to the Daniſh Deities. *Pavois* is an old French word for *a ſhield*; which ſeems to be the meaning of the word in this paſſage, and ſo it may be underſtood, v. 647.

Lette bloddie teares bie all your *paves* be wepte.

But the long *Pavade*, which Chaucer's Miller wore at his belt, and which is there joined with a knife and bodkin, as offenſive weapons, ſeems to determine the meaning of it to a *ſword* or *dagger*; Skynner explains it by *pugio*; and Mr. Tyrwhit calls it *an offenſive weapon*, but does not determine of what kind, vol. iv. p. 248. Menage ſuppoſes the word to be derived from the city of Pavia, as piſtols were denominated from Piſtoia, where they were firſt made.

The ceremony of putting the *blodde-ſteyned ſwords* into the ſacrifice may be illuſtrated by a circumſtance mentioned by Aſſer, the writer of Alfred's Life, and by Ethelward, the Saxon Hiſtorian; who ſay, "that the Danes ſwore a peace with "that king on their *holy armillæ*; an oath which they had never taken before:" To which Strutt, in his Account of Ancient Cuſtoms, adds, "that theſe armillæ "were ſtained with the blood of their ſacrifices;" and it is no improbable ſuppoſition, that the ſwords accompanied the armillæ on ſuch occaſions.

The objects of the high-prieſt's invocation, are the power and influence exerciſed

HIE PREESTE *syngeth.*

Yee, who hie yn mokie [s] ayre
Delethe seasonnes foule or fayre,
Yee, who, whanne yee weere agguylte [t],
The mone yn bloddie gyttelles [u] hylte [w],
Mooved the starres, and dyd unbynde
Everyche barriere to the wynde;
Whanne the oundynge [x] waves dystreste,
Stroven [y] to be overest [z],
Sockeynge [a] yn the spyre-gyrte towne,
Swolterynge [b] wole natyones downe,
Sendynge dethe, on plagues astrodde,
Moovynge lyke the erthys Godde;
To mee send your heste [c] dyvyne,
Lyghte eletten [d] all myne eyne,
Thatt I maie now undevyse [e]
All the actyonnes of th'empprize [f].

[*falleth downe and efte rysethe:*

[s] *Dark, cloudy.* [t] *Offended.* [u] Mantels, *or cloathing.* [w] *Hid, covered.* [x] *Watery, swelling.* [y] *Striving.* [z] *Uppermost.* [a] *Sucking.* [b] *Overwhelming.* [c] *Command.* [d] Enlighten. [e] *Explain.* [f] *Enterprise.*

Thus

by their Deities over the heavenly bodies, the elements, and seasons, the winds and the waters, in the desolation of cities and countries, and in the destruction of their inhabitants: Compleating the magnificence of the image by

Sendynge dethe on plagues astrodde,
Moovynge lyke the erthys Godde.

V. 449. Eft signifies *often*, and *afterwards*; it is used here in the latter sense: So Gascoigne, D. Barth. p. 120.

But such as once have felt the scorching fire,
Will seldom *eft* to play with flame desire.

If

Thus ſayethe the Goddes; goe, yſſue to the playne;
Forr there ſhall meynte of mytte menne bee ſlayne.

MAGNUS.

Whie, ſoe there evere was, whanne Magnus foughte.
Efte have I treynted [g] noyance [h] throughe the hoaſte,
Athorowe ſwerdes, alyche the Queed dyſtraughte,
Have Magnus preſſynge wroghte hys foemen loaſte [i].

[g] *Scattered.* [h] *Annoyance, loſs.* [i] *Loſs.*

As

If this addreſs of the high-prieſt, with the reſt of his prayer, is directed to the Deities in general, the words *lyghte eletten* may be underſtood as a Pleonaſmus, *i. e. enlighten my eyes with light*; from the Saxon word Alyhtnyſſe, illuminatio: But it may be an addreſs either to the *Sun*, as *the fountain of light*, or to *light* in general; and then the word *eletten* will ſignify to *alight*, or *deſcend upon his eyes*, from the Saxon word Alihtan—deſcendere ab equo. So *eletten*, B. H. 1. v. 413, ſignifies that Alured *lighted upon*, or found by chance another horſe.

V. 450. The anſwer of the gods to the high-prieſt is truly oracular, dark, and ambiguous; equally applicable to the conſtruction and wiſhes of either party.

The remainder of this ſcene is employed in a ſpirited and humorous altercation between the two Daniſh generals, Magnus and Hurra; the former repreſented as a boaſting coward, the latter as a warrior of approved courage and generous diſpoſition, who, from a conſciouſneſs of his own valour, and the want of it in his rival, treats him with the greateſt contempt and ridicule. Strict poetical juſtice is done to each character; the former is ſlain flying, v. 780, the latter is made the generous inſtrument of reſtoring Birtha to her deceived and expiring Lord, v. 1110.

V. 452. Magnus begins his boaſt in the ſtile of Falſtaff, and graces it with an Homerical alluſion.

——— ὡς ὅτε κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
Ἀγιαλῷ μεγάλῳ βρέμεται, σμαραγεῖ δέ τε πόντος.
Il. B. v. 209.

—— As when old Ocean roars,
And heaves high ſurges to the neighbouring ſhores,
The groaning banks are burſt with bellowing ſound,
The rocks remurmur, and the deeps reſound.
Pope, B. ii. v. 249.

As whanne a tempeſte vexethe ſoare the coaſte,
The dyngeynge [l] ounde [m] the ſandeie ſtronde doe tare,
So dyd I inne the warre the javlynne toſte [n],
Full meynte a champyonnes breaſte received mie ſpear.
Mie ſheelde, lyche ſommere morie gronfer [o] droke [p],
Mie lethalle ſpeere, alyche a levyn-mylted [q] oke.

HURRA.

Thie wordes are greate, full hyghe of ſound, and eeke [r],
Lyche thonderre, to the whych dothe comme no rayne.
Itte lacketh notte a doughtie honde to ſpeke;
The cocke ſaiethe drefte [s], yett armed ys he alleyne.

[l] *Noiſy, ſounding.* [m] *Wave.* [n] *Toſs.* [o] *Fen-fire, or meteor.* [p] *Dry.* [q] *Melted with lightning.* [r] *Amplification, or boaſt.* [s] Leaſt, *rather, ſpeaks big.*

Certis

V. 456. Though nothing can bear leſs reſemblance to another, than the general character of Magnus does to that of Neſtor, yet there are ſome paſſages in the ſpeech of the latter, wherein he recites the exploits of his youth in a ſtile not unlike the boaſts of Magnus, and forms almoſt the ſame alluſion.

Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ἐνόρουσα, κελαινῇ λαίλαπι ἶσος,
Πεντήκοντα δ' ἕλον δίφρους· δύο δ' ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον
Φῶτες ὀδὰξ ἕλον ἕδας, ἐμῷ ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντες.

Il. A. v. 746.

The foe diſpers'd, their braveſt warrior kill'd,
Fierce as a whirlwind now I ſwept the field;
Full fifty captive chariots grac'd my train,
Two chiefs from each fell breathleſs on the plain.

Pope, B. ii. v. 880.

Pope, in his tranſlation, calls the tempeſt a whirlwind, and drops the mention of the ſpear.

V. 465. *Drefte.* Chatterton's gloſs on this word is directly oppoſite to the meaning of the paſſage; which illuſtrates what was ſaid in the preceding line, "The cock *ſpeaks big, or threatens* as you do, but then he is *armed* and prepared "to fight—your words may *be big and threatening* alſo, but you might have ſaid of "me, and of other brave men, what you have ſaid of yourſelf." To juſtify this explanation, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the Saxon word Dpuꝑ is explained in

Certis thie wordes maie, thou moteſt have ſayne
Of mee, and meynte of moe, who eke canne fyghte,
Who haveth trodden downe the adventayle [t],
And tore the heaulmes from heades of myckle myghte.
Sythence ſyke myghte ys placed yn thie honde,
Lette blowes thie actyons ſpeeke, and bie thie corrage ſtonde.

MAGNUS.

Thou are a warrioure, Hurra, thatte I kenne,
And myckle famed for thie handie dede.
Thou fyghteſt anente [u] maydens and ne menne,
Nor aie thou makeſt armed hartes to blede.
Efte [w] I, caparyſon'd on bloddie ſtede,
Havethe thee ſeene binethe mee ynn the fyghte,
Wythe corſes I inveſtynge everich mede,
And thou aſton, and wondrynge at mie myghte.
Thanne wouldeſt thou comme yn for mie renome,
Albeytte thou wouldſt reyne awaie from bloddie dome?

HURRA.

How! butte bee bourne [x] mie rage. I kenne aryghte
Bothe thee and thyne maie ne bee wordhye peene [y].

[t] *Armour.* [u] Againſt. [w] *Often.* [x] *Stopped, or limited.* [y] *Trouble.*

Eftſoones

Lye's gloſſary, by *minæ*, *threats*; and the words Þnean and Þnenıng, ſignify to *diſturb*, and *be turbulent*.

V. 468. *Adventayle*, or, as it is ſpelt in Chaucer, *Aventaille*, i. e. *a Ventaille*, ſignifies that aperture in a cloſe helmet, through which the wearer was to breathe. See Mr. Tyrwhit's note on v. 9080 of Chaucer. But it ſeems to be uſed by our poet as ſynonimous to armour in general; and it may be ſo underſtood in this paſſage, where it is expreſsly diſtinguiſhed from the *helmet*; and in B. H. N°. 2. v. 327, 671, and 676. In the Tournament, v. 13, it denotes the whole ſuit of armour. In Godwyn, v. 62, it may ſignify the *helmet*, becauſe it is diſtinguiſhed from the *brygandyne*, which was body-armour.

Eftſoones I hope wee ſcalle engage yn fyghte;
Thanne to the ſouldyers all thou wylte bewreen [z].
I'll prove mie courage onne the burled [a] greene;
Tys there alleyne I'll telle thee whatte I bee.
Gyf I weelde notte the deadlie ſphere [b] adeene [c],
Thanne lett mie name be fulle as lowe as thee.
Thys mie adented [d] ſhielde, thys mie warre-ſpeare,
Schalle telle the falleynge foe gyf Hurra's harte can feare.

MAGNUS.

Magnus woulde ſpeke, butte thatte hys noble ſpryte
Dothe ſoe enrage, he knowes notte whatte to ſaie.
He'dde ſpeke yn blowes, yn gottes [e] of blodde he'd wryte,
And on thie heafod [f] peyncte hys myghte for aie.
Gyf thou anent [g] an wolfynnes rage wouldeſt ſtaie,
'Tys here to meet ytt; botte gyff nott, bee goe;
Leſt I in furrie ſhulde mie armes dyſplaie,
Whyche to thie boddie wylle wurche [h] myckle woe.
Oh! I bee madde, dyſtraughte [i] wyth brendyng rage;
Ne ſeas of ſmethynge [k] gore wylle mie chafed harte aſſwage.

HURRA.

I kenne thee, Magnus, welle; a wyghte thou art,
That doeſt aſlee [l] alonge ynn doled [m] dyſtreſſe,
Strynge [n] bulle yn boddie, lyoncelle [o] yn harte,
I almoſt wyſche thie prowes were made leſſe.

[z] *Diſplay.* [a] *Armed* [b] *Spear.* [c] *Worthily.* [d] *Bruiſed.* [e] *Drops.* [f] *Head.* [g] *Againſt.* [h] Work. [i] *Diſtracted.* [k] *Smoaking.* [l] *Slide, or creep.* [m] *Painful, grievous.* [n] *Strong.* [o] *Lyon.*

Whan

V. 504. Hurra replies with the ſharpeſt irony in theſe two lines; but Achilles's ſarcaſm on Agamemnon is more literal;

—— κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ελάφοιο. Il. A. v. 225.
Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer.

Whan Ælla (name dreſt uppe yn ugſomneſs [p]
To thee and recreandes [q]) thondered on the playne,
Howe dydſte thou thorowe fyrſte of fleers preſſe!
Swefter thanne federed takelle [r] dydſte thou reyne.
A ronnynge pryze onn ſeyncte daie to ordayne,
Magnus, and none botte hee, the ronnynge pryze wylle gayne.

MAGNUS.

Eternalle plagues devour thie baned [s] tyngue!
Myrriades of neders pre upponne thie ſpryte!
Maieſt thou fele al the peynes of age whylſt yynge,
Unmanned, uneyned, exclooded aie the lyghte,
Thie ſenſes, lyche thieſelfe, enwrapped yn nyghte,
A ſcoff to foemen, & to beaſtes a pheere [t];
Maie furched levynne [u] onne thie head alyghte,
Maie on thee falle the fhuyr of the unweere [w];
Fen vaipores blaſte thie everiche manlie powere,
Maie thie bante [x] boddie quycke the wolſome peenes devoure.

Faygne woulde I curſe thee further, botte mie tyngue
Denies mie harte the favoure ſoe toe doe.

[p] Terror. [q] Cowards. [r] *Arrow.* [s] *Curſed.* [t] *Companion.* [u] *Forked lightning.* [w] *Tempeſt.* [x] *Curſed.*

HURRA.

V. 510. His aſſigning to Magnus the prize for running at a wake, from the ſwiftneſs with which he fled from the Saxons, is an irony well adapted to the cuſtoms and manners of thoſe times.

V. 515. The bitterneſs of Magnus's curſes ſeems to allude to ſuch puniſhments as were commonly inflicted on malefactors: The loſs of their members—of their eyes, and their confinement in a dark priſon; which Hurra, in his anſwer, ſtiles "all tortures that be rou."

V. 523. It is unneceſſary to point out particularly the various ſtriking features which diſtinguiſh this capital ſcene, wherein the paſſions are worked up, and conducted by a very maſterly hand: It is ſufficient to obſerve that it yields neither to Shakeſpeare's *Timon and Apemantus*, nor to Ben Johnſon's ſcene of *Subtle and Face*, in the Alchemiſt.

HURRA.

Nowe bie the Dacyanne goddes, & Welkyns [y] kynge,
Wythe fhurie, as thou dydſte begynne, perſue;
Calle on mie heade all tortures that bee rou [z],
Banne onne, tylle thie owne tongue thie curſes fele.
Sende onne mie heade the blyghteynge levynne blewe,
The thonder loude, the ſwellynge azure rele [a].
Thie wordes be hie of dynne [b], botte nete beſyde;
Bane on, good chieftayn, fyghte wythe wordes of myckle pryde.

Botte doe notte waſte thie breath, leſt Ælla come.

MAGNUS.

Ælla & thee togyder ſynke toe helle!
Bee youre names blaſted from the rolle of dome!
I feere noe Ælla, thatte thou kenneſt welle.
Unlydgefulle traytoure, wylt thou nowe rebelle?
Tys knowen, thatte yie menn bee lyncked to myne,
Bothe ſente, as troopes of wolves, to ſletre [c] felle;
Botte nowe thou lackeſt hem to be all yyne [d].
Nowe, bie the goddes yatte reule the Dacyanne ſtate,
Speacke thou yn rage once moe, I wyll thee dyſregate [e].

HURRA.

I pryze thie threattes joſte as I doe thie banes,
The ſede of malyce and recendize [f] al.

[y] *Sky, or heaven.* [z] *Rough, Terrible.* [a] Wave. [b] *Sound.* [c] *Slaughter.* [d] *Thine.* [e] *Break connection, friendſhip with thee.* [f] *Cowardice.*

Thou

V. 541. I will thee *diſregate*. *Abrego*, a ſimilar word, is explained by the Medulla Grammaticæ, *to forſake fellowſhip with a perſon*; which ſeems to be the proper ſenſe of *diſregate* in this paſſage.

Thou arte a ſteyne unto the name of Danes;
Thou alleyne to thie tyngue for proofe canſt calle.
Thou beeſt a worme ſo groffile [g] and ſo ſmal,
I wythe thie bloude woulde ſcorne to foul mie ſworde,
Botte wythe thie weaponnes woulde upon thee falle,
Alyche thie owne feare, ſlea thee wythe a worde.
I Hurra amme mieſel, & aie wylle bee,
As greate yn valourous actes, & yn commande as thee.

MAGNUS, HURRA, ARMYE & MESSENGER.

MESSENGERE.

Blynne [h] your contekions [i], chiefs; for, as I ſtode
Uponne mie watche, I ſpiede an armie commynge,
Notte lyche ann handfulle of a fremded [k] foe,
Botte blacke wythe armoure, movynge ugſomlie [l],
Lyche a blacke fulle cloude, thatte dothe goe alonge
To droppe yn hayle, & [m] hele the thonder ſtorme.

MAGNUS.

Ar there meynte of them?

MESSENGERR.

Thycke as the ante-flyes ynne a ſommer's none,
Seemynge as tho' theie ſtynge as perſante [n] too.

[g] *Groveling, mean.* [h] *Ceaſe.* [i] Contentions. [k] Frighted, *rather ſtrange, unknown.* [l] *Terribly.* [m] *Help.* [n] *Piercing.*

HURRA.

V. 545. *Thou alleyne to thie tyngue for proofe canſt calle.*
This ſarcaſm ſuits the character of Drances in Virgil,

——Linguâ melior, ſed frigida bello
Dextra. Æn. xi. v. 338.

and one can hardly conceive a more ſevere or poignant rebuke than that conveyed in lines 548 and 549.

V. 552. This is one of the very few irregular ſtanza's which occur in theſe poems; one line is wanting, and the whole ſtanza deficient in rhime. That beginning at line 571, is alſo deficient in both reſpects.

HURRA.

Whatte matters thatte? lettes ſette oure warr-arraie.
Goe, ſounde the beme [o], lette champyons prepare;
Ne doubtynge, we wylle ſtynge as faſte as heie.
Whatte? doeſt forgard [p] thie blodde? ys ytte for feare?
Wouldeſt thou gayne the towne, & caſtle-ſtere,
And yette ne byker [q] wythe the ſoldyer guarde?
Go, hyde thee ynn mie tente annethe the lere [r];
I of thie boddie wylle keepe watche & warde.

MAGNUS.

Oure goddes of Denmarke know mie harte ys goode.

HURRA.

For nete uppon the erthe, botte to be choughens [s] foode.

MAGNUS, HURRA, ARMIE, SECONDE MESSENGERRE.

SECONDE MESSENGERRE.

As from mie towre I kende the commynge foe,
I ſpied the croſſed ſhielde, & bloddie ſwerde,
The furyous Ælla's banner; wythynne kenne
The armie ys. Dyſorder throughe oure hoaſte
Is fleynge, borne onne wynges of Ælla's name;
Styr, ſtyr, mie lordes!

MAGNUS.

What? Ælla? & ſoe neare?
Thenne Denmarques roiend; oh mie ryſynge feare!

[o] *Trumpet.* [p] Loſe. [q] *Combat with.* [r] *Leather, ſtuff.* [s] *Food for crows, or choughs.*

HURRA.

V. 567. *Annethe the lere.* This laſt word may ſignify the *baggage* or *ſtuff* belonging to a camp, unleſs *the tents* are ſuppoſed to be ſo called; for Abbo, in his Poem De obſeſsâ a Normannis Lutetiâ, A. D. 885, ſpeaks of tents *conſtructed with leather*. See Aimon de geſtis Francorum, ed. Paris, 1603, p. 409.

HURRA.

What doeſte thou mene? thys Ælla's botte a manne.
Nowe bie mie ſworde, thou arte a verie berne [t].
Of late I dyd thie creand [u] valoure ſcanne,
Whanne thou dydſt boaſte ſoe moche of actyon derne [x].
Botte I toe warr mie doeynges moſte atturne [y],
To cheere the Sabbataneres [z], to deere [a] dede.

MAGNUS.

I to the knyghtes onne everyche ſyde wylle burne [b],
Telleynge 'hem alle to make her foemen blede;
Sythe ſhame or deathe onne eidher ſyde wylle bee,
Mie harte I wylle upryſe, & inne the battelle ſlea.

ÆLLA, CELMONDE, & ARMIE *near* WATCHETTE.

ÆLLA.

NOW havynge done oure mattynes & oure vowes,
Lette us for the intended fyghte be boune [c],
And everyche champyone potte the joyous crowne
Of certane maſterſchyppe upon hys gleſtreynge browes.

As for mie harte, I owne ytt ys, as ere
Itte has beene ynne the ſommer-ſheene of fate,
Unknowen to the ugſomme [d] gratche [e] of fere;
Mie blodde embollen [f], wythe maſterie elate,

[t] Child. [u] *Cowardly, deficient.* [x] *Terrible.* [y] *Turn.* [z] *Soldiers in boots.* [a] *Terrible.* [b] *Turn.* [c] *Ready.* [d] *Terrible.* [e] *Habit, or cloathing.* [f] *Swelling.*

Boyles

V. 584. *Burne* is probably a miſtake, either in the original MS, or in the tranſcript, for *turne*.

Boyles ynne mie veynes, & rolles ynn rapyd ſtate,
Impatyente forr to mete the perſante ſtele,
And telle the worlde, thatte Ælla dyed as greate
As anie knyghte who foughte for Englondes weale.
Friends, kynne, & ſoldyerres, ynne blacke armore drere,
Mie actyons ymytate, mie preſente redynge [g] here.

There ys ne houſe, athrow thys ſhap-ſcutged [h] iſle,
Thatte has ne loſte a kynne yn theſe fell fyghtes,
Fatte blodde has ſorfeeted [i] the hongerde ſoyle,
And townes enlowed [k] lemed [l] oppe the nyghtes.
Inne gyte [m] of fyre oure hallie churche dheie dyghtes [n];
Oure ſonnes lie ſtorven [o] ynne theyre ſmethynge [p] gore;
Oppe bie the rootes oure tree of lyfe dheie pyghtes [q],
Vexynge oure coaſte, as byllowes doe the ſhore.
Yee menne, gyf ye are menne, diſplaie yor name,
Ybrende [r] yer tropes, alyche the roarynge tempeſt flame.

Ye Chryſtyans, doe as wordhie of the name;
Theſe roynerres of oure hallie houſes ſlea;
Braſte [s], lyke a cloude, from whence doth come the flame,
Lyche torrentes, guſhynge downe the mountaines, bee.
And whanne alonge the grene yer champyons flee,
Swefte as the rodde for-weltrynge [t] levyn-bronde [u],
Yatte hauntes the flyinge mortherer oere the lea,
Soe flie oponne theſe royners of the londe.
Lette thoſe yatte are unto yer battayles [x] fledde,
Take ſlepe eterne uponne a feerie lowynge [y] bedde.

[g] *Advice.* [h] Fate-ſcourged. [i] *Surfeited.* [k] Flamed, fired. [l] Lighted. [m] *Cloathing.* [n] *Dreſs.* [o] Dead. [p] *Smoaking.* [q] *Pluck.* [r] *Burn.* [s] *Burſt.* [t] Blaſting. [u] *Flaſh of lightning.* [x] *Ships, boats.* [y] *Flaming, burning.*

Let

Let cowarde Londonne ſee herre towne onn fyre,
And ſtrev wythe goulde to ſtaie the royners honde,
Ælla & Bryſtowe havethe thoughtes thattes hygher,
Wee fyghte notte forr ourſelves, botte all the londe.
As Severnes hyger [z] lyghethe [a] banckes of ſonde,
Preſſynge ytte downe binethe the reynynge ſtreme,
Wythe dreerie dynn enſwolters [b] the hyghe ſtronde,
Beerynge the rockes alonge ynn fhurye breme [c],
Soe wylle wee beere the Dacyanne armie downe,
And throughe a ſtorme of blodde wyll reache the champyon crowne.

Gyff ynn thys battelle locke ne wayte oure gare [d],
To Bryſtowe dheie wylle tourne yeyre fhuyrie dyre;
Bryſtowe, & alle her joies, wylle ſynke toe ayre,
Brendeynge [e] perforce wythe unenhantende [f] fyre:
Thenne lette oure ſafetie doublie moove oure ire,
Lyche wolfyns, rovynge for the evnynge pre,
See[ing] the lambe & ſhepſterr nere the brire,
Doth th'one forr ſafetie, th'one for hongre ſlea;

[z] *The bore of the Severn.* [a] *Lodgeth.* [b] Swallows, ſucks in. [c] *Fierce.* [d] *Cauſe.* [e] *Burning.* [f] Unaccuſtomed.

Thanne,

V. 622. The compliment paid to Briſtol, at the expence of the city of London, is founded on a well-authenticated fact in hiſtory; for it appears by the Saxon Chronicle, p. 14, that the Danes having beſieged London in 1012, a national aſſembly was convened at that city, when they purchaſed peace with the Danes, at the expence of 8000 l.; who having again beſieged London in 1016, the inhabitants paid them 11,000 l. on the like account. Theſe hiſtorical events (which could hardly have come to the knowledge of Chatterton) give an opportunity to the poet of exciting his Briſtowans to a more noble ſpirit, exhorting them to conquer, and not ſhamefully to compound with their enemies.

V. 626. For the deſcription of the hygra, ſee the note on B. H. 2. v. 710.

Thanne, whanne the ravenne crokes uponne the playne,
Oh! lette ytte bee the knelle to myghtie Dacyanns ſlayne.

Lyche a rodde gronfer [g], ſhalle mie anlace [h] ſheene,
Lyche a ſtrynge lyoncelle I'lle bee ynne fyghte,
Lyche fallynge leaves the Dacyannes ſhalle bee ſleene,
Lyche [a] loud dynnynge ſtreeme ſcalle be mie myghte.
Ye menne, who woulde deſerve the name of knyghte,
Lette bloddie teares bie all your paves [i] be wepte;
To commynge tymes no poyntelle [k] ſhalle ywrite,
Whanne Englonde han her foemenn, Bryſtow ſlepte.
Yourſelfes, youre chyldren, & youre fellowes crie,
Go, fyghte ynne rennomes gare, be brave, & wynne or die.

I ſaie ne moe; youre ſpryte the reſte wylle ſaie;
Youre ſpryte wylle wrynne [l], thatte Bryſtow ys yer place;
To honoures houſe I nede notte marcke the waie;
Inne youre owne hartes you maie the foote-pathe trace.

[g] *Fen meteor.* [h] *Sword.* [i] *Shields.* [k] *Pen.* [l] *Diſcover.*

'Twexte

V. 640. The *Reofan*, or ravèn, was the Daniſh ſtandard, alluded to in other paſſages of this tragedy:

Wee longe to here the *raven* ſynge yn vayne. v. 663.

And again,

The Danes, wythe terroure rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, and lyche a *ravenne* fledde. v. 792.

This fact alſo could not well have come within Chatterton's knowledge. Spenſer, in the prophecy which he puts into Merlin's mouth, concerning the monarchy of England, ſpeaks of the Danes under the character of a raven. B. iii. C. 5. St. 46.

'Twexte ſhappe [m] & us there ys botte lyttelle ſpace;
The tyme ys nowe to proove yourſelves bee menne;
Drawe forthe the bornyſhed bylle wythe fetyve [n] grace,
Rouze, lyche a wolfynne rouzing from hys denne.
Thus I enrone [o] mie anlace; go thou ſhethe;
I'lle potte ytt ne ynn place, tyll ytte ys ſycke wythe deathe.

SOLDYERS.

Onn, Ælla, onn; we longe for bloddie fraie;
Wee longe to here the raven ſynge yn vayne;
Onn, Ælla, onn; we certys gayne the daie,
Whanne thou doſte leade us to the leathal playne.

CELMONDE.

Thie ſpeche, O Loverde, fyrethe the whole trayne;
Theie pancte for war, as honted wolves for breathe;
Go, & ſytte crowned on corſes of the ſlayne;
Go, & ywielde the maſſie ſwerde of deathe,

SOLDYERRES.

From thee, O Ælla, alle oure courage reygnes;
Echone yn phantaſie do lede the Danes ynne chaynes.

ÆLLA.

Mie countrymenne, mie friendes, your noble ſprytes
Speke yn youre eyne, & doe yer maſter telle.
Swefte as the rayne-ſtorme toe the erthe alyghtes,
Soe wylle we fall upon theſe royners felle.

[m] *Fate.* [n] *Agreeable, pleaſant.* [o] *Unſheath.*

Oure

V. 662. The ſpeeches of the ſoldiers to Ella, ſeem to be a ſort of Chorus, like thoſe introduced by Handel in his Oratorios.

Oure mowynge ſwerdes ſhalle plonge hem downe to helle;
Theyre throngynge corſes ſhall onlyghte [p] the ſtarres;
The barrowes braſtynge wythe the ſleene ſchall ſwelle,
Brynnynge [q] to commynge tymes our famous warres;
Inne everie eyne I kenne the lowe [r] of myghte,
Sheenynge abrode, alyche a hylle-fyre ynne the nyghte.
Whanne poyntelles [s] of oure famous fyghte ſhall ſaie,
Echone wylle marvelle atte the dernie [t] dede,
Echone wylle wyſſen [u] hee hanne ſeene the daie,
And bravelie holped to make the foemenn blede;
Botte for yer holpe oure battelle wylle notte nede;
Oure force ys force enowe to ſtaie theyre honde;
Wee wylle retourne unto thys grened mede,
Oer corſes of the foemen of the londe.
Nowe to the warre lette all the ſlughornes [x] ſounde,
The Dacyanne troopes appere on yinder [y] ryſynge grounde.
Chiefes, heade youre bandes, and leade.

DANES *flyinge, neare* WATCHETTE.

FYRSTE DANE.

FLY, fly, ye Danes; Magnus, the chiefe, ys ſleene;
The Saxonnes comme wythe Ælla atte theyre heade;

[p] *Darken the ſtar-light.* [q] Declaring. [r] *Flame, or fire.* [s] *Pens.* [t] *Terrible.* [u] *Wiſh.* [x] *Horn, or war trumpet.* [y] *Yonder.*

Lette's

V. 677. *Onlyghte the ſtarres.* This is a ſtrong expreſſion, meaning, probably, that the number of dead bodies would eclipſe the light of the ſtars.

V. 681. The *hill fire in the night*, means the beacons which were lighted, in order to give notice of an enemy's approach.

V. 693. The Danes are repreſented by Rowley, and indeed by all hiſtorians, as a crew of barbarous heathen pirates. The reſolution of the ſecond Dane, v. 701, is ſuited to that character; and the account of their flight, ſlaughter, and the burning of their fleet, is very dramatically introduced by the third Dane. A

Lette's ſtrev to gette awaie to yinder greene;
Flie, flie; thys ys the kyngdomme of the deadde.

SECONDE DANE.

O goddes! have thouſandes bie mie anlace bledde,
And muſte I nowe for ſafetie flie awaie?
See! farre beſprenged [z] alle oure troopes are ſpreade,
Yette I wylle ſynglie dare the bloddie fraie.
Botte ne; I'lle flie, & morther yn retrete;
Deathe, blodde, & fyre, ſcalle [a] marke the goeynge of my feete.

THYRDE DANE.

Enthoghteynge [b] forr to ſcape the brondeynge [c] foe,
As nere unto the byllowd beche I came,
Farr offe I ſpied a ſyghte of myckle woe,
Oure ſpyrynge battayles [d] wrapte ynn ſayles of flame.
The burled [e] Dacyannes, who were ynne the ſame,
Fro ſyde to ſyde fledde the purſuyte of deathe;
The ſwelleynge fyre yer corrage doe enflame,
Theie lepe ynto the ſea, & bobblynge yield yer breathe;
Whyleſt thoſe thatt bee uponne the bloddie playne,
Bee deathe-doomed captyves taene, or yn the battle ſlayne.

HURRA.

Nowe bie the goddes, Magnus, dyſcourteous knyghte,
Bie cravente [f] havyoure havethe don oure woe,

[z] *Scattered.* [a] Shall. [b] *Thinking, conſidering.* [c] *Furious.* [d] *Ships.* [e] *Armed.* [f] Coward*ly.*

Dyſpendynge

ſimilar effect of cowardly deſpair is deſcribed by our poet in the inſtances of Magnus and Campynon; the former ſays,

Sythe ſhame or deathe onne eidhir ſyde wylle bee,
Mie harte I wylle upryſe, & inne the battelle ſlea. v. 586.

So Campynon, B. H. 2. v. 660,

When feere of dethe made hym for deathe to fyghte.

Dyſpendynge all the talle menne yn the fyghte,
And placeyng valourous menne where draffs [f] mote goe.
Sythence oure fourtunie havethe tourned ſoe,
Gader the ſouldyers lefte to future ſhappe [g],
To ſomme newe place for ſafetie wee wylle goe,
Inne future daie wee wylle have better happe.
Sounde the loude ſlughorne for a quicke forloyne [h];
Lette alle the Dacyannes ſwythe untoe oure banner joyne.

Throw hamlettes wee wylle ſprenge ſadde dethe & dole,
Bathe yn hotte gore, & waſch oureſelves thereynne;
Goddes! here the Saxonnes lyche a byllowe rolle.
I heere the anlacis deteſted dynne.
Awaie, awaie, ye Danes, to yonder penne [i];
Wee now wylle make forloyne [k] yn tyme to fyghte agenne.

CELMONDE *near* WATCHETTE.

O forr a ſpryte al feere! to telle the daie,
The daie whyche ſcal aſtounde the herers rede [l],

[f] *Refuſe-men.* [g] *Fate.* [h] Retreat. [i] *Eminence.* [k] *Retreat.* [l] *Thought, or counſel.*

Makeynge

V. 716. Draffs, is an Angloſaxon word, ſignifying *things thrown away as unfit for uſe.* See Mr. Tyrwhit's gloſſary on Chaucer.

The following ſoliloquy of Celmond is very different from the former, which related ſolely to his love, and his future intended treachery againſt Ella and Birtha: The preſent ſpeech, which is a recapitulation of the battle, conſiſts of encomiums, very properly introduced, on Ælla's conduct, and no leſs impartially contraſted with his own principles and behaviour. Without the leaſt ſuſpicion of plagiariſm, it correſponds with the ſpeech of Richard the IIId in Shakeſpeare; the former imputes the deformities of his mind to the qualities of his parents, the latter connects them with the deformities of his body.

V. 729. *O forr a ſpryte al feere!* This paſſage has been produced as one of Chatterton's

Makeynge oure foemennes envyynge hartes to blede,
Ybereynge thro the worlde oure rennomde name for aie.

Bryghte ſonne han ynn hys roddie robes byn dyghte,
From the rodde Eaſte he flytted wythe hys trayne,

The

Chatterton's plagiariſms, and is ſuppoſed to have been copied from Shakeſpeare's Prologue to Henry Vth, which begins

O for a muſe of fire!

But it muſt be obſerved, that the two expreſſions are not the ſame, and the idea of *fire*, in which the ſimilitude is ſuppoſed principally to conſiſt, is differently applied by each poet: The author of Ælla, with his peculiar modeſty, forbears to dignify his verſe by an invocation of his *Muſe*; but, with a ſuperior boldneſs, calls for a SPRYTE AL FEERE, not *poetic*, but *warlike fire*, that he might do honour to the valour of the Saxon army, and to the conduct of their commander Ælla, whom he majeſtically repreſents

Moovynge alyche a mountayne yn affraie,
Whanne a lowde whyrlevynde doe yttes boeſomme tare. v. 755.

But Shakeſpeare's *muſe of fire* was to excel in *poetic deſcription*, or, as it is expreſſed in the words immediately following,

——— to aſcend
The brighteſt Heaven of invention.

Had the expreſſion been exactly the ſame in both poems, it could not even then have been juſtly charged as a plagiariſm, nothing being more uſual with poets, than to invoke poetic ſpirit and fire to aſſiſt them in their compoſitions.

There is alſo a paſſage in the Briſtowe Tragedy, where our poet has expreſſed the natural effects of grief, by ſaying

Tears began to flow. v. 104.

This alſo has been deemed a plagiariſm, becauſe the ſame phraſe is uſed by Dryden; though the idea is common, and cannot well be expreſſed in other terms. If Chatterton could be ſuppoſed to have borrowed ſuch diſtant and immaterial alluſions from our modern Engliſh poets, would he not have endeavoured to grace his compoſitions, by copying their ideas and language in the more important and beautiful images of their poetry? and how abſurd muſt be the idea of that plagiariſt, who expoſes himſelf to ſhame and detection, without the proſpect of reaping any poetic credit or advantage by the imitation?

V. 733. The deſcription of the morning, in this ſcene, is confeſſedly one of the moſt claſſical and beautiful images in Rowley's poetry. It is in fact almoſt a direct

copy

The howers drewe awaie the geete of nyghte,
Her ſable tapiſtrie was rente yn twayne.
The dauncynge ſtreakes bedecked heavennes playne,
And on the dewe dyd ſmyle wythe ſhemrynge [m] eie,
Lyche gottes [n] of blodde whyche doe blacke armoure ſteyne,
Sheenynge upon the borne [o] whyche ſtondeth bie;
The ſouldyers ſtoode uponne the hillis ſyde,
Lyche yonge enlefed trees whyche yn a forreſte byde.

Ælla roſe lyche the tree beſette wyth brieres;
Hys talle ſpeere ſheenynge as the ſtarres at nyghte,
Hys eyne enſemeynge [p] as a lowe [q] of fyre;
Whanne he encheered [r] everie manne to fyghte,

[m] *Shining, or glimmering.* [n] *Drops.* [o] Burniſh*ed part of the armour.* [p] *Seeming.* [q] *Flame.* [r] *Encouraged.*

Hys

copy from that in the fifth Iliad; and his introduction of the Hours, directs us to the poet from whom he borrowed his ſimile.

Αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον ἠρανῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὧραι,
Τῇς ἐπιτέτραπται μέγας ουρανὸς, Οὔλυμπός τε
Ἢ μὲν ἀνακλῖναι πυκινὸν νέφος, ἠδ' ἐπιθεῖναι.
Il. E. v. 749. and Θ. v. 393.

Heaven's gates ſpontaneous open to the powers,
Heaven's golden gates, kept by the winged Hours;
Commiſſion'd, in alternate watch they ſtand,
The Sun's bright portal and the ſkies command;
Involve in clouds th' eternal gates of day,
And the dark barrier roll with eaſe away.
Pope, B. v. l. 927.

The other deſcription, v. 1126, with a third in B. H. N°. 2. v. 211 (each of them varying in beauty of deſcription) ſhews the wonderful exuberance of the poet's imagination. The reader will decide on the reſpective merit of theſe beautiful images.

Hys gentle wordes dyd moove eche valourous knyghte;
Itte moovethe 'hem, as honterres lyoncelle;
In trebled armoure ys theyre courage dyghte;
Eche warrynge harte forr prayſe & rennome ſwelles;
Lyche ſlowelie dynnynge of the croucheynge [s] ſtreme,
Syche dyd the mormrynge ſounde of the whol armie ſeme.

Hee ledes 'hem onne to fyghte; oh! thenne to ſaie
How Ælla loked, and lokyng dyd encheere,
Moovynge alyche a mountayne yn affraie,
Whanne a lowde whyrlevynde doe yttes boeſomme tare,
To telle howe everie loke wuld banyſhe feere,
Woulde aſke an angelles poyntelle or hys tyngue.
Lyche a talle rocke yatte ryſeth heaven-were [t],
Lyche a yonge wolfynne brondeous [u] & ſtrynge,
Soe dydde he goe, & myghtie warriours hedde;
Wythe gore-depycted wynges maſterie arounde hym fledde.

The battelle jyned; ſwerdes uponne ſwerdes dyd rynge;
Ælla was chafed, as lyonns madded bee;
Lyche fallynge ſtarres, he dydde the javlynn flynge;
Hys mightie anlace mightie menne dyd ſlea;
Where he dydde comme, the flemed [w] foe dydde flee,
Or felle benethe hys honde, as fallynge rayne,
Wythe ſyke a fhuyrie he dydde onn 'hemm dree [x],
Hylles of yer bowkes [y] dyd ryſe opponne the playne;
Ælla, thou arte—botte ſtaie, mie tynge; ſaie nee;
Howe greate I hymme maye make, ſtylle greater hee wylle bee.

[s] *Crooked, winding.* [t] *Towards heaven.* [u] *Furious.* [w] Frighted, *or driven.*
[x] *Drive.* [y] *Bodies.*

Nor

Nor dydde hys ſouldyerres ſee hys actes yn vayne.
Heere a ſtoute Dane uponne hys compheere felle;
Heere lorde & hyndlette [y] ſonke uponne the playne;
Heere ſonne & fadre trembled ynto helle.
Chief Magnus ſought hys waie, &, ſhame to telle!
Hee ſoughte hys waie for flyghte; botte Ælla's ſpeere
Uponne the flyynge Dacyannes ſchoulder felle,
Quyte throwe hys boddie, & hys harte ytte tare,
He groned, & ſonke uponne the gorie greene,
And wythe hys corſe encreaſed the pyles of Dacyannes ſleene.

Spente wythe the fyghte, the Danyſhe champyons ſtonde,
Lyche bulles, whoſe ſtrengthe & wondrous myghte ys fledde;
Ælla, a javelynne grypped yn eyther honde,
Flyes to the thronge, & doomes two Dacyannes deadde.
After hys acte, the armie all yſpedde [z];
Fromm everich on unmyſſynge javlynnes flewe;
Theie ſtraughte [a] yer doughtie ſwerdes; the foemenn bledde;
Fulle three of foure of myghtie Danes dheie ſlewe;
The Danes, wythe terroure rulynge att their head,
Threwe downe theyr bannere talle, & lyche a ravenne fledde.

The ſoldyerres followed wythe a myghtie crie,
Cryes, yatte welle myghte the ſtouteſte hartes affraie.
Swefte, as yer ſhyppes, the vanquyſhed Dacyannes flie;
Swefte, as the rayne uponne an Aprylle daie,

[y] *Peaſant.* [z] *Diſpatched, or made haſte.* [a] *Stretched.*

Preſſynge

V. 796. See the ſame alluſions, v. 674, and 768. This part of the tragedy is enriched by a great variety of ſimilies.

Preſſynge behynde, the Englyſche ſoldyerres ſlaie.
Botte halfe the tythes of Danyſhe menne remayne;
Ælla commaundes 'heie ſhoulde the ſleetre [b] ſtaie,
Botte bynde 'hem pryſonners on the bloddie playne.
The fyghtynge beynge done, I came awaie,
In odher fieldes to fyghte a moe unequalle fraie.
Mie ſervant ſquyre!

CELMONDE, SERVITOURE.

CELMONDE.

Prepare a fleing horſe,
Whoſe feete are wynges, whoſe pace ys lycke the wynde,
Whoe wylle outeſtreppe the morneynge lyghte yn courſe,
Leaveynge the gyttelles [c] of the merke [d] behynde.
Somme hyltren [e] matters doe mie preſence fynde.
Gyv oute to alle yatte I was ſleene ynne fyghte.
Gyff ynne thys gare [f] thou doeſt mie order mynde,
Whanne I returne, thou ſhalte be made a knyghte;
Flie, flie, be gon; an howerre ys a daie;
Quycke dyghte [g] mie beſte of ſtedes, & brynge hymm heere—awaie!

[b] *Slaughter.* [c] *Mantle, cloathing.* [d] *Darkneſs.* [e] *Hidden.* [f] *Cauſe.* [g] *Prepare.*

CELMONDE

V. 798. Our poet was certainly no ſtranger to the rhetorical figures of Αυξησις and Μείωσις. He has frequently made uſe of the former, by a reduplication of numbers, and the latter is here expreſſed by a double fraction, to reduce the ſurviving Danes to *one half of a tenth part* of their former number.

V. 812. This ſpeech of Celmonde is thus divided in the former editions, probably becauſe it is ſpoken in different ſcenes. His Servitoure goes out at the end of the former ſtanza, and therefore his latter ſpeech is a ſoliloquy, for which reaſon I have added the word *Solus* to it.

CELMONDE [*ſolus.*]

Ælla ys woundedd ſore, & ynne the toune
He waytethe, tylle hys woundes bee broghte to ethe[h].
And ſhalle I from hys browes plocke off the croune,
Makynge the vyctore yn hys vyctorie blethe?
O no! fulle ſooner ſchulde mie hartes blodde ſmethe,
Fulle ſoonere woulde I tortured bee toe deathe;
Botte—Birtha ys the pryze; ahe! ytte were ethe[i]
To gayne ſo gayne[k] a pryze wythe loſſe of breathe;
Botte thanne rennome æterne[l]—ytte ys botte ayre;
Bredde ynne the phantaſie, & alleyn lyvynge there.

Albeytte everyche thynge yn lyfe conſpyre
To telle me of the faulte I nowe ſchulde doe,
Yette woulde I battentlie[m] aſſuage mie fyre,
And the ſame menes, as I ſcall nowe, purſue.
The qualytyes I fro mie parentes drewe,
Were blodde, & morther, maſterie, and warre;
Thie I wylle holde to now, & hede ne moe
A wounde yn rennome, yanne a boddie ſcarre.
Nowe, Ælla, nowe Ime plantynge of a thorne,
Bie whyche thie peace, thie love, & glorie ſhalle be torne.

[h] *Relieved, made eaſy.* [i] *Eaſy.* [k] *Gainful, great.* [l] Eternal. [m] *Boldly, or violently.*

BRYSTOWE.

V. 820. To *gayne* ſo *gayne* a prize.—This repetition may be no miſtake in the tranſcript, as is ſuppoſed in the Index: *Gayne*, like other ancient words, may be uſed both as an adjective and a verb, implying *gainful, advantageous*; or, in a different ſenſe, it may ſignify the oppoſite quality to *ungayne*, an ancient word ſtill in uſe, which ſignifies *unhandy, awkward.*

V. 829. *Thie* is certainly a miſtake, or at leaſt meant for *theſe.*

BRYSTOWE.

BIRTHA, EGWINA.

BIRTHA.

GENTLE Egwina, do notte preche me joie;
I cannotte joie ynne anie thynge botte weere [n].
Oh! yatte aughte ſchulde oure ſellyneſſe [o] deſtroie,
Floddynge the face wythe woe, & brynie teare!

EGWINA.

You muſte, you muſte endeavour for to cheere
Youre harte unto ſomme cheriſaunced [p] reſte.
Youre loverde [q] from the battelle wylle appere,
Ynne honnoure, & a greater love, be dreſte;
Botte I wylle call the mynſtrelles roundelaie;
Perchaunce the ſwotie ſounde maie chaſe your wiere [r] awaie.

BIRTHA, EGWINA, MYNSTRELLES.

MYNSTRELLES SONGE.

O! ſynge untoe mie roundelaie,
O! droppe the brynie teare wythe mee,

[n] Grief. [o] *Happineſs.* [p] *Comfortable.* [q] *Lord.* [r] Grief.

Daunce

V. 843. The Roundelay, introduced to aſſwage the grief of Birtha, is moſt natural and expreſſive in its deſcription, and not leſs harmonious in its numbers. This ſpecies of Dirge, or Mournful Roundelai, was of ancient and general uſe *. It is indeed the picture of human nature, and the language of the paſſions: Several of theſe ancient ditties, compoſed before Shakeſpeare's time, are preſerved in his plays; and ſuch ſongs as theſe, which he obſerves were *old* and *plain*, and

The ſpinſters, and the knitters in the ſun,
Did uſe to chant them. Twelfth Night, Act ii. Sc. 4.

* See Dr. Percy's Preface.

Daunce ne moe atte hallie daie,
Lycke a reynynge [f] ryver bee;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys death-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Blacke hys cryne [g] as the wyntere nyghte,
Whyte hys rode [t] as the ſommer ſnowe,

[f] Running. [g] Hair. [t] Complexion.

Rodde

Or, as the Queen in Hamlet calls Ophelia's ſongs, *the ſnatches of old tunes.* The originality of this ſong will appear by the reſemblance in its ideas and meaſure with ſome paſſages ſelected from old ballads (particularly thoſe in Hamlet) without leaving any reaſonable ſuſpicion of plagiariſm. The *Willow*, which is the burthen of this Roundelai, was an emblem of grief, either on death or forſaken love. It is the burthen of Deſdemona's ſong in Othello; She ſays her mother's maid

——————had a ſong of *willow*,
An old ſong 'twas, but it expreſs'd her fortune,
And ſhe died ſinging it——
The poor ſoul ſat ſinging by a ſycamore-tree,
Sing all a green willow;
Her hand on her boſom, her head on her knee,
Sing willow, willow, willow, &c. Act iv. Scene the laſt.

So the burthen of the ballad called Coridon's Doleful Knell, (Percy, vol. ii. p. 265.)

I'll ſtick a branch of *willow*,
Now Phillida is dead.

V. 850. The deſcription of her lover's beauties is illuſtrated with ſimilies much reſembling thoſe in Hamlet.

His beard was as white as ſnow,
All flaxen was his pole,
He's gone, and he's gone, and we'll caſt away moan,
Grammercy on his ſoul. Act iv. Sc. 3.

So in the ballad of Gil Morrice, (Percy, vol. iii. p. 94.)

His hair was like the threeds of gold
Drawne from Minerva's loome;
His lippes like roſes drapping dew,
His breath was a perfume.
His brae was like the mountain ſnow
Gilt by the morning beam;
His cheeks like living roſes,
His e'en like azure ſtream.

As

Rodde hys face as the mornynge lyghte,
Cale [u] he lyes ynne the grave belowe;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys deathe-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Swote hys tyngue as the throſtles note,
Quycke ynn daunce as thoughte canne bee,
Defte [x] hys taboure, codgelle ſtote,
O! hee lyes bie the wyllowe tree:
Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys deathe-bedde,
Alle underre the wyllowe tree.

Harke! the ravenne flappes hys wynge,
In the briered delle belowe;

[u] *Cold.* [x] *Neat.*

Harke!

As to the whiteneſs of ſummer ſnow, the idea muſt be borrowed from thoſe mountainous countries where the ſnow lies all the year, and reflects a dazzling whiteneſs from the ſun ſhining upon it. The lover's ſhroud in Hamlet, is compared to the *whiteneſs of mountain ſnow*; but by Rowley, to the *whiteneſs of the moon.*

V. 851. So in the MS. romance of Sir Launfal, quoted by Mr. Warton, vol. iii. p. liii.

Har faces was whyte as ſnowe on downe,
Har *rode* was red, har eyn were brown.

V. 857. The perfections of her lover are few, natural, and original, and ſuch as were in repute at that time, viz. ſkill in ſinging, dancing, piping, and cudgelling.

V. 859. Defte hys taboure.

A *deft* young man as ever walkd on the way.
Evans' Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 143.

There is a ſimplicity ſimilar to this, in thoſe lines of Biſhop Corbett's ballad, (Percy, vol. iii. p. 212.)

When Tom came home from labour,
Or Ciſs to milking roſe,
Then merrily went the tabour,
And nimbly went their toes.

V. 864. The deathly omens in the *night-raven* and *owl* are alſo deſcribed in ancient poets,

Harke! the dethe-owle loude dothe ſynge,
To the nyghte-mares as heie goe;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys deathe-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

See! the whyte moone ſheenes onne hie;
Whyterre ys mie true loves ſhroude;
Whyterre yanne the mornynge ſkie,
Whyterre yanne the evenynge cloude;
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys deathe-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Heere, uponne mie true loves grave,
Schalle the baren fleurs be layde,
Nee one hallie Seyncte to ſave
Al the celneſs [y] of a mayde.

[y] *Coldneſs.*

Mie

No chearful gleams here pierc'd the gloom,
He hears no chearful ſound;
But ſhrill *night-ravens* yelling ſcream,
And ſerpents hiſs around. Percy, vol. iii. p. 220.

The *Night-mares*, Portunni or Incubi, were ſuppoſed to oppreſs perſons in their ſleep. See Mr. Tyrwhit's note on Fairies, in Chaucer 6441. Lye calls them *Spectres*, or *Night-hags*. They made a part of the Fairy ſyſtem, and as ſuch are mentioned in Edgar's mad ſpeech in King Lear.

St. Withold footed thrice the wold,
He met the *night-mare* and her nine fold,
Bid her alight, and her troth plight,
And aroynt thee, witch, aroynt thee. Act iii. Sc. 3.

V. 879. The cuſtom of ſtrewing flowers on the graves of the deceaſed, is at leaſt as ancient as the time of Virgil; who deſcribes Anchiſes paying theſe funeral honours to the memory of Marcellus ——

——— manibus date lilia plenis,
His ſaltem accumulem donis——— Æn. vi. v. 883.

It

Mie love ys dedde,
Gonne to hys death-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Wythe mie hondes I'lle dente [z] the brieres
Rounde his hallie corſe to gre [a],
Ouphante [b] fairie, lyghte youre fyres,
Heere mie boddie ſtylle ſchalle bee.
Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys death-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Comme, wythe acorne-coppe & thorne,
Drayne mie hartys blodde awaie;
Lyfe & all yttes goode I ſcorne,
Daunce bie nete, or feaſte by daie.

[z] *Weave, faſten.* [a] *Grow.* [b] *Elfin.*

Mie

It is mentioned by Camden, and by Brand, in his Popular Antiquities, as a cuſtom of great antiquity in England, and ſtill preſerved in Wales, that the perſons preceding the corpſe ſtrew flowers and myrtle, and ſtick them in the turf of the grave.

In the ballad of Phillida,

I'll deck her tomb with flowers,
The rareſt ever ſeen;
And with my tears, as ſhowers,
I'll keep them freſh and green. Percy, vol. ii. p. 265.

And the Song in Twelfth Night,

Not a flower, not a flower ſweet,
On my black coffin let there be ſtrown.

The *barren* flowers alluded to the ſingle ſtate of the deceaſed perſon.

V. 885. The indenting or faſtening briars on the graves is ſtill in uſe, and to be ſeen in every church-yard.

V. 887 and 899. The invocation of *Fairies* and *Water-witches*, is a genuine image of ancient ſuperſtition: The *Ignes fatui*, called by Rowley *Gronſers*, and vulgarly *Jack in a Lanthorn*, are theſe *fairy fires*. The uſe of an acorn for their drinking-cup, is expreſſed in an ancient fairy ballad,

Pearly drops of dew we drink,
In an *acorn cup*, up to the brink. Percy, vol. iii. p. 209.

Mie love ys dedde,
Gon to hys death-bedde,
Al under the wyllowe tree.

Waterre wytches, crownede wythe reytes [c],
Bere mee to yer leathalle tyde.
I die; I comme; mie true love waytes.
Thos the damſelle ſpake, and dyed.

BIRTHA.

Thys ſyngeyng haveth whatte coulde make ytte pleaſe;
Butte mie uncourtlie ſhappe [d] benymmes [e] mee of all eaſe.

ÆLLA, *atte* WATCHETTE.

CURSE onne mie tardie woundes! brynge mee a ſtede!
I wylle awaie to Birtha bie thys nyghte;
Albeytte fro mie woundes mie ſoul doe blede,
I wylle awaie, & die wythynne her ſyghte.
Brynge mee a ſtede, wythe eagle-wynges for flyghte;
Sweſte as mie wyſhe, &, as mie love ys, ſtronge.

[c] Water-flags, *or wreaths.* [d] *Fate.* [e] *Takes from me.*

The

V. 899. The *reytes* of theſe water-witches were probably wreaths of aquatic plants, ſuited to their element. Thus in the Story of Canning, the river Avon is deſcribed as

Engarlanded with crownes of oſyer weedes,
And *wraytes* (i. e. wreaths) of alders of a bercie ſcent. V. 7.

The burthen to this Roundelaie very much reſembles that in Hamlet:

And will he not come again?
And will he not come again?
No, no, he's dead, go to thy death-bed;
He never will come again. Act iv. Sc. 3.

V. 909. So v. 803. ——Prepare a fleing horſe,
Whoſe feete are wynges, whoſe pace ys lycke the wynde,
Whoe wylle outeſtreppe the morneynge lyghte yn courſe,
Leaveynge the gyttelles of the merke behynde.

V. 910. The expreſſion *ſweſte as mye wiſhe*, occurs alſo Ecl. ii. v. 85.

The Danes have wroughte mee myckle woe ynne fyghte,
Inne kepeynge mee from Birtha's armes ſo longe.
O! whatte a dome was myne, ſythe maſterie
Canne yeve ne pleaſaunce, nor mie londes goode leme [f] myne eie!

Yee goddes, howe ys a loverres temper formed!
Sometymes the ſamme thynge wylle bothe bane [g], & bleſſe;
On tyme encalede [h], yanne bie the ſame thynge warmed,
Eſtroughted [i] foorthe, and yanne ybrogten leſs.
'Tys Birtha's loſs whyche doe mie thoughtes poſſeſſe;
I wylle, I muſte awaie: whie ſtaies mie ſtede?
Mie huſcarles [k], hyther haſte; prepare a dreſſe,
Whyche couracyers [l] yn haſtie journies nede.
O heavens! I moſte awaie to Byrtha eyne,
For yn her lookes I fynde mie beynge doe entwyne.

CELMONDE, *att* BRYSTOWE.

THE worlde ys darke wythe nyghte; the wyndes are ſtylle;
Fayntelie the mone her palyde lyghte makes gleme;
The upryſte [m] ſprytes the ſylente letten [n] fylle,
Wythe ouphant [o] faeryes joynyng ynne the dreme;
The forreſte ſheenethe wythe the ſylver leme [p];
Now maie mie love be ſated ynn yttes treate;

[f] *Enlighten.* [g] *Curſe.* [h] Frozen, cold, *or grown cold.* [i] *Stretched forth.* [k] *Attendants.* [l] Horſe courſers, couriers, *rather*, *horſemen.* [m] Riſen. [n] Church-yard. [o] *Elfin.* [p] *Light.*

Uponne

V. 921. *Huſcarles*, or houſe-carles, were ſervants living in the houſe, in attendance on their king or lord.

V. 925. It will be unneceſſary to call the reader's attention to the beauty of the following ſoliloquy, which ſhews how much our poet excells in deſcription.

V. 927. The word *Letten*, or church-yard, in Saxon Lech-ton, *the place of dead bodies*, is a name ſtill retained in many parts of England; and the particular path by which dead corpſes are carried to church, is called the *Lech-way*.

Uponne the lynche [a] of ſomme ſweſte reynyng ſtreme,
Att the ſwote banquette I wylle ſwotelie eate.
Thys ys the howſe; yee hyndes, ſwythyn appere.

CELMONDE, SERVYTOURE.

CELMONDE.

Go telle to Birtha ſtrayte, a ſtraungerr waytethe here.

CELMONDE, BIRTHA.

BIRTHA.

Celmonde! yee ſeynctes! I hope thou haſte goode newes.

CELMONDE.

The hope ys loſte; for heavie newes prepare.

BIRTHA.

Is Ælla welle?

CELMONDE.

Hee lyves; & ſtylle maie uſe
The behylte [b] bleſſynges of a future yeare.

BIRTHA.

Whatte heavie tydynge thenne have I to feare?
Of whatte miſchaunce dydſte thou ſo latelie ſaie?

CELMONDE.

For heavie tydynges ſwythyn nowe prepare.
Ælla ſore wounded ys, yn bykerous [c] fraie;
In Wedeceſter's wallid toune he lyes.

[a] *Brink, border.* [b] Promiſed, *rather hidden.* [c] *Warlike.*

BIRTHA.

V. 931. *Lynche*, from the ancient Saxon word hlinc, which Lye explains, "Agger "limitaneus fines, locorum dividens."

V. 938. Behæt ſignifies *promiſed*; but behylte or beheled is the participle of Behelan, which ſignifies *to hide or cover*. See Lye's Gloſſary. This interpretation ſuits better with the word, and gives more propriety to the paſſage.

BIRTHA.

O mie agroted [t] breaſt!

CELMONDE.

Wythoute your ſyghte, he dyes.

BIRTHA.

Wylle Birtha's preſence ethe [u] herr Ælla's payne?
I flie; newe wynges doe from mie ſchoulderrs ſprynge.

CELMONDE.

Mie ſtede wydhoute wylle deftelie [x] beere us twayne.

BIRTHA.

Oh! I wyll flie as wynde, & no waie lynge [y];
Sweftlie capariſons for rydynge brynge;
I have a mynde wynged wythe the levyn ploome [z].
O Ælla, Ælla! dydſte thou kenne the ſtynge,
The whyche doeth canker ynne mie hartys roome,
Thou wouldſte ſee playne thieſelfe the gare [a] to bee,
Aryſe, uponne thie love, & flie to meeten mee.

CELMONDE.

The ſtede, on whyche I came, ys ſweſte as ayre;
Mie ſervytoures doe wayte mee nere the wode;
Swythynne wythe mee unto the place repayre;
To Ælla I wylle gev you conducte goode.

[t] *Swelling, or burſting.* [u] *Give eaſe.* [x] *Eaſily, commodiouſly* [y] *Linger.*
[z] *Feathered lightning.* [a] *Cauſe.*

Youre

V. 946. This idea is not unlike that of Horace,

——— naſcunturque leves,
Per digitos humeroſque plumæ. Carm. l. ii. Ode 20.

And Birtha purſues it, in two other paſſages of this ſpeech, by comparing her mind to the *winged* lightning, v. 950, and calling upon Ella, v. 954, to ariſe and *fly* to meet her *on the wings of his love.*

Youre eyne, alyche a baulme, wylle ſtaunche hys bloode,
Holpe oppe hys woundes, & yev hys harte alle cheere;
Uponne your eyne he holdes hys lyvelyhode [b];
You doe hys ſpryte, & alle hys pleaſaunce bere.
Comme, lette's awaie, albeytte ytte ys moke [c],
Yette love wille bee a tore [d] to tourne to feere [e] nyghtes ſmoke.

BIRTHA.

Albeytte unwears [f] dyd the welkynn [g] rende,
Reyne, alyche fallynge ryvers, dyd ferſe bee,
Erthe wythe the ayre enchafed [h] dyd contende,
Everychone breathe of wynde wythe plagues dyd flee,
Yette I to Ælla's eyne eftſoones woulde flee;
Albeytte hawethornes dyd mie fleſhe enſeme [i],
Owlettes, wythe ſcrychynge, ſhakeynge everyche tree,
And water-neders wrygglynge yn eche ſtreme,
Yette woulde I flie, ne under coverte ſtaie,
Botte ſeke mie Ælla owte; brave Celmonde, leade the waie.

A WODE.

HURRA, DANES.

HURRA.

HEERE ynn yis forreſte lette us watche for pree,
Bewreckeynge [j] on oure foemenne oure ylle warre;

[b] Life. [c] *Dark.* [d] *A torch.* [e] *Fire.* [f] *Tempeſts.* [g] *The ſky, or heaven.* [h] *Heated.* [i] *Furrows, or make ſeams in.* [j] *Revenging.*

Whatteverre

V. 965. In the reſolution which Birtha expreſſes to meet her Lord, an aſſemblage of the moſt diſagreeable objects is called forth, ſhewing the great powers of the poet in theſe terrific images.

V. 975. The principles avowed by Hurra, in the following ſcene, are very conformable to the character uſually given of the Danes.

Whatteverre ſchalle be Englyſch wee wylle ſlea,
Spreddynge our ugſomme [k] rennome to afarre.
Ye Dacyanne menne, gyff Dacyanne menne yee are,
Lette nete botte blodde ſuffycyle [l] for yee bee;
On everich breaſte yn gorie letteres ſcarre [m],
Whatt ſprytes you have, & howe thoſe ſprytes maie dree [n].
And gyf yee gette awaie to Denmarkes ſhore,
Efteſoones we will retourne, & wanquiſhed bee ne moere.

The battelle loſte, a battelle was yndede;
Note queedes [o] hemſelfes culde ſtonde ſo harde a fraie;
Oure verie armoure, & oure heaulmes dyd blede,
The Dacyannes ſprytes, lyche dewe drops, fledde awaie.
Ytte was an Ælla dyd commaunde the daie;
Ynn ſpyte of foemanne, I moſte ſaie hys myghte;
Botte wee ynn hyndlettes [p] blodde the loſs wylle paie,
Brynnynge [q], thatte we knowe howe to wynne yn fyghte;
Wee wylle, lyke wylfes enlooſed from chaynes, deſtroie;—
Oure armoures—wynter nyghte ſhotte [r] oute the daie of joie.

Whene ſweſte-fote tyme doe rolle the daie alonge,
Somme hamlette ſcalle onto oure fhuyrie brende;
Braſtynge alyche a rocke, or mountayne ſtronge,
The talle chyrche-ſpyre upon the grene ſhalle bende;

[k] *Terrible.* [l] *Sufficient.* [m] *Mark.* [n] *Drive.* [o] *The Devil.* [p] *Peaſants.* [q] *Declaring, ſhewing.* [r] *Shut out.*

Wee

V. 981. ——— yn gorie letteres *ſcarre*,
Eche hewing on other while they might dree
The earth ſtill kept the *ſcarre*.
Battle of Otterburn—Percy, vol. i. p. 29.

V. 994 is obſcurely expreſſed; but the meaning may probably be, that their arms ſhall exclude every gleam of joy, juſt as a winter night excludes the beams of day.

Wee wylle the walles, & auntyante tourrettes rende,
Pete [a] everych tree whych goldyn fruyte doe beere,
Downe to thegoddes the ownerrs dhereof ſende,
Beſprengynge [t] alle abrode ſadde warre & bloddie weere.
Botte fyrſte to yynder oke-tree wee wylle flie;
And thence wylle yſſue owte onne all yatte commeth bie.

ANODHER PARTE OF THE WOODE.

CELMONDE, BIRTHA.

BIRTHA.

Thys merkneſs [u] doe affraie mie wommanns breaſte.
Howe ſable ys the ſpreddynge ſkie arrayde!
Hailie the bordeleire [x], who lyves to reſte,
Ne ys att nyghtys flemynge [y] hue dyſmayde;
The ſtarres doe ſcantillie [z] the ſable brayde [a];
Wyde ys the ſylver lemes [b] of comforte wove;
Speke, Celmonde, does ytte make thee notte afrayde?

CELMONDE.

Merker the nyghte, the fitter tyde for love.

[a] *Beat, or pluck up.* [t] *Scattering.* [u] *Darkneſs.* [x] *Cottager,* [y] *Terrifying.* [z] Scarcely, ſparingly. [a] *Embroider.* [b] *Rays, beams.*

BIRTHA.

V. 1001. The Daniſh mythology ſuppoſed their gods to inhabit the center of the earth. The Greeks had alſo their Θεοὶ καταχθόνιοι; and Homer calls Pluto Ζεὺς καταχθόνιος. Il. I. v. 457.

V. 1005. The deſcription in this ſpeech is a counterpart to that of Celmond, v. 926, and diſplays ſimilar beauties; but how different are the impreſſions which the darkneſs of the night makes on the minds of the two ſpeakers! Celmond enjoys its approach, as affording opportunity and protection to his villainy: In Birtha it raiſes apprehenſions of danger both to her virtue and ſafety.

BIRTHA.

Saieſt thou for love? ah! love is far awaie.
Faygne would I ſee once moe the roddie lemes of daie.

CELMONDE.

Love maie bee nie, woulde Birtha calle ytte here.

BIRTHA.

How, Celmonde, dothe thou mene?

CELMONDE.

Thys Celmonde menes.
No leme[c], no eyne, ne mortalle manne appere,
Ne lyghte, an acte of love for to bewreene[d];
Nete in thys forreſte, botte thys tore[e], dothe ſheene,
The whych, potte oute, do leave the whole yn nyghte;
See! howe the brauncynge trees doe here entwyne,
Makeynge thys bower ſo pleaſynge to the ſyghte;
Thys was for love fyrſte made, & heere ytt ſtondes,
Thatte hereynne lovers maie enlyncke yn true loves bondes.

BIRTHA.

Celmonde, ſpeake whatte thou meneſt, or alſe mie thoughtes
Perchaunce maie robbe thie honeſtie ſo fayre.

CELMONDE.

Then here, & knowe, hereto I have you broughte,
Mie longe hydde love unto you to make clere.

BIRTHA.

Oh heaven & earthe! whatte ys ytt I doe heare?
Am I betraſte[f]? where ys mie Ælla, ſaie!

[c] *Ray of light.* [d] *Diſcover.* [e] Torch. [f] Betrayed.

CELMONDE.

CELMONDE.

O! do nete nowe to Ælla ſyke love bere,
Botte geven ſome onne Celmondes hedde.

BIRTHA.

——Awaie!
I wylle be gone, & groape mie paſſage oute,
Albeytte neders [f] ſtynges mie legs do twyne aboute.

CELMONDE.

Nowe bie the ſeynctes I wylle notte lette thee goe,
Ontylle thou doeſte mie brendynge [g] love amate [h].
Thoſe eyne have cauſed Celmonde myckle woe,
Yenne lette yer ſmyle fyrſt take hymm yn regrate [i].
O! didſt thou ſee mie breaſtis troblous ſtate,
Theere love doth harrie [k] up mie joie, and ethe [l]!
I wretched bee, beyonde the hele [m] of fate,
Gyff Birtha ſtylle wylle make mie harte-veynes blethe.
Softe as the ſommer flowreets, Birtha, looke,
Fulle ylle I canne thie frownes & harde dyſpleaſaunce brooke.

BIRTHA.

Thie love ys foule; I woulde bee deafe for aie,
Radher thanne heere ſyche deſlavatie [n] ſedde.
Swythynne flie from mee, and ne further ſaie;
Radher thanne heare thie love, I woulde bee dead.
Yee ſeynctes! & ſhal I wronge mie Ælla's bedde,
And wouldſt thou, Celmonde, tempte me to the thynge?
Lett mee be gone—alle curſes onne thie hedde!
Was ytte for thys thou dydſte a meſſage brynge!

[f] *Adders, ſerpents.* [g] *Burning.* [h] *Quench.* [i] *Favour.* [k] *Tear up.* [l] *Eaſe, happineſs.* [m] *Help.* [n] Letchery, *or unfaithfulneſs.*

Lette

Lette me be gone, thou manne of ſable harte!
Or welkyn [o] & her ſtarres wyll take a maydens parte.

CELMONDE.

Sythence [p] you wylle notte lette mie ſuyte avele,
Mie love wylle have yttes joie, altho wythe guylte;
Youre lymbes ſhall bende, albeytte ſtrynge as ſtele;
The merkye ſeeſonne wylle your bloſhes hylte [q].

BIRTHA.

Holpe, holpe, yee ſeynctes! oh thatte mie blodde was ſpylte!

CELMONDE.

The ſeynctes att diſtaunce ſtonde ynn tyme of nede.
Strev notte to goe; thou canſte notte, gyff thou wylte.
Unto mie wyſche bee kinde, & nete alſe hede.

BIRTHA.

No, foule beſtoykerre [r], I wylle rende the ayre,
Tylle dethe do ſtaie mie dynne, or ſomme kynde roder [s] heare.
Holpe! holpe! oh godde!

CELMONDE, BIRTHA, HURRA, DANES.

HURRA.

Ah! thatts a wommanne cries.
I kenn hem; ſaie, who are you, yatte bee theere?

CELMONDE.

Yee hyndes, awaie! orre bie thys ſwerde yee dies.

HURRA.

Thie wordes wylle ne mie hartis ſete [t] affere [u].

[o] Heaven. [p] *Since.* [q] Hide. [r] *Deceiver.* [s] *Traveller.* [t] *Stability.* [u] *Affright.*

BIRTHA.

Save mee, oh! ſave mee from thys royner [x] heere!

HURRA.

Stonde thou bie mee; nowe ſaie thie name & londe;
Or ſwythyne ſchall mie ſwerde thie boddie tare.

CELMONDE.

Bothe I wylle ſhewe thee bie mie brondeous [y] honde.

HURRA.

Beſette hym rounde, yee Danes.

CELMONDE.

Comme onne, and ſee
Gyff mie ſtrynge anlace maie bewryen [z] whatte I bee.

[*Fyghte al anenſte* Celmonde, *meynte Danes he ſleath, and faleth to* Hurra.

CELMONDE.

Oh! I forſlagen [a] be! ye Danes, now kenne,
I amme yatte Celmonde, ſeconde yn the fyghte,
Who dydd, atte Watchette, ſo forſlege youre menne;
I fele myne eyne to ſwymme yn æterne nyghte;—
To her be kynde. [*Dieth.*

HURRA.

Then felle a wordhie knyghte.
Saie, who bee you?

[x] *Ruiner.* [y] Furious. [z] *Diſcover.* [a] Slain.

BIRTHA.

V. 1079. —— To her be kynde.

This ſpeech at the cloſe of Celmond's life is conciſe and expreſſive; and the generous reaſoning of Hurra with his Danes, in behalf of Birtha, is penned with no leſs art, and with equal conformity to the characters of theſe two perſons.

BIRTHA.

I am greate Ælla's wyfe.

HURRA.

Ah!

BIRTHA.

Gyff anenſte[b] hym you harboure foule deſpyte,
Nowe wythe the lethal anlace[c] take mie lyfe,
Mie thankes I ever onne you wylle beſtowe,
From ewbryce[d] you mee pyghte[e], the worſte of mortal woe.

HURRA.

I wylle; ytte ſcalle bee foe: yee Dacyans, heere.
Thys Ælla havethe been oure foe for aie.
Thorrowe the battelle he dyd brondeous[f] teare,
Beyng the lyfe and head of everych fraie;
From everych Dacyanne power he won the daie,
Forſlagen Magnus, all oure ſchippes ybrente;
Bie hys felle arme wee now are made to ſtraie;
The ſpeere of Dacya he ynne pieces ſhente[g];
Whanne hantoned[h] barckes unto our londe dyd comme,
Ælla the gare[i] dheie ſed, & wyſched hym bytter dome[k].

BIRTHA.

Mercie!

HURRA.

Bee ſtylle.
Botte yette he ys a foemanne goode and fayre;
Whanne wee are ſpente, he ſoundethe the forloyne[l];

[b] *Againſt.* [c] *Sword.* [d] Adultery. [e] *Plucked.* [f] *Furious.* [g] *Broke.* [h] *Accuſtomed.* [i] *Cauſe.* [k] *Judgment, or fate.* [l] *Retreat.*

The captyves chayne he toſſeth ynne the ayre,
Cheered the wounded bothe wythe bredde & wyne;
Has hee notte untoe ſomme of you bynn dygne?
You would have ſmethd [m] onne Wedeceſtrian fielde,
Botte hee behylte [n] the ſlughorne [o] for to cleyne [p],
Throwynge onne hys wyde backe, hys wyder ſpreddynge ſhielde.
Whanne you, as caytyſned [q] yn fielde dyd bee,
Hee oathed [r] you to bee ſtylle, & ſtrayte dydd ſette you free.

Scalle wee forflege [s] hys wyfe, becauſe he's brave?
Bicaus hee fyghteth for hys countryes gare?
Wylle hee, who havith bynne yis Ælla's ſlave,
Robbe hym of whatte percaſe he holdith deere?
Or ſcalle we menne of mennys [t] ſprytes appere,
Doeynge hym favoure for hys favoure donne,
Swefte to hys pallace thys damoiſelle bere,
Bewrynne [u] oure caſe, and to oure waie be gonne?
The laſt you do approve; ſo lette ytte bee;
Damoyſelle, comme awaie; you ſafe ſcalle bee wythe mee.

[m] *Smothered.* [n] *Kept back, or forbid.* [o] *Trumpet.* [p] *From ſounding.* [q] *Captives.* [r] *Bound you on your oath.* [s] Slay. [t] *Mens.* [u] *Declare.*

BIRTHA.

V. 1101. *Behylte.* This word is explained v. 938, as derived from the A. S. verb Behelian, to *hide*, or *cover*; but it may be here deduced from Behealdan, which is explained by Lye, "Aſpicere, cuſtodire, cavere." The word in this paſſage is applicable in either of the two laſt ſenſes. Ella *kept* his war-trumpets, or *took care* that they ſhould no longer ſound to arms, and continue the engagement. The derivation of the ſame participle from different A. S. verbs, is not uncommon. See Mr. Tyrwhit's obſervation on the participle *blent*, as deduced from four different verbs, vol. iv. p. 219.

BIRTHA.

Al bleſſynges maie the ſeynctes unto yee gyve!
Al pleaſaunce maie youre longe-ſtraughte [x] livynges bee!
Ælla, whanne knowynge thatte bie you I lyve,
Wylle thyncke too ſmalle a guyfte the londe & ſea.
O Celmonde! I maie deftlie [y] rede bie thee,
Whatte ille betydethe [z] the enfouled kynde;
Maie ne thie croſs-ſtone [a] of thie cryme bewree!
Maie alle menne ken thie valoure, fewe thie mynde!
Soldyer! for ſyke thou arte ynn noble fraie,
I wylle thie goinges 'tende, & doe thou lede the waie.

HURRA.

The mornynge 'gyns alonge the Eaſte to ſheene;
Darklinge the lyghte doe onne the waters plaie;
The feynte rodde leme ſlowe creepeth oere the greene,
Toe chaſe the merkyneſs [b] of nyghte awaie;
Swifte flies the howers thatte wylle brynge oute the daie;
The ſofte dewe falleth onne the greeynge graſſe;
The ſhepſter mayden, dyghtynge [c] her arraie,
Scante [d] ſees her vyſage yn the wavie glaſſe;
Bie the fulle daylieghte wee ſcalle Ælla ſee,
Or Bryſtowes wallyd towne; damoyſelle, followe mee.

[x] *Stretched out, lengthened.* [y] *Properly.* [z] *Befalleth.* [a] Monument. [b] *Darkneſs.* [c] *Preparing, dreſſing.* [d] Scarce.

AT

V. 1121. How natural and original is this wiſh of Birtha.—It was uſual in that early period to erect ſtone croſſes over the graves of the deceaſed; and ſome of thoſe raiſed by the Danes are much enriched with ornaments and imagery, as thoſe at Bakewell, Eyam in Derbyſhire, and at Penrith in Cumberland.

V. 1125. This deſcription of the morning differs from thoſe v. 733, & B. H. 2. v. 211, and has its diſtinct beauties, which it is unneceſſary to point out to the reader.

AT BRISTOWE.

ÆLLA AND SERVITOURES.

ÆLLA.

TYS nowe fulle morne; I thoughten, bie laſte nyghte
To have been heere; mie ſtede han notte mie love;
Thys ys mie pallace; lette mie hyndes alyghte,
Whylſte I goe oppe, & wake mie ſlepeynge dove.
Staie here, mie hyndlettes; I ſhal goe above.
Nowe, Birtha, wyll thie loke enhele [e] mie ſpryte,
Thie ſmyles unto mie woundes a baulme wylle prove;
Mie ledanne [f] boddie wylle bee ſette aryghte.
Egwina, haſte, & ope the portalle doore,
Yatte I on Birtha's breſte maie thynke of warre ne more.

ÆLLA, EGWINA.

EGWINA.

Oh Ælla!

ÆLLA.

Ah! that ſemmlykeene [g] to me
Speeketh a legendary tale of woe.

EGWINA.

Birtha is—

ÆLLA.

Whatt? where? how? ſaie, whatte of ſhee?

EGWINA.

Gone—

[e] *Heal, cure.* [f] *Heavy.* [g] *Appearance.*

ÆLLA.

Gone! ye goddes!

EGWINA.

Alas! ytte ys toe true.
Yee ſeynctes, hee dies awaie wythe myckle woe!
Ælla! what? Ælla! oh! hee lyves agen.

ÆLLA.

Cal mee notte Ælla; I am hymme ne moe.
Where ys ſhee gon awaie? ah! ſpeake! how? when?

EGWINA.

I will.

ÆLLA.

Caparyſon a ſcore of ſtedes; flie, flie,
Where ys ſhee? ſwythynne ſpeeke, or inſtante thou ſhalte die.

EGWINA.

Stylle thie loud rage, & here thou whatte I knowe.

ÆLLA.

Oh! ſpeek.

EGWINA.

Lyche prymroſe, droopynge wythe the heavie rayne,
Laſte nyghte I lefte her, droopynge wythe her wiere [h],
Her love the gare [i], thatte gave her hearte ſyke peyne—

ÆLLA.

Her love! to whomme?

[h] *Griefe.* [i] *Cauſe.*

EGWINA.

To thee, her ſpouſe alleyne [k].
As ys mie hentylle [l] everyche morne to goe,
I wente, and oped her chamber doore ynn twayne,
Botte found her notte, as I was wont to doe;
Thanne alle arounde the pallace I dyd ſeere [m],
Botte culde (to mie hartes woe) ne fynde her anie wheere.

ÆLLA.

Thou lyeſt, foul hagge! thou lyeſt; thou art her ayde
To chere her louſte;—botte noe; ytte cannotte bee.

EGWINA.

Gyff trouthe appear notte inne whatte I have ſayde,
Drawe forthe thie anlace ſwythyn, thanne mee ſlea.

ÆLLA.

Botte yette ytte muſte, ytte muſte bee ſoe; I ſee,
Shee wythe ſomme louſtie [n] paramoure ys gone;
Itte moſte bee ſoe—oh! how ytt wracketh mee!
Mie race of love, mie race of lyfe ys ronne;
Nowe rage, & brondeous [o] ſtorm, & tempeſte comme;
Nete lyvynge upon erthe can now enſwote [p] mie domme.

[k] Only, alone. [l] *Cuſtom.* [m] Search. [n] *Luſty.* [o] *Furious.* [p] *Sweeten.*

ÆLLA,

V. 1165. The concluſion of this tragedy is worked up in a very maſterly manner. The paſſions of jealouſy and love, of doubt and diſtraction, operate on Ella in the ſame manner as they do on Othello, in his dialogue with Emilia:

Thou lyeſt, foul hagge! thou lyeſt; thou art her ayde
To chere her louſte;—botte noe; ytte cannotte bee.

And again,

Botte yette ytte muſte, ytte muſte bee ſoe; I ſee.

Such violent and contradictory effuſions are the natural effects of jealouſy; they ſpeak the language of the paſſions, not that of any particular author.

ÆLLA, EGWINA, SERVYTOURE.

SERVYTOURE.

Loverde! I am aboute the trouthe to ſaie.
Laſte nyghte, fulle late I dydde retourne to reſte.
As to mie chamber I dydde bende mie waie,
To Birtha onne hys name & place addreſte;
Downe to hym camme ſhee; butte thereof the reſte
I ken ne matter; ſo, mie hommage made—

ÆLLA.

O! ſpeake ne moe; mie harte flames yn yttes heſte [q];
I once was Ælla; nowe bee notte yttes ſhade.
Hanne alle the fuirie of mysfortunes wylle
Fallen onne mie benned [r] headde I hanne been Ælla ſtylle.

Thys alleyn was unburled [s] of alle mie ſpryte;
Mie honnoure, honnoure, frownd on the dolce [t] wynde,
Thatte ſteeked [u] on ytte; nowe wyth rage Im pyghte [x];
A brondeous [y] unweere [z] ys mie engyned [a] mynde.
Mie hommeur [b] yette ſomme drybblet [c] joie maie fynde,
To the Danes woundes I wylle another yeve;
Whanne thos mie rennome [d] & mie peace ys rynde [e],
Itte were a recrandize [f] to thyncke toe lyve;
Mie huſcarles, untoe everie aſker telle,
Gyffe noblie Ælla lyved, as noblie Ælla felle.

[*Stabbeth hys breſte.*

[q] *Command.* [r] Curſed, tormented. [s] Unarmed. [t] Soft, gentle. [u] *Stealed, ſo written in a MS. of Chatterton.* [x] *Torn, plucked.* [y] *Furious.* [z] *Tempeſt.* [a] *Tortured.* [b] *Honour.* [c] *Inconſiderable.* [d] Renown. [e] *Stripped, torn away.* [f] *Cowardice.*

SERVYTOURE.

Ælla ys ſleene; the flower of Englonde's marrde!

ÆLLA.

Be ſtylle: ſwythe [f] lette the chyrches rynge mie knelle.
Call hyther brave Coernyke; he, as warde
Of thys mie Bryſtowe caſtle, wyll doe welle.

[*Knelle ryngeth.*

ÆLLA, EGWINA, SERVYTOURE, COERNYKE.

ÆLLA.

Thee I ordeyne the warde; ſo alle maie telle.
I have botte lyttel tym to dragge thys lyfe;
Mie lethal tale, alyche a lethalle belle,
Dynne yn the eares of her I wyſchd mie wyfe!
Botte, ah! ſhee maie be fayre.

EGWINA.

Yatte ſhee moſte bee.

ÆLLA.

Ah! ſaie notte ſoe; yatte worde woulde Ælla dobblie ſlee.

ÆLLA, EGWINA, SERVYTOURE, COERNYKE, BIRTHA, HURRA.

ÆLLA.

Ah! Birtha here!

[f] *Quickly.*

BIRTHA.

BIRTHA.

Whatte dynne [g] ys thys? whatte menes yis leathalle knelle?
Where ys mie Ælla? ſpecke; where? howe ys hee?
Oh Ælla! art thou yanne alyve and welle!

ÆLLA.

I lyve yndeed; botte doe notte lyve for thee.

BIRTHA.

Whatte menes mie Ælla?

ÆLLA.

Here mie meneynge ſee.
Thie foulneſs urged mie honde to gyve thys wounde,
Ytte mee unſprytes [h].

BIRTHA.

Ytte hathe unſpryted mee.

ÆLLA.

Ah heavens! mie Birtha fallethe to the grounde!
Botte yette I am a manne, and ſo wylle bee.

HURRA.

Ælla! I amme a Dane; botte yette a friende to thee.
Thys damoyſelle I founde wythynne a woode,
Strevynge fulle harde anenſte [i] a burled [j] ſwayne;
I ſente hym myrynge [k] ynne mie compheeres [l] blodde,
Celmonde hys name, chief of thie warrynge trayne.
Yis damoiſelle ſoughte to be here agayne;
The whyche, albeytte foemen, wee dydd wylle;
So here wee broughte her wythe you to remayne.

[g] *Sound.* [h] Un-ſouls, *or diſpirits.* [i] *Againſt.* [j] *Armed.* [k] *Wallowing.* [l] *Companions.*

COERNIKE.

Yee nobylle Danes! wythe goulde I wyll you fylle.

ÆLLA.

Birtha, mie lyfe! mie love! oh! ſhe ys fayre.
Whatte faultes coulde Birtha have, whatte faultes could Ælla feare?

BIRTHA.

Amm I yenne thyne? I cannotte blame thie feere.
Botte doe reſte mee uponne mie Ælla's breaſte;
I wylle to thee bewryen [m] the woefulle gare [n].
Celmonde dyd comme to mee at tyme of reſte,
Wordeynge [o] for mee to flie, att your requeſte,
To Watchette towne, where you deceaſynge laie;
I wyth hym fledde; thro' a murke wode we preſte,
Where hee foule love unto mie eares dyd ſaie;
The Danes—

ÆLLA.

Oh! I die contente.— [*Dieth.*

BIRTHA.

O! ys mie Ælla dedde?
O! I will make hys grave mie vyrgyn ſpouſal bedde.
[Birtha *feynčteth.*

COERNYKE.

Whatt? Ælla deadde! & Birtha dyynge toe!
Soe falles the fayreſt flourettes of the playne.
Who canne unplyte [p] the wurchys heaven can doe,
Or who untweſte the role of ſhappe [q] yn twayne?

[m] *Declare.* [n] *Cauſe.* [o] *Bringing me word, commanding me.* [p] *Unfold.* [q] *Fate.*

Ælla, thie rennome was thie onlie gayne;
For yatte, thie pleaſaunce, & thie joie was loſte.
Thie countrymen ſhall rere thee, on the playne,
A pyle of carnes [r], as anie grave can boaſte;
Further, a juſte amede [s] to thee to bee,
Inne heaven thou ſynge of Godde, on erthe we'lle ſynge of thee.

[r] *Stones.* [s] *Reward.*

THE ENDE.

It muſt be obſerved for the honour of our poet, that although Ella is compoſed in ſtanza's, which continue with great exactneſs and regularity through the whole play, and are no inconſiderable check to the genius of a dramatic poet; yet the dialogue is carried on with the ſame eaſe and freedom, as if it was entirely unencumbered with meaſure and rhime. In the Ludus Coventriæ, or play of Corpus Chriſti, before alluded to, which is the only performance of the kind extant of equal antiquity with Rowley's age, the Dramatis Perſonæ begin and terminate their ſpeeches regularly with the ſtanza's. In that of Ella, the poet, without ſacrificing a ſtrict conformity to the metre, has improved the ſpirit of the dialogue. For the ſtanza in Ella is not the meaſure of every ſpeech, or of the paſſion which the poet wiſhes to raiſe and repreſent. The effect of ſurprize—the violence of reſentment—the irritable ſenſes of pride and jealouſy are finely and ſtrongly marked by ſudden changes of the dialogue in the different parts of the ſtanza, and by making the fineſt-modelled poetry ſpeak the feelings and actings of the human heart.

Dramatical pieces of this kind uſually cloſe with a moral reflection: Our poet is peculiarly happy in the application of this talent. He admires the unſearchable ways of Providence; obſerves both on the merit and misfortunes of Ella, and aſſigns him his poſthumous reward, marking out the place of his interment with peculiar tokens of diſtinction, and eterniſing his name in ſong; honours adapted to the cuſtom of the age in which he is ſuppoſed to have lived: But with the piety of a Chriſtian, and the judgment of a critic, he has properly diſtinguiſhed the God from the hero, by giving to each his reſpective homage.

Inne heaven thou ſynge of Godde, on erthe we'lle ſynge of thee.

GODDWYN;

GODDWYN;

A TRAGEDIE.

By THOMAS ROWLEIE.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

HAROLDE,	bie *T. Rowleie,* the Auctʜoure.
GODDWYN,	bie *Johan de Iſcamme.*
ELWARDE,	bie Syrr *Thybbot Gorges.*
ALSTAN,	bie Syrr *Alan de Vere.*
KYNGE EDWARDE,	bie Maſtre *Willyam Canynge.*

Odhers bie *Knyghtes Mynnſtrells.*

PROLOGUE,

MADE BIE MAISTRE WILLIAM CANYNGE.

WHYLOMME [a] bie penſmenne [b] moke [c] ungentle [d] name
Have upon Goddwynne Erle of Kente bin layde,
Dherebie benymmynge [e] hymme of faie [f] and fame;
Unliart [g] diviniſtres [h] haveth ſaide,
Thatte he was knowen toe noe hallie [i] wurche [k]; 5
Botte thys was all hys faulte, he gyfted ne [l] the churche.

The aucthoure [m] of the piece whiche we enacte,
Albeytte [n] a clergyon [o], trouthe wyll wrytte.
Inne drawynge of hys menne no wytte ys lackte;
Entyn [p] a kynge mote [q] bee full pleaſed to nyghte. 10

[a] Of old, formerly. [b] Writers, hiſtorians. [c] Much. [d] Inglorious, *or uncivil.* [e] Bereaving. [f] Faith. [g] Unforgiving, *rather ungentle, or inflexible.* [h] Divines, clergymen, monks. [i] Holy. [k] Work. [l] Not. [m] Author. [n] Though, notwithſtanding. [o] Clerk, or clergyman. [p] Entyn, even. [q] Might.

Attende,

V. 4. Unliart, *ungentle, inflexible,* the oppoſite to *liart*; which, according to Skynner, means *gentle, pliant.* It is ſo uſed by Chaucer, "My own *liard* boy," Frers Tale, v. 7145. It ſignifies *nimble,* in an old Ballad, Percy, vol. ii. p. 19. The Teſtament of Creſeis, v. 162, ſpeaks of the *liart* locks of Saturn; and Biſhop Douglas uſes the word more than once for grey or white hair. It is not explained in Mr. Tyrwhit's Gloſſary.

V. 10. Entyn a kynge mote bee full pleaſed *to nyghte.*
The ſacred dramas which were repreſented in the churches, might ſometimes have been performed in the morning; but the remarkable one, called the Ludus Coventriæ,

or

Attende, and marcke the partes nowe to be done;
Wee better for toe doe do champyon [r] anie onne.

[r] Challenge.

or Corpus Chriſti Play, before mentioned *, was acted at ſix in the evening; for the third Vexillator obſerves in the Prologue.

Munday next, yf that we may,
At ſix of the belle we gynne our play.

It is ſaid in an old memoir of the ſhews exhibited at Chriſtmas, in 1489, "*At* "*nyghte* the Kyng, the Queene, and my Lady the Kynges Moder, cam into the "White Hall, and ther heard a play." Strutt's Ancient Cuſtoms of the Engliſh, vol. ii.

Hall alſo mentions a *diſguiſing*, or play, performed before Henry the VIIIth at Windſor, to pleaſe the Emperor, on Sunday June the 10th *at night* †.

* Steevens's Suppl. vol. i. p. 144. † Hall, fol. 99.

GODDWYN: A TRAGEDIE.

THOUGH the Tragedy of Godwin is imperfect in its preſent ſtate, yet it may be preſumed, from the prologue and dramatis perſonæ, that it was compleated by the author, and performed by the perſons here named, three of whom had a part in the repreſentation of Ella: Sir Alan de Vere, the fourth actor, was probably a relation of John Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was beheaded in the firſt year of Edward the IVth; which is the beſt conjecture we can make concerning him. The character he is ſuppoſed to repreſent, is that of Alſtan; but there is no ſuch perſon mentioned in the play, unleſs he was introduced in a part of it which is now loſt. The name, which is Saxon, certainly does not ſuit with the character of Sir Hugh, who was a Norman. Maiſtre William Canning honoured the performance by playing the part of King Edward, and penning a prologue in the ſame ſtanza's with Rowley's epiſtle prefixed to Ella, in which he pays no ſmall compliment both to the poet and the actors, and declares the play to have been written in order to reſcue the character of Earl Godwin from thoſe unjuſt aſperſions which the bigotry and malice of the eccleſiaſtics had raiſed againſt him, for his want of liberality to monaſteries and religious houſes; the endowment and enriching of them being conſidered, in that age, as the great criterion of piety.

The cataſtrophe ſeems to be totally wanting, and the play itſelf

gives us little more than the general character of King Edward, as a bigot, or, as the poet ſtiles him,

A Super Halie Saynete King,

inattentive to the government of his kingdom, and to the management of his revenues, neglectful of his Engliſh ſubjects, and a dupe to his Norman followers, which renders him contemptible to his Queen.—Godwyn and Harold are repreſented as the Engliſh patriots, uniting their efforts to prevent their country from becoming a prey to foreigners, and to the weakneſs of this ſuperſtitious monarch: It muſt be confeſſed, however, that our hiſtorians have not repreſented the Earl in ſo favourable a light. The following character, given of him by Gervais of Canterbury, as quoted by Leland in his Collectanea, vol. i. p. 269, ſhews that his abilities were well ſuited to the part which he acts in this Tragedy: "Erat enim ſenex ille famâ clarus, linguâ potens, "pertinax inpropoſito, pervicax orator ad flectendos animos "audientium." The annotator on Rapin affirms "him to "have been of an active and turbulent ſpirit, not over conſcien- "tious in acquiring and preſerving his poſſeſſions; but acknow- "ledges, that had he not been ſo great a lover of his country, "and an enemy to foreigners, thoſe who wrote in the Norman "times would have given him a fairer character." The imputing his ſudden death to an act of divine vengeance, ſeems to have been a calumny invented by the Normans; for the beſt contemporary writers do not aſcribe it to that cauſe.

The hiſtory on which this play is founded, not being very intereſting, nor diverſified with remarkable events, we may be permitted to ſuggeſt a reaſon for the poet's choice of the ſubject. Canning and his friend Rowley are called Yorkiſts, in the notes on the Ballad of Charity; and it is well known, that the former was a friend to King Edward, and had intereſt with him. Now there is a remarkable ſimilarity in the characters of Edward the Confeſſor and of Henry the VIth; both were virtuous and reli-

gious princes, but equally deficient in the maxims of policy, and principles of government, being alike the ſlaves of ſuperſtition, and the dupes of evil counſellors: Might not Rowley, then, flatter the political principles of his friend Canning, at the time that he was ſtrongly in Edward's intereſt, by expoſing, under the character of the Confeſſor, the weakneſs of Henry's government, and, by the generous and diſintereſted views of Godwin and Harold, give credit to the cauſe of the Yorkiſts? According to this ſuppoſition, the Tragedy muſt have been written before King Henry's depoſition, in 1460. It may be objected, indeed, to this ſuppoſed parallel, that Rowley has given, in the Briſtol Tragedy, a very different character of Henry, calling him *a godlike king*, and deſcribing his government as a reign *of godly peace*. But Rowley, like Waller, might turn his ſtile. Edward's refuſal of Canning's petition in behalf of Sir Baldwin Fulford, the heavy fine of 3000 marks which the king had obliged him to pay, with the attempt to force a wife upon him, might have provoked a reſentment, which communicated itſelf to his friend Rowley, and was diſplayed in very ſharp invectives againſt that king. This idea, if admitted, will exclude all poſſibility of forgery; for Chatterton could not have been ſo inconſiſtent as to give two ſuch different characters of the ſame prince, much leſs could he have foreſeen, that ſo juſt a reaſon could be aſſigned for reconciling theſe ſeeming contradictions with each other.

Though this Tragedy and the Tournament are compoſed in the ſame ſtanza's with Ella, yet the regularity of the meaſure is not ſo accurately preſerved in them, eſpecially in the firſt twenty-nine lines of this play. There are alſo four lines of alternate rhimes interpoſed between v. 40 and 44, unconnected with the preceding and following ſtanza's; nor are the ſtanza's always cloſed with an Alexandrine. Some little variation of this kind may alſo be found in the Tournament, from v. 125 to v. 130.

GODDWYN; A TRAGEDIE.

GODDWYN AND HAROLDE.

GODDWYN.

HAROLDE!

HAROLDE.

Mie loverde [a]!

GODDWYN.

O! I weepe to thyncke,
What foemen [b] riſeth to ifrete [c] the londe.
Theie batten [d] onne her fleſhe, her hartes bloude dryncke,
And all ys graunted from the roieal honde.

HAROLDE.

Lette notte thie agreme [e] blyn [f], ne aledge [g] ſtonde;
Bee I toe wepe, I wepe in teres of gore:
Am I betraſſed [h], ſyke [i] ſhulde mie burlie [k] bronde
Depeyncte [l] the wronges on hym from whom I bore.

[a] Lord. [b] Foes, enemies. [c] Devour, deſtroy, *rather harraſs, conſume.* [d] Fatten. [e] Grievance; a ſenſe of it. [f] Ceaſe, be ſtill. [g] Idly, *or at eaſe.* [h] Deceived, impoſed on. [i] So. [k] Fury, anger, rage, *rather, my armed ſword.* [l] Paint, diſplay.

GODDWYN.

V. 2. To *ifrete* the land is not, as Chatterton has explained the word, to *devour* or *deſtroy*, but to *fret* and *conſume* the land, juſt as ruſt conſumes iron: So Gaſcoigne ſpeaks of a knife *with ruſt yfret.* Dan. Bar. p. 68.

V. 8. The ſpirit of Harold, in this and his other ſpeeches, appears very ſuitable to the character he bears in hiſtory, and to what his father ſays of him in theſe lines. Godwin was more mild, artful, and perſuaſive.

GODDWYN.

I ken thie ſpryte [n] ful welle; gentle thou art,
Stringe [o], ugſomme [p], rou [q], as ſmethynge [r] armyes ſeeme;
Yett efte [s], I feare, thie chefes [t] toe grete a parte,
And that thie rede [u] bee efte borne downe bie breme [x].
What tydynges from the kynge?

HAROLDE.

His Normans know.
I make noe compheeres [y] of the ſhemrynge [z] trayne.

GODDWYN.

Ah Harolde! tis a ſyghte of myckle woe,
To kenne theſe Normannes everich rennome gayne.
What tydynge withe the foulke [a]?

HAROLDE.

Stylle mormorynge atte yer ſhap [b], ſtylle toe the kynge
Theie rolle theire trobbles, lyche a forgie ſea.
Hane Englonde thenne a tongue, butte notte a ſtynge?
Dothe alle compleyne, yette none wylle ryghted bee?

[n] Soul. [o] Strong. [p] Terrible. [q] Horrid, grim. [r] Smoking, bleeding. [s] Oft. [t] Heat, raſhneſs. [u] Counſel, wiſdom. [x] Strength, alſo ſtrong, *or fury, violence.* [y] *Companions.* [z] Taudry, glimmering. [a] People. [b] Fate, deſtiny.

GODDWYN.

V. 19. This image is peculiarly beautiful, and expreſſes not only the loudneſs, but alſo the repeated force and irreſiſtible power of the popular clamours. So Hurra ſays,

The Saxons lyche a *billowe rolle.* Ella, v. 725.

Mr. Rowe has very happily expreſſed the ſame idea in Jane Shore, when ſhe complains,

That her tranſgreſſions, great and numberleſs,
—Had covered her like *riſing floods,*
And preſſed her like a *weight of waters* down.

GODDWYN.

Awayte the tyme, whanne Godde wylle ſende us ayde.

HAROLDE.

No, we muſte ſtreve to ayde oureſelves wyth powre.
Whan Godde wylle ſende us ayde! tis fetelie [c] prayde.
Moſte we thoſe calke [d] awaie the lyve-longe howre?
Thos croche [e] oure armes, and ne toe lyve dareygne [f],
Unburled [g], undelievre [h], uneſpryte [i]?
Far fro mie harte be fled thyk [k] thoughte of peyne,
Ile free mie countrie, or Ille die yn fyghte.

GODDWYN.

Botte lette us wayte untylle ſomme ſeaſon fytte.
Mie Kentyſhmen, thie Summertons ſhall ryſe;
Adented [l] proweſs [m] to the gite [n] of witte [o],
Agayne the argent [p] horſe ſhall daunce yn ſkies.
Oh Harolde, heere forſtraughteynge [q] wanhope [r] lies.
Englonde, oh Englonde, tys for thee I blethe [s].
Whylſte Edwarde to thie ſonnes wylle nete alyſe [t],
Shulde anie of thie ſonnes fele aughte of ethe [u]?
Upponne the trone [x] I ſette thee, helde thie crowne;
Botte oh! twere hommage nowe to pyghte [y] thee downe.

[c] Nobly, *or finely—ironically ſpoken.* [d] Caſt. [e] Croſs, from crouche, a croſs. [f] Attempt, or endeavour. [g] Unarmed. [h] Unactive. [i] Unſpirited. [k] Such. [l] Faſtened, annexed. [m] Might, power, *or valour.* [n] Mantle, or robe. [o] *Wiſdom, or knowledge.* [p] White, alluding to the arms of Kent, a horſe ſaliant, argent. [q] Diſtracting. [r] Deſpair. [s] Bleed. [t] Allow. [u] Eaſe. [x] Throne. [y] Pluck.

Thou

V. 31. Harold's *Somertons*, or men of Somerſetſhire, were undoubtedly under his juriſdiction as Earl of Weſſex; and the argent horſe is the known emblem and armorial enſign of Godwin's earldom of Kent.

Thou arte all preeſte, & notheynge of the kynge.
Thou arte all Norman, nothynge of mie blodde.
Know, ytte beſeies [z] thee notte a maſſe to ſynge;
Servynge thie leegefolcke [a] thou arte ſervynge Godde.

HAROLDE.

Thenne Ille doe heaven a ſervyce. To the ſkyes
The dailie contekes [b] of the londe aſcende.
The wyddowe, fahdreleſſe, & bondemennes cries
Acheke [c] the mokie [d] aire & heaven aſtende [e].
On us the rulers doe the folcke depende;
Hancelled [f] from erthe theſe Normanne hyndes [g] ſhalle bee;
Lyche a battently [h] low [i], mie ſwerde ſhalle brende [k];
Lyche fallynge ſofte rayne droppes, I wyll hem [l] ſlea [m];
Wee wayte too longe; our purpoſe wylle defayte [n];
Aboune [o] the hyghe empryze [p], & rouze the champyones ſtrayte.

GODDWYN.

Thie ſuſter—

HAROLDE.

Aye, I knowe, ſhe is his queene.
Albeytte [q], dyd ſhee ſpeeke her foemen [r] fayre,
I wulde dequace [s] her comlie ſemlykeene [t],
And foulde mie bloddie anlace [u] yn her hayre.

[z] Becomes. [a] Subjects. [b] Contentions, complaints. [c] Choke. [d] Dark, cloudy. [e] Aſtoniſh. [f] Cut off, deſtroyed. [g] Slaves. [h] Loud roaring, *or violent*. [i] Flame of fire. [k] Burn, conſume. [l] Them. [m] Slay. [n] Decay, *or be defeated*. [o] Make ready. [p] Enterprize. [q] Notwithſtanding. [r] Foes. [s] Mangle, deſtroy, *or quaſh*. [t] Beauty, countenance. [u] An ancient ſword.

GODDWYN.

V. 52. *Defayte* is here uſed as a verb neuter; *defeat*, in modern language, is only uſed actively.

GODDWYN.

Thye fhuir [x] blyn [y].

HAROLDE.

No, bydde the leathal [z] mere [a],
Upriſte [b] withe hiltrene [c] wyndes & cauſe unkend [d],
Beheſte [e] it to be lete [f]; ſo twylle appeare,
Eere Harolde hyde hys name, his contries frende.
The gule-ſteynct [g] brygandyne [h], the adventayle [i],
The feerie anlace brede [k] ſhal make mie gare [l] prevayle.

GODDWYN.

Harolde, what wuldeſt doe?

HAROLDE.

Bethyncke thee whatt.
Here liethe Englonde, all her drites [m] unfree,
Here liethe Normans coupynge [n] her bie lotte,
Caltyſnyng [o] everich native plante to gre [p],
Whatte woulde I doe? I brondeous [q] wulde hem ſlee [r];
Tare owte theyre ſable harte bie ryghtefulle breme [s];
Theyre deathe a meanes untoe mie lyfe ſhulde bee,
Mie ſpryte ſhulde revelle yn theyr harte-blodde ſtreme.
Eftſoones I wylle bewryne [t] mie ragefulle ire,
And Goddis anlace [u] wielde yn furie dyre.

[x] Fury. [y] Ceaſe. [z] Deadly. [a] Lake. [b] Swollen, *or riſing up*. [c] Hidden. [d] Unknown. [e] Command. [f] Still. [g] Red-ſtained. [h i] Parts of armour. [k] Broad. [l] Cauſe. [m] Rights, liberties. [n] Cutting, mangling. [o] Forbidding, *fettering*, *confining*. [p] Grow. [q] Furious. [r] Slay. [s] Strength, *rather*, *fury*. [t] Declare. [u] Sword.

GODDWYN.

V. 67. *Caltyſning*. Chatterton ſeems to have miſtaken the ſenſe of this word; it does not mean to *forbid*, but to *confine*, or *keep priſoner*. Thus Ella calls matrimony a *catyſnede vow*, or a vow which held him captive.

GODDWYN.

Whatte wouldeſt thou wythe the kynge?

HAROLDE.

Take offe hys crowne;
The ruler of ſomme mynſter [x] hym ordeyne;
Sette uppe ſom dygner [y] than I han pyghte [z] downe;
And peace in Englonde ſhulde be brayd [a] agayne.

GODDWYN.

No, lette the ſuper-hallie [b] ſeyncte kynge reygne,
Ande ſomme moe reded [c] rule the untentyff [d] reaulme;
Kynge Edwarde, yn hys corteſie, wylle deygne
To yielde the ſpoiles, and alleyne were the heaulme:
Botte from mee harte bee everych thoughte of gayne,
Not anie of mie kin I wyſche him to ordeyne.

HAROLDE.

Tell me the meenes, and I wylle boute ytte ſtrayte;
Bete [e] mee to ſlea [f] mieſelf, ytte ſhalle be done.

GODDWYN.

To thee I wylle ſwythynne [g] the menes unplayte [h],
Bie whyche thou, Harolde, ſhalte be proved mie ſonne.
I have longe ſeen whatte peynes were undergon,
Whatte agrames [i] braunce [k] out from the general tree;
The tyme ys commynge, whan the mollock [l] gron [m]
Drented [n] of alle yts ſwolynge [o] owndes [p] ſhalle bee;

[x] Monaſtery. [y] More worthy. [z] Pulled, plucked. [a] Diſplayed, *proclaimed.* [b] Over-righteous. [c] Counſelled, more wiſe. [d] Uncareful, neglected, *rather, negligent, unattentive.* [e] Bid, command. [f] Slay. [g] Preſently. [h] Explain. [i] Grievances. [k] Branch. [l] Wet, moiſt. [m] Fen, moor. [n] Drained. [o] Swelling. [p] Waves.

Mie

Mie remedie is goode; our menne ſhall ryſe:
Eftſoons the Normans and owre agrame [q] flies.

HAROLDE.

I will to the Weſt, and gemote [r] alle mie knyghtes,
Wythe bylles that pancte for blodde, and ſheeldes as brede [s]
As the ybroched [t] moon, when blaunch [u] ſhe dyghtes [x]
The wodeland grounde or water-mantled mede;
Wythe hondes whoſe myghte canne make the doughtieſt [y] blede,
Who efte have knelte upon forſlagen [z] foes,
Whoe wythe yer fote orreſts [a] a caſtle-ſtede [b],
Who dare on kynges for to bewrecke [c] yiere woes;
Nowe wylle the menne of Englonde haile the daie,
Whan Goddwyn leades them to the ryghtfulle fraie.

GODDWYN.

Botte firſte we'll call the loverdes [d] of the Weſt,
The erles of Mercia, Conventrie and all;
The moe wee gayne, the gare [e] wylle proſper beſte,
Wythe ſyke a nomber wee can never fall.

HAROLDE.

True, ſo wee ſal doe beſt to lyncke the chayne,
And alle attenes [f] the ſpreddynge kyngedomme bynde.

[q] Grievance. [r] Aſſemble. [s] Broad. [t] Horned, *pointed.* [u] White. [x] Decks. [y] Mightieſt, moſt valiant. [z] Slain. [a] Overſets, *overcomes.* [b] A caſtle. [c] Revenge. [d] *Lords.* [e] Cauſe. [f] At once.

No

V. 105. The pious Leofric, huſband to Godiva, the patroneſs of Coventry, was then Earl of Mercia; he died in the 13th year of Edward the Confeſſor.

No crouched [g] champyone wythe an harte moe feygne [h]
Dyd yſſue owte the hallie [i] ſwerde to fynde,
Than I nowe ſtrev to ryd mie londe of peyne.
Goddwyn, what thanckes owre laboures wylle enhepe [k]!
I'lle ryſe mie friendes unto the bloddie pleyne;
I'lle wake the honnoure thatte ys now aſlepe.
When wylle the chiefes mete atte thie feaſtive halle,
That I wythe voice alowde maie there upon 'em calle?

GODDWYN.

Next eve, mie ſonne.

HAROLDE.

Nowe, Englonde, ys the tyme,
Whan thee or thie felle [l] foemens cauſe moſte die.
Thie geaſon [m] wronges bee reyne [n] ynto theyre pryme;
Nowe wylle thie ſonnes unto thie ſuccoure flie.
Alyche a ſtorm egederinge [o] yn the ſkie,
Tys fulle ande braſteth [p] on the chaper [q] grounde;

[g] One who takes up the Croſs in order to fight againſt the Saracens. [h] *Willing, deſirous.* [i] Holy. [k] *Heap upon us.* [l] *Cruel.* [m] Rare, extraordinary, ſtrange. [n] Run, ſhot up. [o] Aſſembling, gathering. [p] Burſteth. [q] Dry, barren.

Sycke

V. 110. The crouched champions were thoſe who had taken the Croſs, and had received a bleſſed or holy ſword, on their being conſecrated knights.

V. 120. *Geaſon wrongs* are properly explained by Chatterton, *rare* and *extraordinary*; ſo in the Introduction to Ella, *geaſon baubles* are *rare jewels*. The word ȝerne occurs in this ſenſe in the Saxon Chronicle, ad an. 1116, and is uſed by Gaſcoigne in his poetry,

The old ſau is not *geaſon*. Dan. Barth. p. 74.

that is, The old ſaying is not *rare*. And again,

Which in my head is full *geaſon*. Herbes, p. 151.

Ray calls it an Eſſex word.

Sycke ſhalle mie fhuirye on the Normans flie,
And alle theyre mittee [r] menne be ſleene [s] arounde.
Nowe, nowe, wylle Harolde or oppreſſionne falle,
Ne moe the Englyſhmenne yn vayne for hele [t] ſhal calle.

KYNGE EDWARDE AND HYS QUEENE.

QUEENE.

BOTTE, loverde [u], whie ſo manie Normannes here?
Mee thynckethe wee bee notte yn Englyſhe londe.
Theſe browded [x] ſtraungers alwaie doe appere,
Theie parte yor trone [y], and ſete at your ryghte honde.

KYNGE.

Go to, goe to, you doe ne underſtonde:
Theie yeave mee lyffe, and dyd mie bowkie [z] kepe [a];
Theie dyd mee feeſte, and did embowre [b] me gronde;
To trete hem ylle wulde lette mie kyndneſſe ſlepe.

QUEENE.

Mancas [c] you have yn ſtore, and to them parte;
Youre leege-folcke [d] make moke [e] dole [f], you have theyr worthe
aſterte [g].

[r] Mighty. [s] Slain. [t] Help. [u] Lord. [x] Embroidered; 'tis conjectured, embroidery was not uſed in England till Hen. II. [y] Throne. [z] Perſon, body. [a] *Take care of.* [b] Lodge, *rather, inhabit, or cultivate.* [c] Marks, *rather, mancuſes, improperly called marks.* [d] Subjects. [e] Much. [f] Lamentation. [g] Neglected, or paſſed by.

KYNGE.

V. 134. Embowre me gronde, *i. e. ſettled, cultivated, and built* on my land; from the A. S. words *Byan* to inhabit, and *Bauer* a farmer.

V. 136. The *Mancas* and *Marks*, though uſed here ſynonimouſly for money in general, were two different ſpecies; the former was the ancient name for the Imperial Aureus; the Mark was a nummulary eſtimate, in value two thirds of a pound, but from the ſimilarity of the two names, from the former growing into diſuſe,

KYNGE.

I heſte [h] no rede [i] of you. I ken mie friendes.
Hallie [k] dheie are, fulle ready mee to hele [l].
Theyre volundes [m] are yſtorven [n] to ſelf endes;
No denwere [o] yn mie breſte I of them fele:
I muſte to prayers; goe yn, and you do wele;
I muſte ne loſe the dutie of the daie;
Go inne, go ynne, ande viewe the azure rele [p],
Fulle welle I wote you have noe mynde toe praie.

[h] Require, aſk, *command.* [i] *Counſel, or advice.* [k] Holy. [l] Help. [m] Wills. [n] Dead. [o] Doubt. [p] Waves, *blue waves. See Metam, v.* 105.

QUEENE.

diſuſe, and the latter becoming a common money of account, the terms were confounded by the hiſtorians of the middle age, and promiſcuouſly uſed for each other, as will appear in William of Malmſbury, and in the Latin tranſlation of Alfred's will: Rowley has followed the hiſtorians in this miſtake; but no author, ſince his time, has uſed the word *Manca* for money, and where ſhould Chatterton have found it?

But no circumſtance in this play is better authenticated by hiſtory, than the character of Sir Hugh, the king's favourite Norman treaſurer: He ſhould rather have been ſtiled *Earl Hugh*, and Queen Emma's favourite; for the Saxon Chronicle, and Simeon of Durham, tell us, that ſhe appointed him governor of Devonſhire; and that by his folly, neglect, and treachery, he gave the Danes an opportunity of forcibly entering into and plundering Exeter, deſtroying the city wall, from the eaſt to the weſt gate, and returning to their ſhips with great booty.

"Anno 1003. Hoc anno Rex Danorum Swanus per inſilium, incuriam, & "traditionem Normanni Comitis Hugonis, quem Regina Emma Domnaniæ præ-"fecit, Civitatem Exceſtriam infregit, ſpoliavit, murum ab orientali uſque ad occi-"dentalem portam deſtruxit, & cum ingenti prædâ naves repetiit." Sim. Dunelm. p. 165. See, alſo, Dugdale's Bar. vol. i. p. 12. and Hoveden, p. 140.

The dialogue which he holds with the King is ſtrictly conformable to his office. The king orders Sir Hugh, as governor of Devonſhire, *to guild the Weſt*, which was at that time under Harold's juriſdiction, as Earl of Weſſex: On his refuſal, the king gives ſimilar orders with reſpect to Kent, of which Godwin was Earl, which is alſo refuſed—Is it within the idea of poſſibility, that Chatterton ſhould have been able to have ſtated theſe facts ſo accurately, which he could only have collected from our Latin hiſtorians, whoſe language he did not underſtand?

QUEENE.

I leeve youe to doe hommage heaven-were [q];
To ſerve yor leege-folcke toe is doeynge hommage there.

KYNGE AND SYR HUGHE.

KYNGE.

Mie friende, Syr Hughe, whatte tydynges brynges thee here?

HUGHE.

There is no mancas [r] yn mie loverdes [s] ente [t];
The hus dyſpenſe [u] unpaied doe appere;
The laſte receivure [x] ys efteſoones [y] diſpente [z].

KYNGE.

Thenne guylde the Weſte.

HUGHE.

Mie loverde, I dyd ſpeke
Untoe the mitte [a] Erle Harolde of the thynge;
He rayſed hys honde, and ſmote me onne the cheke,
Saieynge, Go beare thatte meſſage to the kynge.

KYNGE.

Arace [b] hym of hys powere; bie Goddis worde,
Ne moe thatte Harolde ſhall ywield the erlies ſwerde.

HUGHE.

Atte ſeeſon fytte, mie loverde, lette itt bee;
Botte nowe the folcke doe ſoe enalſe [c] hys name,

[q] Heaven-ward, or God-ward. [r] *Mancuſes.* [s] *Lords.* [t] Purſe, uſed here probably as a treaſury. [u] Expence. [x] Receipt. [y] Soon. [z] Expended. [a] A contraction of mighty. [b] Diveſt. [c] Embrace, *rather, exalt, from inalzare.*

Inne ſtrevvynge to ſlea hymme, ourſelves wee ſlea;
Syke ys the doughtyneſs [d] of hys grete fame.

KYNGE.

Hughe, I beethyncke, thie rede [e] ys notte to blame.
Botte thou maieſt fynde fulle ſtore of marckes [f] yn Kente.

HUGHE.

Mie noble loverde, Godwynn ys the ſame;
He ſweeres he wylle notte ſwelle the Normans ent [g].

KYNGE.

Ah traytoure! botte mie rage I wylle commaunde,
Thou arte a Normanne, Hughe, a ſtraunger to the launde.

Thou kenneſte howe theſe Englyſche erle doe bere
Such ſtedneſs [h] in the yll and evylle thynge,
Botte atte the goode theie hover yn denwere [i],
Onknowlachynge [k] gif thereunto to clynge.

HUGHE.

Onwordie ſyke a marvelle [l] of a kynge!
O Edwarde, thou deſerveſt purer leege [m];
To thee heie [n] ſhulden al theire mancas brynge;
Thie nodde ſhould ſave menne, and thie glomb [o] forſlege [p].
I amme no curriedowe [q], I lacke no wite [r],
I ſpeke whatte bee the trouthe, and whatte all ſee is ryghte.

KYNGE.

Thou arte a hallie [s] manne, I doe thee pryze.
Comme, comme, and here and hele [t] mee ynn mie praires.

[d] Mightineſs. [e] Counſel. [f] *Mancuſes.* [g] *Purſe.* [h] Firmneſs, ſtedfaſtneſs. [i] Doubt, ſuſpenſe. [k] Not knowing. [l] Wonder. [m] Homage, obeyſance. [n] They. [o] Frown. [p] Kill [q] Curriedowe, flatterer. [r] Reward. [s] Holy. [t] Help.

Fulle

Fulle twentie mancas I wylle thee aliſe [u], 180
And twayne of hamlettes [x] to thee and thie heyres.
Soe ſhalle all Normannes from mie londe be fed,
Theie alleyn [y] have ſyke love as to acquyre yer bredde.

[u] Allow. [x] Manors. [y] Alone.

As to the general deſign of the play, it could not be the poet's intention to make the groſs flattery of this Norman courtier, the prodigality and bigotry of the king, and the diſaffection of Godwin and Harold, his principal objects, without interweaving ſome more intereſting events. It ſhould ſeem, therefore, that either the Tragedy was never compleated, or that the concluſion of it was loſt, with that of the Ode, or Chorus, which is *now* made an appendage to it; for it will admit of much doubt, whether theſe two pieces were originally ſo nearly connected: The poetry of the Chorus, is manifeſtly ſuperior to that of the Tragedy; nor do the characters of Freedom, Power, and War, introduced in the former, apply to the hiſtory of Godwin; in which we ſee only faint efforts of *Freedom*, no extraordinary exertion of *Power*, and ſcarcely the appearance of *War*; but all theſe contentions are ſtrongly exemplified in Ella: The *Power* of the Daniſh invaders—the *Freedom* or deliverance from their tyranny, procured by Ella's arms—and the diſtreſſes of *War* neceſſarily following this conteſt: We may add, likewiſe, that the ſpirit and ſentiments contained in Ella, are much more ſuitable to the language of this Ode, than the tame dialogue in Godwin. It cannot but be lamented, however, that the character of War, ſo familiar to Rowley, and ſo worthy of his pen, ſhould have come imperfect to our hands.

CHORUS.

WHAN Freedom, dreſte yn blodde-ſteyned veſte,
To everie knyghte her warre-ſonge ſunge,
Uponne her hedde wylde wedes were ſpredde;
A gorie anlace bye her honge.
She daunced onne the heathe;
She hearde the voice of deathe;
Pale-eyned affryghte, hys harte of ſylver hue,
In vayne aſſayled [z] her boſomme to acale [a];
She hearde onflemed [b] the ſhriekynge voice of woe,
And ſadneſſe ynne the owlette ſhake the dale.

[z] Endeavoured. [a] Freeze. [b] Undiſmayed.

She

This Ode, or Chorus, is undoubtedly one of the moſt ſublime compoſitions of Rowley's pen; a rival, even in its preſent imperfect ſtate, to the ſong on Ella, and if compleat, would probably gain an indiſputable preference. It ſcarcely contains a redundant word, or fails in a deficient expreſſion, nor can its powerful imagery be conveyed in more conciſe and emphatical language. Freedom never appeared in a more original dreſs, than in her ſummons to war;—in her wild attire;—her undaunted ſpirit;—her enduring fortitude; and the effectual manner in which ſhe avenges herſelf of her enemy.

The idea of Power, is conveyed in the moſt lofty images, borrowed, as it ſhould ſeem, from Homer's deſcription of Eris, or Strife:

——— Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα,
Ἀρεος ἀνδροφόνοιο κασιγνήτη, ἑτάρη τε,
Ἥτ' ὀλιγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη, καὶ ἐπὶ χθόνὶ βαίνει.
Il. Δ. v. 440.

Diſcord, dire ſiſter of the ſlaughtering power,
Small at her birth, but riſing every hour;
Whilſt ſcarce the ſkies her horrid head can bound,
She ſtalks on earth, and ſhakes the world around.
Pope, B. iv. v. 504.

She ſhooke the burled [c] ſpeere,
On hie ſhe jeſte [d] her ſheelde,
Her foemen [e] all appere,
And flizze [f] alonge the feelde.
Power, wythe his heafod [g] ſtraught [h] ynto the ſkyes,
Hys ſpeere a ſonne-beame, and his ſheelde a ſtarre,
Alyche [i] twaie [k] brendeynge [l] gronfyres [m] rolls hys eyes,
Chaftes [n] with hys yronne feete and ſoundes to war.
She ſyttes upon a rocke,
She bendes before hys ſpeere,
She ryſes from the ſhocke,
Wieldynge her owne yn ayre.

[c] Armed, pointed. [d] Hoiſted on high, raiſed. [e] Foes, enemies. [f] Fly. [g] Head. [h] Stretched. [i] Like. [k] Two. [l] Flaming. [m] Meteors. [n] Beats, ſtamps, *rubs*.

Harde

This paſſage is pointed out by the critics, and indeed by Longinus himſelf, as a remarkable inſtance of ſublimity, well ſuited to the vaſt reach and elevation of Homer's genius, cap. ix.—But this idea is not peculiar to Homer. The author of the Wiſdom of Solomon has applied it with no leſs dignity to the deſtructive hand of God, ſtretched out againſt Egypt.

" The Almighty word brought thine unfeigned commandment as a ſharp ſword, " and ſtanding up, filled all things with death; *and it touched the heaven, but it ſtood " upon the earth.*" Chap. xviii. 16.

Our poet not only raiſes Power to the ſkies, but cloaths it alſo with celeſtial armour.

Hys ſpeere a ſonne-beame, and his ſheelde a ſtarre.

Indeed the greateſt exertions of human power, taken notice of by ſacred and profane hiſtorians and poets, were thoſe employed againſt heaven; ſuch as the rebellion of the fallen angels, and the war of the Giants. The *iron* feet of Power are emblematical of ſtrength. Thus the power of the Babyloniſh Empire was repreſented to Daniel by an image whoſe *legs* were of *iron*, ch. ii. v. 33.

Harde as the thonder dothe ſhe drive ytte on,
Wytte ſcillye [o] wympled [p] gies [q] ytte to hys crowne,
Hys longe ſharpe ſpeere, hys ſpreddynge ſheelde ys gon,
He falles, and fallynge rolleth thouſandes down.
War, goare-faced war, bie envie burld [r], ariſt [s],
Hys feerie heaulme [t] noddynge to the ayre,
Tenne bloddie arrowes ynne hys ſtreynynge fyſte—

* * * * * * * *

[o] Cloſely, *with ſkill.* [p] Mantled, covered, *or protected.* [q] Guides. [r] Armed. [s] Aroſe. [t] Helmet.

V. 207. This line may be read thus:

With ſcill, gewimpled gies yt to his crowne.

i. e. covered and protected by ſkill, ſhe directs her ſpear to his crown.

THE TOURNAMENT.

THE Tournament may be conſidered either as a Dramatic or Hiſtorical Poem, intended to celebrate the rebuilding Redcliff church by Simon de Burton, near the ſpot where the preſent magnificent ſtructure was afterwards erected by William Canning, and other benefactors. Rowley has ſhewn the fertility of his invention, in gracing this hiſtory with an entertainment, dramatical in its plan, and well adapted to the taſte of the age in which he lived. For though it appears, by the undoubted teſtimony of Leland, Tanner, and other antiquaries, that Simon de Burton built this church, and a row of almſhouſes which ſtill bears his name*; yet they ſpeak of him, not as a military man, but a merchant, who had been five times mayor of Briſtol.

His vow of building this church, is here ſuppoſed to have been made at a Tournament, where ſeveral perſons of reſpectable names and families, then extant, are ſaid to have aſſiſted; all this, however, may have been the invention of the poet: But the fact itſelf, the rebuilding the church, cannot be invalidated by the decorations of Rowley's pen, nor by the fictitious perſonages and circumſtances introduced in the poem; they may, however, ſhew that ſuch a mixture of true hiſtory and invention, could not have been the produce of Chatterton's brain. A MS Chronicle of Briſtol ſays,

* "The Almeſe houſe, by St. Thomas church, called Burtons Almes howſe. "Burton, Maier of the towne, and foundder, is buried in it." Leland's Itin. vol. vii. p. 89.

that

that in 1292, " the church of St. Mary Redcliff was begun to " be built by Simon de Burton, and alſo the almſhouſes in the " long row. He built both church and almſhouſes."

It appears, alſo, that the church of St. Mary Redcliff wanted reparation or rebuilding at the latter end of the thirteenth century; as ſeveral epiſcopal indulgences were then granted to thoſe who ſhould contribute to that work; ſome of theſe were found by Mr. Barrett, in one of the cheſts in the room over the ſouth porch of the church, when, upon Chatterton's information, he ſearched there for more of Rowley's papers. One of them was granted in 1232, by John biſhop of Ardfert, who though depoſed from his biſhoprick, yet enjoyed epiſcopal powers, and retired to the abbey of St. Albans; another was granted by Robert Burnell, biſhop of Bath and Wells, in 1274; both which are ſtill in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion: And the third is from Peter Quivill, biſhop of Exeter, dated at Redcliff, July 4th, 1287, in which thirty days indulgence is given to all ſuch of his dioceſe as ſhould ſay the Lords prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin Mary, for the ſouls of thoſe, whoſe bodies lay interred in Redcliff church-yard, and who would contribute to ſupport and repair the ſaid church. But whether it was entirely rebuilt, or only underwent a general reparation at Burton's expence, Rowley's yellow roll aſſerts, that it was dedicated on the day of the nativity of our Lord, in honour of the Virgin Mary, by *Gilbertus de Lean del Fardo*, Biſhop of Chicheſter. Now it appears by Le Neve's Faſti, that Gilbertus de Santo Leofardo was promoted to that ſee (having been firſt treaſurer of the church) in 1287, and died in 1308, which agrees very well with the æra aſſigned by Leland and Tanner to Burton's benefactions: Other particulars, relating to the building of this church, are ſaid to be contained in Rowley's MS. entitled, " Vita Simonis de Burton," in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion.

Rowley, in his emendals to Turgot's Hiſtory of Briſtol, ſpeaks of another church which was begun to be built on the ſame ſpot

during the reign of Henry the Sixth, by Lamington the pirate, whoſe ſtory has been mentioned before. P. 180.

The military exerciſes called Tournaments, which by degrees prevailed over all Europe, are ſaid by Munſter (though his account is not much credited) to have been firſt inſtituted in 934. The Chronicle of Tours, ſuppoſed to be better authority, does not give them an earlier date than 1066, and ſays that they were invented by Geoffroi the IId, Lord of Preulli in Angers. From France they were communicated to the Engliſh and Germans. Math. Paris expreſſly calls them *conflictus Gallicus*; and Gul. Neubrigenſis ſays, that they were not known in England till the reign of King Stephen: But Pope Urban the IId, in his addreſs to the cruſaders, Anno 1095, thus ſtigmatiſes the practice; "Arma quæ cæde "mutuâ in bellis illicitè & Torneamentis cruentaſtis, in hoſtes "convertite fidei *." This exerciſe, therefore, probably had a more early commencement, by its being ſo generally practiſed at that time. In the reign of King John †, Anno 1215, Robert Fitzwalter Marſhall iſſued out a ſummons for a Tournament at Hounſlow; and about the year 1241, Gilbert Marſhall, Earl of Pembroke, proclaimed a Tournament on horſeback at Ware, under the name of *Fortunium*, to avoid the force of the king's proclamation againſt Tournaments. He was thrown from his horſe in that exerciſe, and trampled to death. Indeed they had been forbidden both by Papal and Regal authority. Pope Alexander the IIId, in the council of Lateran (M. Paris, p. 137, anno 1179) denied Chriſtian burial to ſuch as were killed in them; and Innocent the IVth, in the council of Lyons, anno 1245, forbad the uſe of them for three years, under the penalty of excommunication.

But the thunders of the Vatican could not prevail over the ſpirit of chivalry, which continued to ſupport theſe military exerciſes to the time of Henry the VIIIth, who exhibited a moſt

* M. Paris, P. 23. † Idem, P. 265.

magnificent

magnificent ſpectacle of this kind, at his famous interview with Francis the Firſt, in the Champ de drap d'or.

The ceremonial of theſe Tournaments is deſcribed in this poem in a manner very ſuitable to the accounts given by other writers. There is publiſhed in the Antiquarian Repertory, vol. i. p. 39, &c. (ſee alſo Harl. MSS. N° 69) a formulary of ancient Tournaments, as eſtabliſhed by John Tiptoft, earl of Worceſter, lord conſtable of England, in the 6th year of Edward the IVth; but it contains nothing material to the illuſtration of this poem, except that the conſtable and the marſhal deliver the ſpears to the combatants; the marſhal calls the defendant with three diſtinct ſummons, the laſt of which is at noon.

So Burton ſays,

> The mynſtrelles have begonne the *thyrde warr ſonge*,
> Yett notte a ſpeere of hemm hath *grete** my ſyghte. v. 23.
>
> * *Grete* for *greted*, i. e. pleaſed or gratified.

The targe is there called the *Pravis*, meaning pavois; and the gleave is diſtinguiſhed from the ſpear, long ſword, and ſhort ſword. The ground is marked out and encloſed; the company aſſembled, either by ſtriking hammers againſt a bell, or by ſound of trumpet; Minſtrells ſing war-ſongs, to excite valour in the combatants, and to hail the ſucceſsful victors of the day. Three of theſe war-ſongs had been ſung before any rival to Burton appeared. The herald, or *ſon of honour* (as he calls himſelf) delivers the ſpears to the knights, each of whom is attended by a ſquire. The firſt knight challenges his ground, by claiming a paſſage on a part of the field where the antagoniſt is to oppoſe his way. He then throws down his gauntlet as a token of challenge, which is accepted by his antagoniſt. The engagement begins by ſound of trumpet; the victor of the day is declared king of the Tourney tilte; the whole aſſembly pay him the homage of the knee: He wins the honoured ſhield. The Engliſh banner is diſplayed on the tent, probably, to

guiſh the conqueſt over ſtrange knights. The minſtrells ſing an Epinikion, and the victor is carried in ſtate to the preſident or king of the Tournament; for Anſtis obſerves, (in his Supplement to Aſhmole's Garter, p. 304) that there were *Reges Ludorum, et Circulorum,* among the Germans, preſiding at Tournaments, and that there was a remarkable one, known by the title of *Roy d' Epinette,* or *Roy de Brandons,* at the Tournament annually holden at Liſle in Flanders.

Some of theſe circumſtances are mentioned by Spenſer, in the combat between the Red Croſs Knight and the Sarazin Sansfoy,

> A ſhrilling trumpet ſounded from on high,
> And unto battail bad themſelves addreſs,
> And forth he comes into the common hall,
> Where early wait him many a gazing eye,
> To weet what end to ſtranger knights may fall
> Where many minſtrelles maken melody.
>
> B. i. c. 5. ſt. 31.

In a word, the ceremonial, as here repreſented, is ſo well adapted to the cuſtoms of that age, that it could not have been ſo accurately deſcribed by any ſubſequent writer, who was not perfectly inſtructed in the ancient formulary: Chatterton, therefore, could not have been the author, as will further appear from other circumſtances in this poem.

THE TOURNAMENT.

AN INTERLUDE.

Enter an HERAWDE.

THE Tournament begynnes; the hammerrs ſounde;
The courſerrs lyſſe [a] about the menſuredd [b] fielde;
The ſhemrynge [c] armoure throws the ſheene [d] arounde;
Quayntyſſed [e] fons [f] depictedd [g] onn eche ſheelde.

[a] Sport, or play, *or bound.* [b] Bounded, or meaſured. [c] *Shining.* [d] *Luſtre.* [e] Curiouſly deviſed. [f] Fancies or devices. [g] Painted, or diſplayed.

The

The author having prefixed Introductions to his two dramatic pieces of Ella and Godwin, it may be preſumed that he alſo intended one for the Tournament, and ſo it ſeems he did; but by an error in the MS, or a miſtake in the tranſcriber, it is now confounded with the poem, and put into the mouth of the Herald; who is very improperly introduced ridiculing his own profeſſion, by remarking on the abſurdities introduced into coat-armour. He holds a very different language, however, in the following part of his ſpeech: The firſt ſtanza, therefore, ſhould be ſtiled *the Introduction*, and put into the mouth of the poet, deſcribing the ceremonial and appearance of theſe military amuſements. Under this character, he might properly enough ridicule the *ſtrange depyctures* on their ſhields, *which nature may not yield*, in the ſame manner as he has ſatyriſed, in his epiſtle prefixed to Ella, the predominant paſſion for heraldry, eſpecially in thoſe of middling and inferior condition.

Let trades and town-folches lett ſyke thinges alone,
Ne fyghte for ſable in a field of aure.

But the Herald will make his appearance in the ſecond ſtanza with the greateſt propriety,

The feerie [h] heaulmets, wythe the wreathes amielde [i],
Supportes the rampynge lyoncell [k] orr beare,
Wythe ſtraunge depyctures [l], Nature maie nott yeelde,
Unſeemelie to all orderr doe appere,
Yett yatte [m] to menne, who thyncke and have a ſpryte [n],
Makes knowen thatt the phantaſies unryghte.

I, Sonne of Honnoure, ſpencer [o] of her joies,
Muſt ſwythen [p] goe to yeve [q] the ſpeeres arounde,
Wythe advantayle [r] & borne [s] I meynte [t] emploie,
Who withoute mee woulde fall untoe the grounde.
Soe the tall oake the ivie twyſteth rounde;
Soe the neſhe [u] flowerr grees [x] ynne the woodeland ſhade.

[h] Fiery. [i] Ornamented, enameled. [k] A young lion. [l] Drawings, paintings. [m] That. [n] Soul, *or genius*. [o] Diſpenſer. [p] Quickly. [q] Give. [r] Armour. [s] Burniſh. [t] Many. [u] Young, weak, tender. [x] Grow.

The

propriety, proclaiming his office and duty with great ſelf-importance and dignity, comparing himſelf to an oak, and the artizans and armourers to the ivy, which twine round and are ſupported by him. Some reſpect, however, is due to the ſimilies and reflections in the cloſe of his ſpeech, v. 17, as being not unlike the ſtile of Pope's Moral Eſſays. If Chatterton had been the author of the drama, as he profeſſedly was of the explanatory notes, he would not have directed the reader to William Rufus, and Guy de S^to^ Egidio, as worthy antagoniſts to Burton: The former was not remarkably diſtinguiſhed for theſe military exerciſes, the latter ſeems to be perfectly unknown, both in name and character. With much greater plauſibility, and real truth, would thoſe names have been aſcribed to William the Conqueror, and Guy Earl of Warwick; the former diſtinguiſhed by his ſtrength, valour, and perſeverance, (alluded to in that line

Whoſe might delievrete hath knit,

that is, who united great agility with ſuperior ſtrength,) as well as by his extravagant paſſion for hunting, recorded by our Engliſh hiſtorians, and for which he is particularly celebrated in the following minſtrells ſong. It is unneceſſary to add, that Guy of Warwick was one of the moſt favourite heroes in Engliſh romance, and therefore moſt properly choſen as a character worthy of Burton's emulation in this honourable atchievement.

The worlde bie diffraunce ys ynne orderr founde;
Wydoute unlikeneſſe nothynge could bee made.
As ynn the bowke [y] nete [z] alleyn [a] cann bee donne,
Syke [b] ynn the weal [c] of kynde all thynges are partes of onne.

Enterr SYRR SYMONNE DE BOURTONNE.

Herawde [d], bie heavenne theſe tylterrs ſtaie too long.
Mie phantaſie ys dyinge forr the fyghte.
The mynſtrelles have begonne the thyrde warr ſonge,
Yett notte a ſpeere of hemm [e] hath grete [f] mie ſyghte.
I feere there be ne manne wordhie mie myghte.
I lacke a Guid [g], a Wyllyamm [h] to entylte.
To reine [i] anente [k] a fele [l] embodiedd knyghte,
Ytt gettes ne rennome [m] gyff hys blodde bee ſpylte.
Bie heavenne and Marie ytt ys tyme they're here;
I lyche nott unthylle [n] thus to wielde the ſpeare.

HERAWDE.

Methynckes I heare yer ſlugghornes [o] dynn [p] fromm farre.

BOURTONNE.

Ah! ſwythenn [q] mie ſhielde & tyltynge launce bee bounde [r].
Eftſoones [s] beheſte [t] mie Squyerr to the warre.
I flie before to clayme a challenge grownde. [*Goeth oute.*

HERAWDE.

Thie valourous actes woulde meinte [u] of menne aſtounde;
Harde bee yer [x] ſhappe [y] encontrynge thee ynn fyghte;

[y] Body. [z] Nothing. [a] Alone, *or ſingly.* [b] So. [c] *Government or conſtitution of the natural world.* [d] Herald. [e] A contraction of *them.* [f] *Greeted, or pleaſed.* [g] Guie de Sancto Egidio, the moſt famous tilter of his age, *rather, Guy of Warwick.* [h] William Rufus, *rather, William the Conqueror.* [i] Run. [k] Againſt. [l] Feeble. [m] Honour, glory. [n] Uſeleſs. [o] A kind of claryon, *or war trumpet.* [p] Sound. [q] Quickly. [r] Ready. [s] Soon. [t] Command. [u] Moſt, *or many.* [x] *Their.* [y] Fate, or doom.

Anenſt [z] all menne thou bereſt to the grounde,
Lyche the hard hayle dothe the tall roſhes pyghte [a].
As whanne the mornynge ſonne ydronks the dew,
Syche dothe thie valourous actes drocke [b] eche knyghte's hue.

THE LYSTES. THE KYNGE. SYRR SYMONNE DE BOURTONNE, SYRR HUGO FERRARIS, SYRR RANULPH NEVILLE, SYRR LODOVICK DE CLYNTON, SYRR JOHAN DE BERGHAMME, AND ODHERR KNYGHTES, HERAWDES, MYNSTRELLES, AND SERVYTOURS [c].

KYNGE.

The barganette [d]; yee mynſtrelles tune the ſtrynge,
Somme actyonn dyre of auntyante kynges now ſynge.

MYNSTRELLES.

Wyllyamm, the Normannes floure botte Englondes thorne,
The manne whoſe myghte delievretie [e] hadd knite [f],
Snett [g] oppe hys long ſtrunge bowe and ſheelde aborne [h],
Beheſteynge [i] all hys hommageres [k] to fyghte.
Goe, rouze the lyonn fromm hys hylted [l] denne,
Lett thie floes [m] drenche the blodde of anie thynge bott menne.

[z] Againſt. [a] Pitch, or bend down. [b] Drink. [c] Servants, attendants. [d] Song, or ballad. [e] Activity. [f] *Joined.* [g] Bent, *rather*, *ſnatched.* [h] Burniſhed. [i] Commanding. [k] Servants, *or dependents.* [l] Hidden. [m] Arrows.

V. 43. The ſtile of this ſong is truly original, and its merit conſiſts in the powerful aſſemblage of horrid objects combined in the third ſtanza, which no pen but Rowley's could have diſplayed in ſuch ſtrong colours; and we may obſerve, that the moral, or burden of the ſong, is not directed againſt chivalry, or Tournaments, but againſt war and murder.

Ynn the treed forreſte doe the knyghtes appere;
Wyllyamm wythe myghte hys bowe enyronn'd [n] plies [o];
Loude dynns [p] the arrowe ynn the wolfynn's eare;
Hee ryſeth battent [q], roares, he panctes, hee dyes.
Forſlagen [r] att thie feete lett wolvynns bee,
Lett thie ſloes drenche theyre blodde, bott do ne bredrenn ſlea.

Throwe the merke [s] ſhade of twiſtynde trees hee rydes;
The flemed [t] owlett [u] flapps herr eve-ſpeckte [x] wynge;
The lordynge [y] toade ynn all hys paſſes bides;
The berten [z] neders [a] att hymm darte the ſtynge;

[n] Worked with iron. [o] Bends. [p] Sounds. [q] Loudly. [r] *Killed.* [s] Dark, or gloome. [t] and [u] Frighted owl. [x] Marked with evening dew, *or with dark ſpots.* [y] Standing on their hind legs, *heavy, ſluggiſh.* [z] Venomous, *rather, leaping, attacking.* [a] Adders.

Styll,

V. 51. The objects of Duke William's ſport are the wolf and the ſtag, both inhabitants of this kingdom. The lion is alſo introduced, merely to add dignity to the ſport, and variety to the deſcription; but, to avoid impropriety, the poet has anticipated the objection which might be made, by obſerving that he was

Fromme ſweltrie countries braughte, v. 61.

The chace of theſe animals is well deſcribed; but there are no leſs than three inſtances, in the third ſtanza, wherein Chatterton has miſtaken the meaning of his author.

V. 56. *The eve-ſpecte* wings of the owl ſeems to allude to the dark ſpots on one ſpecies of them, and not to the *evening dew.*

V. 57. The *lording* toad is not ſo called from the dignity of his poſture, and ſitting upon his hind legs, but from the unwieldineſs of his bulk, and the ſlowneſs of his motion. *Lourdy, ſluggiſh*, has a place amongſt Mr. Ray's E. and N. country words. *Lourd*, in French, ſignifies *heavy* and *ſtupid.* Douglaſs's gloſſariſt explains *lurdin* by *blockhead, ſot*, and *lurdanry* by *ſtupidity.* But the poet himſelf uſes it in a ſenſe much more correſpondent with this paſſage; viz. heavy and unwieldy; for he calls the Trojan horſe, or *gravis equus* of Virgil, p. 182, v. 9.

That ſtrang *lurdane.*

So Gaſcoigne, in Dan Barth's Tale, p. 115,

Where every *lurdin* will become a leech.

Styll, ſtylle, hee paſſes onn, hys ſtede aſtrodde,
Nee hedes the daungerous waie gyff leadynge untoe bloodde.

The lyoncel, fromme ſweltrie [b] countries braughte,
Coucheynge binethe the ſheltre of the brierr,
Att commyng dynn [c] doth rayſe hymſelfe diſtraughte [d],
He loketh wythe an eie of flames of fyre.
Goe, ſticke the lyonn to hys hyltren [e] denne,
Lette thie floes [f] drenche the blood of anie thynge botte menn.

Wythe paſſent [g] ſteppe the lyonn mov'th alonge;
Wyllyamm hys ironne-woven bowe hee bendes,
Wythe myghte alyche the roghlynge [h] thonderr ſtronge;
The lyonn ynn a roare hys ſpryte foorthe ſendes.
Goe, ſlea the lyonn ynn hys blodde-ſteyn'd denne,
Botte bee thie takelle [i] drie fromm blodde of odherr menne.

Swefte froom the thyckett ſtarks the ſtagge awaie;
The couraciers [k] as ſwefte doe afterr flie.
Hee lepethe hie, hee ſtondes, hee kepes att baie,
Botte metes the arrowe, and eftſoones [l] doth die.
Forſlagenn atte thie fote lette wylde beaſtes bee,
Lett thie floes drenche yer blodde, yett do ne bredrenn ſlee.

[b] Hot, ſultry. [c] Sound, noiſe. [d] Diſtracted. [e] *Hidden.* [f] Arrows. [g] Walking leiſurely. [h] Rolling. [i] Arrow. [k] Horſe-courſers, *rather horſemen.* [l] Full ſoon.

Wythe

So in Evans's Collection of Ancient Ballads, vol. ii. p. 90, it is ſaid of the deer,

The fat *lurdanes* bleed.

And in the old ballad of Adam Bell,

What, *Lurdin*, art thou wode? Percy, vol. i. p. 141.

V. 58. The *berten neders* do not mean *venomous*, but *leaping*, to expreſs their manner of attack. The Promptuar. parvul. explains *burtyn*, by *inſilio, cornupeto, to leap upon, or puſh as horned cattle do.*

Wythe murtherr tyredd, hee ſleynges hys bowe alyne [m].
The ſtagge ys ouch'd [n] wythe crownes of lillie flowerrs.
Arounde theire heaulmes theie greene verte [o] doe entwyne;
Joying and rev'lous ynn the grene wode bowerrs.
Forſlagenn wyth thie floe lette wylde beaſtes bee,
Feeſte thee upponne theire fleſhe, doe ne thie bredrenn ſlee.

KYNGE.

Nowe to the Tourneie [p]; who wylle fyrſte affraie [q]?

HERAULDE.

Nevylle, a baronne, bee yatte [r] honnoure thyne.

BOURTONNE.

I clayme the paſſage.

NEVYLLE.

I contake [s] thie waie.

BOURTONNE.

Thenn there's mie gauntlette [t] onn mie gaberdyne [u].

HEREHAULDE.

A leegefull [x] challenge, knyghtes & champyonns dygne [y],
A leegefull challenge, lette the ſlugghorne ſounde.

[Syrr Symonne *and* Nevylle *tylte*.

[m] Acroſs his ſhoulders, *or*, *without the quiver*. [n] Garlands of flowers being put round the neck of the game, it was ſaid to be *ouch'd*, from *ouch*, a chain, worn by earls round their necks. [o] *Leaves and branches*. [p] Turnament. [q] Fight, or encounter. [r] That. [s] Diſpute. [t] Glove. [u] A piece of armour, *rather*, *cloak*. [x] Lawful. [y] Worthy.

Nevylle

V. 88. The throwing down the gauntlet was the uſual form of challenge. The gaberdine, as before obſerved, was a cloak worn by the ſoldiers, which they probably threw on the ground before they began to engage. See Ella, v. 251.

V. 90. The ſounding of the ſlughorne is often mentioned in theſe poems, as the ſignal both for attack and retreat, (B. H. N°. 2. v. 99;) and more than once in Ella,

Nevylle ys goeynge, manne and horſe, toe grounde.

[Nevylle *falls.*

Loverdes, how doughtilie [z] the tylterrs joyne!
Yee champyonnes, heere Symonne de Bourtonne fyghtes,
Onne hee hathe quacedd [a], aſſayle [b] hymm, yee knyghtes.

FERRARIS.

I wylle anente [c] hymm goe; mie ſquierr, mie ſhielde; 95
Orr onne orr odherr wyll doe myckle [d] ſcethe [e]
Before I doe departe the liſſedd [f] fielde,
Mieſelfe orr Bourtonne hereupponn wyll blethe [g].
Mie ſhielde.

[z] Furiouſly, *rather bravely.* [a] Vanquiſhed. [b] Oppoſe. [c] Againſt. [d] Much. [e] Damage, miſchief. [f] Bounded. [g] Bleed.

BOURTONNE.

Ella, v. 690, 721, 1101; and alſo in this poem) but the word is not explained in the gloſſaries, nor in any of our ancient poets, except Gawin Douglas,

The drauche trumpet blawis the bragge of were
The *ſlughorne*, encenze, or the wache cry. P. 230, v. 36.
Claſſica jamque ſonant, it bello teſſera ſignum. Æn. vii. v. 637.

(*Encenze* is the tranſlation of *inſignia*, and *wache cry* is the *teſſera*, or watch-word.) Douglas's gloſſariſt calls it *cornu bellicum*, and derives it from *ſleghe*, *clades*. The *water ſlughorn*, mentioned in Ecl. ii. 9. is explained by Chatterton "as a muſical "inſtrument, not unlike a hautboy;" but (v. 31.) he calls it a kind of clarion: which ſhews, that he explained it only by gueſs. He would, more properly, have called it *a horn of war*.

V. 91. Nevylle ys goeynge, manne and horſe, toe grounde.

This mode of expreſſion is truly ancient: So in the ſiege of Harfleet, (Warton, vol. ii. p. 37)

The Frenche men faſte *to grond* they browzt.

And again,

The Frenche men *faſt to grunde gan goe.*

BOURTONNE.

Comme onne, & fitte thie tylte-launce ethe [h].
Whanne Bourtonn fyghtes, hee metes a doughtie foe.
[*Theie tylte.* Ferraris *falleth.*
Hee falleth; nowe bie heavenne thie woundes doe ſmethe [i];
I feere mee, I have wroughte thee myckle woe [k].

HERAWDE.

Bourtonne hys ſeconde beereth to the feelde.
Comme onn, yee knyghtes, and wynn the honnour'd ſheeld.

BERGHAMME.

I take the challenge; ſquyre, mie launce and ſtede.
I, Bourtonne, take the gauntlette; forr mee ſtaie.
Botte, gyff thou fyghteſte mee, thou ſhalt have mede [l];
Somme odherr I wylle champyonn toe affraie [m];
Perchaunce fromme hemm I maie poſſeſe the daie,
Thenn I ſchalle bee a foemanne forr thie ſpere.
Herehawde, toe the bankes of Knyghtys ſaie,
De Berghamme wayteth forr a foemann heere.

[h] Eaſy. [i] Smoke. [k] Hurt, or damage. [l] Reward. [m] Fight or engage.

CLINTON.

V. 104. The honoured ſhield, which was the deſtined prize for the conqueror, was uſually ſuſpended on a tree till the combat was decided, and then born away by the victor. So Spenſer

——— and on a tree
Sansfoy his ſhield is hanged with bloody hue,
Both thoſe the laurel garlands to the victor due.

V. 106. Burton's name is omitted here, who is undoubtedly the ſpeaker; and Berghamme replies in the following line, wiſhing previouſly to engage ſome champion, in order that Burton may have a worthy *mede* or reward in conquering him.

CLINTON.

Botte longe thou ſchalte ne tende [n]; I doe thee fie [o].
Lyche forreying [p] levynn [q], ſchalle mie tylte-launce flie.
[Berghamme & Clinton *tylte*. Clinton *fallethe*.

BERGHAMME.

Nowe, nowe, Syrr Knyghte, attoure [r] thie beeveredd [s] eyne.
I have borne downe, [one] and efte [t] doe gauntlette [u] thee.
Swythenne [x] begynne, and wrynn [y] thie ſhappe [z] orr myne;
Gyff thou dyſcomfytte, ytt wylle dobblie bee.
[Bourtonne & Burghamm *tylteth*. Berghamme *falls*.

HERAWDE.

Symonne de Bourtonne haveth borne downe three,
And bie the thyrd hathe honnoure of a fourthe.
Lett hymm bee ſett aſyde, tylle hee doth ſee
A tyltynge forr a knyghte of gentle wourthe.
Heere commethe ſtraunge knyghtes; gyff corteous [a] heie [b],
Ytt welle beſeies [c] to yeve [d] hemm ryghte of fraie [e].

[n] Attend or wait. [o] Defy. [p] Deſtroying. [q] Lightning. [r] Turn. [s] Beaver'd. [t] Again. [u] *Challenge*. [x] Quickly. [y] Declare. [z] Fate. [a] Worthy. [b] They. [c] Becomes. [d] Give. [e] Fight, *combat*.

FIRST

V. 116. The word *one* muſt here be ſupplied, in order to compleat the ſenſe and the meaſure.

Ibid. *Eft*, though explained by Chatterton *again*, in which ſenſe it is uſed, Metam. v. 53, and Ep. v. 8. yet here ſignifies *afterwards*, as it alſo may, Ella, v. 450. Biſhop Douglas uſes it in this ſenſe, and ſo his gloſſariſt has explained it. *Eft ſhip*, and *eft caſtell*, are uſed for the hinder part of a ſhip and of a caſtle. Skynner gives both ſenſes to the word *poſtea*, *iterum*.

V. 119. The obſervations made by the Herald, and the orders iſſued by him, are ſo much in character, that they could not have been dictated by any perſon who was ignorant of the ceremonial, or a ſtranger to the rules of Tournament.

FIRST KNYGHTE.

Straungerrs wee bee, and homblie doe wee clayme
The rennome [f] ynn thys Tourneie [g] forr to tylte;
Dherbie to proove fromm cravents [h] owre goode name,
Bewrynnynge [i] thatt wee gentile blodde have ſpylte.

HEREHAWDE.

Yee knyghtes of corteſie, theſe ſtraungerrs, ſaie,
Bee you fulle wyllynge forr to yeve hemm fraie [k]?

[*Fyve Knyghtes tylteth wythe the ſtraunge Knyghte, and bee everichone* [l] *overthrowne.*

BOURTONNE.

Nowe bie Seyncte Marie, gyff onn all the fielde
Ycraſedd [m] ſperes and helmetts bee beſprente [n],
Gyff everyche knyghte dydd houlde a piercedd [o] ſheeld,
Gyff all the feelde wythe champyonne blodde bee ſtente [p],
Yett toe encounterr hymm I bee contente.
Annodherr launce, Marſhalle, anodherr launce.
Albeyttee hee wythe lowes [q] of fyre ybrente [r],
Yett Bourtonne woulde agenſte hys val [s] advance.

[f] Honour. [g] Tournament. [h] Cowards. [i] Declaring. [k] *Combat.* [l] Every one. [m] Broken, ſpilt. [n] ſcatter'd. [o] Broken, or pierced through with darts, *or ſpears.* [p] Stained. [q] Flames. [r] Burnt, *burned.* [s] Healm.

Fyve

V. 137. We may conſider the ardour expreſſed by Burton to meet his antagoniſt, as a copy of Hector's ſpeech when he was going againſt Achilles.

Τῷ δ' ἐγὼ ἀντίος εἶμι, καὶ εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν,
Εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε, μένος δ' ἀΐθωνι σιδήρῳ.
Il. Υ. v. 371.

Nor from yon boaſter ſhall your chief retire,
Not tho' his heart were ſteel, his hands were fire.
Pope, B. xx. v. 423.

Fyve haveth fallenn downe anethe [t] hys ſpeere,
Botte hee ſchalle bee the next thatt falleth heere.

Bie thee, Seyncte Marie, and thy Sonne I ſweare,
Thatt ynn whatte place yonn doughtie knyghte ſhall fall
Anethe [u] the ſtronge puſh of mie ſtraught [x] out ſpeere,
There ſchalle aryſe a hallie [y] chyrches walle,
The whyche, ynn honnoure, I wylle Mary calle,
Wythe pillars large, and ſpyre full hyghe and rounde.
And thys I faifullie [z] wylle ſtonde to all,
Gyff yonderr ſtraungerr falleth to the grounde.
Straungerr, bee boune [a]; I champyonn [b] you to warre.
Sounde, ſounde the ſlughornes, to bee hearde fromm farre.
[Bourtonne & *the* Straungerr *tylt*. Straunger *falleth*.

KYNGE.

The Mornynge Tyltes now ceaſe.

HERAWDE.

Bourtonne ys kynge.

Dyſplaie the Englyſhe bannorre onn the tente;
Rounde hymm, yee mynſtrelles, ſongs of achments [c] ſynge;
Yee Herawdes, getherr upp the ſpeeres beſprente [d];
To Kynge of Tourney-tylte bee all knees bente.
Dames faire and gentle, forr youre loves hee foughte;

[t u] Beneath. [x] Stretched out. [y] Holy. [z] Faithfully. [a] Ready. [b] Challenge.
[c] Atchievements, glorious actions. [d] Broken ſpears, *ſcattered*.

Forr

V. 141. In repreſenting the vow, which ſeems to have given birth to this dramatic piece, it was the principal view of the poet to do honour to Briſtol, and to its moſt liberal benefactors, amongſt whom Burton ſeems to have ſtood the higheſt, after Canning, in Rowley's eſtimation.

Forr you the longe tylte-launce, the ſwerde hee ſhente [e];
Hee jouſtedd [f], alleine [g] havynge you ynn thoughte.
Comme, mynſtrelles, ſound the ſtrynge, goe onn eche ſyde,
Whyleſt hee untoe the Kynge ynn ſtate doe ryde.

MYNSTRELLES.

Whann Battayle, ſmethynge [h] wythe new-quickenn'd gore,
Bendynge wythe ſpoiles, and bloddie-droppynge hedde,
Dydd the merke [i] woode of ethe [k] and reſt explore,
Seekeynge to lie onn Pleaſures downie bedde,
Pleaſure, dauncyng fromm her wode,
Wreathedd wythe floures of aiglintine [l],
Fromm hys vyſage waſhedd the bloude,
Hylte [m] hys ſwerde and gaberdyne.

Wythe ſyke an eyne ſhee ſwotelie [n] hymm dydd view,
Dydd ſoe ycorvenn [o] everrie ſhape to joie,
Hys ſpryte dydd chaunge untoe anodherr hue,
Hys armes, ne ſpoyles, mote anie thoughts emploie.
All delyghtſomme and contente,
Fyre enſhotynge [p] fromm hys eyne,

[e] Broke, deſtroyed. [f] *Tilted, or juſted.* [g] Only, alone. [h] Smoaking, ſteaming. [i] Dark, gloomy. [k] Eaſe. [l] *Eglantine, or ſweet-brier.* [m] Hid, ſecreted. [n] Sweetly. [o] Moulded. [p] Shooting, darting.

Ynn

V. 161. The minſtrells ſong, which ſo properly concludes this piece, is written in the ſtile of a Greek Chorus, tending to excite an ardour for military atchievements, to do honour to the victor, and to ſhew that virtue and valour are the moſt certain and honourable guides to pleaſure and happineſs. The ſtile and meaſure of the ſong are varied with uncommon art, to expreſs, more forcibly, the ſenſations produced by each of theſe different objects.

Ynn hys arms hee dydd herr hente [q],
Lyche the merk-plante [r] doe entwyne.
Soe, gyff thou loveſt Pleaſure and herr trayne,
Onknowlachynge [s] ynn whatt place herr to fynde,
Thys rule yſpende [t], and ynn thie mynde retayne;
Seeke Honnoure fyrſte, and Pleaſaunce lies behynde.

[q] Graſp, hold. [r] Night-ſhade, *rather*, *the Ivy*. [s] Ignorant, unknowing. [t] Conſider.

V. 176. The *merk-plant* cannot mean the *night-ſhade* (as Chatterton has explained it) becauſe it is not a paraſitical plant. The deſcription would ſuit better with the ivy, which poſſeſſes that quality in the higheſt degree, and is generally found in dark and ſhady retreats. The ivy is alſo a hackneyed ſubject for love-ſimilies.

Arctius, atque hederâ procerâ aſtringitur Ilex,
Lentis adhærens brachiis. Horat. Epod. xv. v. 4.

"Brachia non hederæ vincant" is part of an epithalamion written by the Emperor Gallienus. Hiſt. Auguſtæ Scriptores, p. 180.

Virgil ranks the ivy as a mournful and lethal tree, with the Pinea and Taxus, the Pine and the Yew.

Hederæ pandunt veſtigia nigræ. Virg. Georg. ii. v. 258.

THE

THE BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE:

OR THE DETHE OF

SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.

THIS poem is with great propriety placed immediately after the Tournament; for though, ſtrictly ſpeaking, it is only an Hiſtorical Ballad, yet, according to the definition of Tragedy given by Chaucer, the number and characters of the perſons introduced, the variety of events, the ſcenery, the dialogue, exertion, and diſplay of the paſſions, may juſtly give it a place among Rowley's *Dramatic* performances. A modern forger would have introduced this poem under the title of an *Ancient Ballad*, and not have given it a name ſo different from our preſent ideas of Tragedy.

It has been conſidered, indeed, as the moſt ſuſpicious piece in the whole collection, and the learned hiſtorian of our ancient poetry, vol. ii. p. 153. has not only pronounced it to be modern, on his own judgment, but has alſo condemned it on the opinion of thoſe, who maintain all the other poems to be ancient; but, whatever authority he may have for this latter aſſertion, as it is unſupported by proof, it can have but little weight in determining the merits of this queſtion.

The

The objections made to the authenticity of this poem are of two ſorts; it is allowed by ſome to be original in its general plan and compoſition, but to have been moderniſed and improved by Chatterton; whilſt others boldly aſſert the whole to be the invention of that extraordinary youth: Both theſe aſſertions may be extended to every poem in the volume; the objectors, therefore, may think it to their advantage, if we try the authenticity of the whole collection by this queſtionable performance; though they are not apprized that a greater variety of internal proofs may be produced for its authenticity, than for that of any other piece in the whole collection.

The idea of a *partial interpolation*, ſo far as it can be ſuppoſed to give any credit to Chatterton as the author of the poems, though plauſible at firſt ſight, will be found, upon examination, a moſt indefenſible hypotheſis; and if eſtabliſhed, would do more honour to Rowley, and leſs to Chatterton, than the objectors are aware of; for it would leave the former poſſeſſed of all the merit ariſing from the original plan, the characters, the plot and metre of the poem; what other part would then remain for the diſplay of Chatterton's genius, but to ſupply the ſuppoſed deficiency of words and ſyllables in the original MS. (which has not yet been proved imperfect); or elſe to attempt an improvement of his author, by intermixing his own language and ſentiments in the poem. It is by no means conſiſtent with Chatterton's extravagant vanity, to ſuppoſe that he would offer up his poetical talents at the ſhrine of a dead poet, when he was conſcious of being able to excel as a living one; and though he ſhould have yielded the palm to his original author, yet he would hardly have ſtooped ſo low as to appear as a foil to him; which he muſt have done, if he was the author of thoſe paſſages only, which are objected to as his interpolations. In either view, the joint labours of two poets, ſo different in their ſtile and ſentiments, their æra and diſpoſition, muſt have formed ſuch a motley compoſition, as would have diſcloſed that ſecret, which Chatterton appears ſo ſtudiouſly to

have concealed from the world. But no ſuch inequality, or diverſity of genius, appears in theſe poems; for we may aſſert, with Mr. Warton, that "they are every where ſupported, through-"out poetical and animated. They have no imbecillities of ſtile "or ſentiment." From this conceſſion, may we not infer their authenticity, or (which equally applies to the preſent argument) that they are the work of one and the ſame pen; and therefore muſt be aſcribed entirely either to Rowley or Chatterton, until ſome other perſon can be produced with a more probable claim to them? But Mr. Warton views this point in a different light, and, by making *inequality* the characteriſtic of ancient poetry, condemns Rowley, not for falling ſhort, but for exceeding that ſtandard; whereas, in fact, no ſuch ſtandard can be admitted. Some ancient poets are as uniformly dull, as Rowley is uniformly correct and brilliant; and although Mr. Warton has extracted a few paſſages from our ancient poets, containing "ſplendid "deſcriptions, ornamental compariſons, and poetical images, yet "he acknowledges, that for many pages the poet is tedious, pro-"ſaic, and unintereſting:" Nor is this inequality peculiar to ancient poets, or any proof of the authenticity of their works; the compoſitions of more modern writers, being almoſt as unequal, eſpecially the poets, who are unlike themſelves on different ſubjects; of which the works of Shakeſpear, Milton, and Cowley, afford ſufficient proofs: The objection, therefore, amounts chiefly to this; that the purity of Rowley's language, the harmony of his numbers, and the uniform excellence of his poetry, exceed thoſe of any other writer in that century: But does not every age and country produce men of genius in all kinds of literature, as far exceeding their contemporaries, as Rowley has excelled the poets of his own age? It is certainly a much more probable ſuppoſition, that theſe poems were written by a learned Prieſt, than by an illiterate Boy; that the ſtory would be more faithfully told by a perſon who lived in the age when theſe events happened, than by an ill-informed relator at the diſtance of three centuries; and

the ideas of chaſtity and virtue with which theſe poems abound, are undoubtedly more ſuitable to the character of a moral and religious Prieſt, than to that of an unprincipled and diſſolute Youth.

As to the other ſuppoſition, they who can believe Chatterton to have been the original and ſole author of this poem, muſt aſcribe to him a variety of knowledge in ſeveral branches, which neither his youth, nor his opportunities of information could enable him to attain: By what means could he become acquainted with the birth and parentage, the family and character, of Sir Baldwin Fulford, the number of his ſons, the names, offices, and ſituations of the ſeveral perſonages introduced in this poem; the preſence of King Edward at Fulford's execution; the church at which he ſat to ſee the ſpectacle, and the ſituation of that church, with reſpect both to the priſon and place of execution? Theſe, with many other particulars mentioned in the poem, which have been fully verified by various authentic records on a ſubſequent enquiry, would never have been thought of, or examined into, had not the authenticity of the poem been queſtioned: It was impoſſible, indeed, that they ſhould have been thus accurately related by any one, who was not well acquainted with the hiſtory.

There is a third idea concerning this poem, leſs probable than either of thoſe already mentioned; viz. That the whole was new formed by Chatterton, both in language and verſification, from an original poem of Rowley, which furniſhed the hiſtory, plan, and ſentiments, much in the ſame manner as the preſent Ballad of Chevy Chace is ſuppoſed to be moderniſed from the ancient Battle of Otterburn, or Prior's Henry and Emma, from the Song of the Nut-brown Maid. It is ſufficient to ſay, that this hypotheſis is unſupported both by fact and probability; even the objection admits the exiſtence of ſome original poem, which Chatterton muſt be ſuppoſed to have new modelled, borrowing from Rowley the plan, circumſtances, and action of the piece, wherein

the principal merit and beauty of it conſiſts. This ſuppoſition, if adopted, muſt be extended to every other poem in the collection; which is an idea too improbable to be eſpouſed by the objectors.

As to the modern complexion of the language, and the correctneſs of the metre, which are alſo urged as objections to its authenticity; the former may be accounted for from the nature of the ſubject, the latter from the clearneſs of the author's imagination, and from the harmony of his ear. Every judicious poet will adapt his language to the ſtile of poetry in which he writes; and it may be obſerved, that Rowley has cloſely followed the advice of Horace, in the magnificent words and compound epithets which appear ſo frequently in his epic and dramatic pieces; and on the other hand, with what eaſe and ſmoothneſs does his language flow in the ſongs and eclogues! how plain and familiar is the ſtile of this poem! how ſuitable to that of all the ancient Ballads, which relate ſuch doleful events! Dr. Johnſon obſerves, in his life of Cowley, "that the familiar part of "language continues long the ſame. The dialogue of comedy, "when it is tranſlated from popular manners and real life, is "read from age to age with equal pleaſure."

The objections ariſing from the correctneſs of the metre, will apply to every other compoſition in the volume, wherein we rarely meet with a redundant or deficient ſyllable, an irregular or imperfect ſtanza. But this circumſtance, which ſhews the ſuperiority and perfection of Rowley's poetry, having been already conſidered, it will be unneceſſary to reſume the ſubject in this place; we may therefore proceed to the more immediate conſideration of the hiſtory and facts repreſented in the poem. There can be no doubt but the hero of it was a real perſonage, and the Tragedy (as far as it relates to his execution, with many of its concomitant circumſtances) is authenticated by our hiſtorians: Leland, in his Itinerary, vol. vii. p. 8. ſays, that "*Sir Baldwin Fulfirte*, a "Knight of the Sepulchre, was under-admiral to Holland duke

" of Exeter, who was then admiral of England*:" His character ſeems to have been well known in thoſe days; for the hiſtorian of Henry the VIth's reign, in Kennett's Collection ſays, " that " Queen Margaret (to whom it appears he was particularly " attached) entertained a groundleſs propoſal to deſtroy the Earl " of Warwick, made to her by *Sir Baldwin Fulford,* a man of " more daringneſs than prudence, who undertook, upon pain of " loſing his head, to kill the Earl of Warwick, till, after he had " ſpent the king a thouſand marks, he returned without doing " any thing." Stowe gives the ſame account of Fulford's undertaking; and to this the entry in Rowley's yellow roll is perfectly conformable, which ſays,

" Sir Charles Bawdin a Fulford, commonly clepend Baldwyn " Fulford, his bond to the King, that he would bring the Earl of " Warwick, or loſe his hedde; which he did not perform, but loſt " his hedde to King Edwarde †." Such a declaration of perſonal hoſtility, againſt a nobleman to whom Edward was indebted for his crown, marked out Fulford as a peculiar object of the king's reſentment; no wonder then that he ſentenced him to immediate execution, and declared, in the words of the poem,

He would not taſte a bit of bread,
Whilſt thys Sir Charles dyd lyve.

This fact is further confirmed by two ancient MS. chronicles ſhewn to me at Briſtol, by Mr. Barrett; one of them ſays,

* William of Wirceſtre, in his Annals, printed by Hearn at the end of Liber Niger, ſpeaking of what happened in London after the Battle of St. Albans, ſays, " & eodem die Baldwynus Fourforthe miles de comitatu Devon & Alexander " Hody miles cum multâ gente armatâ exiſtentes apud Weſtmonaſterium ex parte " Reginæ fuerunt, quia communes civitatis Londonianum inſurgebant contra " eos." P. 488.

† Amongſt Rymer's unpubliſhed papers, in the Britiſh Muſeum, there is an order from Edward the IVth, dated June 17th, 1461, for arreſting Thomas Baſtard of Exeter, and Baldwin Filford, as adherents to his enemies, and to King Henry. He was probably taken ſoon after; for he was executed Sept. 9th.

" Anno

" Anno 1461, In the month of September, the King came to " Briſtol, and beheaded *Sir John Baldwin Fulford* and *Heſſant*, " and returned back the ſame day."

The other mentions a third traitor, beheaded at the ſame time, agreeably to the deſcription in the poem,

Charles Bawdin, and his fellows *twayne*,
To-day ſhall ſurely die.

But by miſtaking Sir John Baldwin, and Fulford, for two different perſons, he reckons them as four; " King Edward came to " Briſtow, where he beheaded Sir John Bawdin, knight, and " three eſquires, *Fulford*, *Bright*, and *Heſſant*."

This chronicle calls him *John*, and Rowley gives him the name of *Charles*, both without authority; for it appears by his hiſtory, and family pedigrees, that his Chriſtian name was Baldwin, probably ſo called from Baldwin de Belſton, whoſe heireſs was married to one of Fulford's anceſtors.

The day of his execution, and ſubſequent attainder by act of parliament, are alſo upon record. It appears by the Inquiſitiones poſt mortem, that the jury made the following return to a commiſſion of enquiry iſſued in Devonſhire, in the fourth year of Edward the fourth, Nov. 31.

" Item juratores dicunt quod dictus Baldewinus in parliamento " dicti domini regis, apud Weſtmonaſter. quarto die Novembris, " anno regni ſui primo tent. de altâ proditione erga ipſum regem " factâ, autoritate ejuſdem parliamenti attinctus fuit—& idem Bal- " dewinnus obiit nono die Septembris dicto anno primo, & quod " Thomas Fulford, miles, eſt filius & hæres ejus propinquior, & " eſt ætatis viginti & octo annorum." The act of parliament which paſſed in the ſeventh year of that king, and is quoted in the introductory account, as reſtoring his eldeſt ſon, Thomas, to his title and eſtate, ſays, " that Sir Baldewin was tried by a ſpecial " commiſſion, holden before Henry Earl of Eſſex; William " Haſtyngs, of Haſtyngs, knyght; Richard Chock; William " Canyng, maior of the ſaid town of Briſtol; and Thomas Yonge;

" by

" by force of letters patents, to determine all treaſons done within " the towne of Briſtowe before the 5th of September that year." The continuator of Stowe takes notice, that " this year, in the " harveſt-ſeaſon, King Edward rode by the ſea-coaſt to Hampton, " and thence to the marches of Wales, and *to Briſtowe, where* " *he was moſt royally received.*" P. 416. It appears, by a record in Anſtis's Supplement to Aſhmole's Hiſtory of the Garter, p. 35, that George Nevill, Biſhop of Exeter, then Lord Chancellor, was at Briſtol on the fourth of September, probably in attendance on the King. Theſe circumſtances, compared with the day of Fulford's execution, make it exceedingly probable, that the king was preſent at it; at leaſt his being at Briſtol during that time, was ſufficient to juſtify the author in dignifying his poem with ſo capital a circumſtance,

BRISTOWE TRAGEDIE:

OR THE DETHE OF

SYR CHARLES BAWDIN.

THE featherd ſongſter chaunticleer
Han wounde hys bugle horne,
And tolde the earlie villager
The commynge of the morne:

Kynge EDWARDE ſawe the ruddie ſtreakes
Of lyghte eclypſe the greie;
And herde the raven's crokynge throte
Proclayme the fated daie.

"Thou'rt ryght," quod hee, "for, by the Godde
"That ſyttes enthron'd on hyghe!
"CHARLES BAWDIN, and hys fellowes twaine,
"To-daie ſhall ſurelie die."

Thenne

Thenne wythe a jugge of nappy ale
Hys Knyghtes dydd onne hymm waite;
" Goe tell the traytour, thatt to-daie
" Hee leaves thys mortall ſtate."

Syr CANTERLOUE thenne bendedd lowe,
Wythe harte brymm-fulle of woe;
Hee journey'd to the caſtle-gate,
And to Syr CHARLES dydd goe.

Butt whenne hee came, hys children twaine,
And eke hys lovynge wyfe,
Wythe brinie tears dydd wett the floore,
For goode Syr CHARLESES lyfe.

" O goode

V. 13. The deſcription of King Edward's breakfaſt is characteriſtical of the age, and not unlike the ſupper given to Edward the IId by the Miller of Mansfield, who treated the king

With nappy ale, good and ſtale, in a brown bowle.

Percy, vol. iii. p. 183.

V. 17. Sir Canterloue is called Sir Canterlone by Chatterton, who has frequently written by miſtake *n* for *w*. The name was not uncommon at that time: One *Nicolas Cantlow*, a Welſhman of good family, and a Monk of Briſtol, is mentioned in Kennett's Hiſtory amongſt the remarkable perſons who flouriſhed in the reign of Henry the VIth. *John Cantlow* was Abbot of Bath in 1489 *; and *Sir William Cantlow*, knight, was ſheriff of London in 1448; he died in 1462, and was buried in St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-Street †. But the perſon who attended the king at Briſtol, was probably the ſame *Sir William Cantlow*, who, with others, was created Knight of the Bath, June 26th, 1461, on the eve of King Edward the IVth's coronation ‡ (it being uſual on ſuch occaſions to knight thoſe who held poſts of honour, or attended on the king's perſon): He was probably the *William Cantlow* mentioned in the fragment printed with Sprott's Chronicle, who took King Henry priſoner after the battle of Hexham, in 1463. " And after this ſkirmiſh, King Harry " was taken in a wood by one *William Cantlow*, and broughte to the king, and after " committed to the Tower of London, whereas he continued in captivite unto the " 18th day of October, in the year of our Lorde 1469." P. 292.

* Willis's Mitred Abbies. † Weaver, p. 695. ‡ See Anſtis's Eſſay on Knighthood, App. p. 30.

" O goode Syr CHARLES!" ſayd CANTERLOUE,
" Badde tydyngs I doe brynge."
" Speke boldlie manne," ſayd brave Syr CHARLES,
" Whatte ſays thie traytor kynge?"

" I greeve to telle, before yonne ſonne
" Does fromme the welkinn flye,
" Hee hath uponne hys honour ſworne,
" Thatt thou ſhalt ſurelie die."

" Wee all muſt die," quod brave Syr CHARLES;
" Of thatte I'm not affearde;
" Whatte bootes to lyve a little ſpace?
" Thanke JESU, I'm prepar'd:

" Butt telle thye kynge, for myne hee's not,
" I'de ſooner die to-daie
" Thanne lyve hys ſlave, as manie are,
" Tho' I ſhoulde lyve for aie."

Thenne CANTERLOUE hee dydd goe out,
To telle the maior ſtraite
To gett all thynges ynne reddyneſs
For goode Syr CHARLESES fate.

Thenne Maiſterr CANYNGE ſaughte the kynge,
And felle down onne hys knee;
" I'm come," quod hee, " unto your grace
" To move your clemencye."

" Thenne,"

V. 45. Canynge attended the king, not only officially as the Mayor of Briſtol, but alſo as a friend to his cauſe; which Edward acknowledges by ſaying,

You have been much our friend.

His trade, opulence, and intereſt with his fellow citizens, had given him no ſmall weight

" Thenne," quod the kynge, " youre tale ſpeke out,
" You have been much oure friende;
" Whatever youre requeſt may bee,
" Wee wylle to ytte attende."

" My nobile liege! alle my requeſt
" Ys for a nobile knyghte,
" Who, tho' may hap hee has donne wronge,
" He thoghte ytte ſtylle was ryghte:
" Hee

weight with the king, though the caſe was probably much altered when this poem was written, wherein Rowley may be ſuppoſed to ſpeak the ſentiments of his friend; and the warmeſt Lancaſtrian could not have drawn a more unfavourable compariſon between the two kings, nor have placed the conduct of Edward in a more diſadvantageous light. This change of ſentiment might have been occaſioned by the king's impoſing a heavy fine of 3000 marks on Canning, and endeavouring to force him into a marriage with a lady of the Widdeville family, which he avoided by taking refuge in the orders of the church. Rowley, warmed with an honeſt reſentment, might have written this poem with a view of doing juſtice to Canning's former attachment to King Edward, and of reproving that monarch's ingratitude, by putting into Fulford's mouth the keeneſt reproaches againſt the houſe of York. From the prophecies in the poem, and the dangerous political ſentiments expreſſed in it, we muſt conclude it to have been written late in King Edward's reign, probably about the year 146[illegible], when fortune took a turn in King Henry's favour. It was certainly very dangerous, during Edward's reign, to take any liberties with the crown; and nothing but the ſecrecy and friendſhip of Canning could have ſecured the poet from the cognizance and reſentment of the king.

At this period, indeed, compoſitions of any kind extended very little beyond the circle of the author's ſociety, or the acquaintance of the patron to whom they were addreſſed: The number of poets were few, their admirers far from being numerous, and the means of communication not very extenſive: The modeſty of the poet, and prudence of the patron, will ſuggeſt additional reaſons againſt the circulation of a poem ſo political in its ſubject, and ſo free in its ſentiments.

V. 53. It may be obſerved, that Canning's addreſs to the king, though full of ſimplicity and good ſenſe, is nevertheleſs tinctured with the ſuperſtition of thoſe times: We can ſcarcely ſuppoſe him to have believed ſo abſurd a doctrine as the impeccability of the Pope, which even the church of Rome itſelf does not acknowledge, and therefore probably he meant only the papal infallibility, under that title; though either of thoſe opinions might with propriety have been urged as a motive

" Hee has a ſpouſe and children twaine,
" Alle rewyn'd are for aie;
" Yff thatt you are reſolv'd to lett
" CHARLES BAWDIN die to-daie."

" Speke nott of ſuch a traytour vile,"
The kynge ynne furie ſayde;
" Before the evening ſtarre doth ſheene,
" BAWDIN ſhall looſe hys hedde:

" Juſtice does loudlie for hym calle,
" And hee ſhalle have hys meede[a]:
" Speke, Maiſter CANYNGE! Whatte thynge elſe
" Att preſent doe you neede?"

[a] *Reward, or deſerts.*

" My

for the king's compaſſion. The firmneſs which animates the ſpeeches of Sir Baldwin as a hero, is moſt beautifully contraſted with the tenderneſs of his affection in the characters of huſband, father, and friend; and the account which he gives of his life and education (which may be verified in ſeveral inſtances) ſhews him to have been a man of diſtinguiſhed valour and high reputation. It appears by the Fulford pedigree in the Heralds Office (which is incorrect in ſome inſtances) and by more authentic evidence, that his father's name was Henry; and, according to Sir William Pole (a very accurate Devonſhire antiquary and genealogiſt) his grandfather bore the ſame name, and was a judge of the King's Bench. Weſtcot (another Devonſhire antiquary) calls this judge William, and Godwin confounds him with William Fulthorp, who pronounced ſentence of death on Archbiſhop Scroop and Earl Marſhall Mowbray, in 1402, for high treaſon againſt Henry the IVth. But this error, which has been followed by Prince, is corrected by Richardſon in his edition of Godwyn; for he obſerves that Clement of Maydeſtune, the original author, calls him *Miles non Judex*; and his name was certainly *Fulthorp*, not *Fulford*. Though we cannot trace this Judge Fulford from any other records, yet it ſeems probable that Sir William Pole, and the Devonſhire antiquaries did not ſpeak without authority. His name, amongſt others, occurs in a commiſſion iſſued out by Henry the IVth, " De inquirendo contra mendacia prædicantes *," by which they were empowered to examine and impriſon the inventors and propagators of falſe reports concerning the king. According to the date of this commiſſion, this Henry might

* Rymer, tom. viii. p. 255. Anno 1402.

have

" My nobile leige!" goode CANYNGE ſayde,
" Leave juſtice to our Godde.
" And laye the yronne rule aſyde;
" Be thyne the olyve rodde.

" Was Godde to ſerche our hertes and reines,
" The beſt were ſynners grete;
" CHRIST's vycarr only knowes ne ſynne,
" Ynne alle thys mortall ſtate.

" Lett mercie rule thyne infante reigne,
" 'Twylle faſte thye crowne fulle ſure;
" From race to race thy familie
" Alle ſov'reigns ſhall endure:

" Butt yff wythe bloode and ſlaughter thou
" Beginne thy infante reigne,
" Thy crowne uponne thy childrennes brows
" Wylle never long remayne."

" CANYNGE,

have been Sir Baldwin's father; and this judicial character illuſtrates and gives a propriety to the advice which Sir Baldwin ſays he received from him. Had he been a military man, as the heads of principal families then were, and in which line Sir Baldwin himſelf had been educated, his father would have lectured him on the topics of loyalty and valour, the honour and defence of his country; inſtead of which, he inculcates the principles of civil polity, of juſtice, and the laws, of compaſſion to offenders, and judicial ſagacity in the determination of cauſes: Such precepts would naturally flow from a judge, but not ſo properly from a man of arms.

He taughte mee juſtice and the laws
Wyth pitie to unite,
And eke hee taughte me howe to knowe
The wronge cauſe from the ryghte. V. 157.

Sir Baldwin alſo obſerves, that he was born in London; which is a confirmation of the ſame tradition. It was not uſual, in thoſe days, for military men, whoſe capital manſions were ſo remote from London, to make that city the winter reſidence of their families; but the office of a judge, requiring his conſtant attendance in the metropolis, it is probable enough that his children were born there.

" CANYNGE, awaie! thys traytour vile
" Has ſcorn'd my power and mee;
" Howe canſt thou thenne for ſuch a manne
" Intreate my clemencye?"

" My nobile liege! the trulie brave
" Wylle val'rous actions prize,
" Reſpect a brave and nobile mynde,
" Altho' ynne enemies."

" CANYNGE, awaie! By Godde ynne Heav'n
" Thatt dydd mee beinge gyve,
" I wylle nott taſte a bitt of breade
" Whilſt thys Syr CHARLES dothe lyve.

" By MARIE, and alle Seinctes ynne Heav'n,
" Thys ſunne ſhall be hys laſte."
Thenne CANYNGE dropt a brinie teare,
And from the preſence paſte.

Wyth herte brymm-fulle of gnawynge grief,
Hee to Syr CHARLES dydd goe,
And ſatt hymm downe uponne a ſtoole,
And teares beganne to flowe.

" Wee all muſt die," quod brave Syr CHARLES;
" Whatte bootes ytte howe or whenne;
" Dethe ys the ſure, the certaine fate
" Of all wee mortall menne.

" Saye why, my friend, thie honeſt ſoul
" Runns overr att thyne eye;
" Is ytte for my moſt welcome doome
" Thatt thou doſt child-lyke crye?"

Quod godlie CANYNGE, " I doe weepe,
" Thatt thou ſoe ſoone muſt dye,
" And leave thy ſonnes and helpleſs wyfe;
" 'Tys thys thatt wettes myne eye."

" Thenne drie the tears thatt out thyne eye
" From godlie fountaines ſprynge;
" Dethe I deſpiſe, and alle the power
" Of EDWARDE, traytor kynge.

" Whan throgh the tyrant's welcom means
" I ſhall reſigne my lyfe,
" The Godde I ſerve wylle ſoone provyde
" For bothe mye ſonnes and wyfe.

" Before I ſawe the lyghtſome ſunne,
" Thys was appointed mee;
" Shall mortal manne repyne or grudge
" Whatt Godde ordeynes to bee?

" Howe oft ynne battaile have I ſtoode,
" Whan thouſands dy'd arounde;
" Whan ſmokynge ſtreemes of crimſon bloode
" Imbrew'd the fatten'd grounde:

" How dydd I knowe thatt ev'ry darte,
" Thatt cutte the airie waie,
" Myghte nott fynde paſſage toe my harte,
" And cloſe myne eyes for aie?

" And ſhall I nowe, forr feere of dethe,
" Looke wanne and bee dyſmayde?
" Ne! fromm my herte flie childyſhe feere,
" Bee alle the manne diſplay'd.

" Ah,

" Ah, goddelyke HENRIE! Godde forefende[b],
" And guarde thee and thye ſonne,
" Yff, 'tis hys wylle; but yff 'tis nott,
" Why thenne hys wylle bee donne.

" My honeſt friende, my faulte has beene
" To ſerve Godde and mye prynce;
" And thatt I no tyme-ſerver am,
" My dethe wylle ſoone convynce.

" Ynne Londonne citye was I borne,
" Of parents of grete note;
" My fadre dydd a nobile armes
" Emblazon onne hys cote:

[b] *Forbid, prevent.*

" I make

V. 151. Sir Baldwin boaſts alſo,
That hys fadre dydd a nobile armes
Emblazon onne hys cote;
implying, that either he or his anceſtors married into a diſtinguiſhed family. This fact, alſo, is moſt authentically confirmed by a ſeal belonging to Sir Baldwin Fulford; a drawing of it is preſerved in the Cotton library, from which the annexed engraving is taken.



The

" I make ne doubte butt hee ys gone
" Where ſoone I hope to goe;
" Where wee for ever ſhall bee bleſt,
" From oute the reech of woe:

" Hee

The arms of Fitz Urſe are impaled on it with thoſe of Fulford, and the creſt of Fitz Urſe, which is a bear's head muzzled. The inſcription round the ſeal is, *Sigillum Balduini de Fulford Militis.* It appears alſo, by their pedigree in the Heralds-office, that the family of Fitz Urſe is the moſt ancient and honourable quartering in the Fulfords ſhield: John, the anceſtor of Baldwin in the ſeventh degree, having married Alicia, daughter and heireſs of Ralph Fitz Urſe, the ſon of Reginald, who was one of Becket's murderers: There can be no doubt, therefore, that Sir Baldwin's father empaled or *emblazoned* theſe *as a noble* ARMES (for Lambard uſes the word *armes* in the ſingular number) and moſt probably Sir Baldwin's ſeal bore the ſame coat-armour with his father's. This ſingle circumſtance is ſufficient to diſpoſſeſs Chatterton of every poſſible claim as the author of this poem. It may be objected, that the poet has not given, either to Sir Baldwin or his wife, their true Chriſtian names; poſſibly both were aſſumed by him, as more harmonious to his numbers: He could not, however, be ignorant of Fulford's real Chriſtian name; becauſe, in his yellow roll, he is thus mentioned: " *Charles Bawdynne a Fulford,* " commonly clepend *Bawdynne Fulford.*" We might, with equal juſtice, object to the authenticity of the two Briſtol Chronicles before mentioned, becauſe they call him *John*, for which there is not the leaſt authority, either in records or his pedigree; unleſs he acquired this prænomen on his being made Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. As to the name of *Florence*, it was certainly more common at that time than it is at preſent; and therefore more likely to be uſed by a poet in the 15th century; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the wife of John Gorges, brother of the poet's friend Sir Theobald, was ſo called; and that Sir Baldwyn's grandſon, Humphrey, married a lady of the ſame name: Even the pedigree of the Fulfords, in the Heralds-office, has miſtaken Sir Baldwin's wife's name, and called her *Janet*, inſtead of *Elizabeth*; that error, however, is corrected by Vincent's Collections. But whatever might have been the poet's true reaſon for uſing theſe fictitious names, it will not ſerve any purpoſe of Chatterton's claim; for if he was enabled to deſcribe the particulars of this hiſtory with ſo much accuracy, why ſhould he, any more than Rowley, miſtake the name of his hero? and why ſhould he recur to the 15th century for the name of a female, which has not often been heard of in the preſent age? Sir Baldwin's wife, *Elizabeth*, was the daughter and heireſs of John Boſon, of Boſon-Zeal, in the pariſh of Ditſham, in Devonſhire; and, notwithſtanding her great affection for her huſband, and exceſſive grief at his

" Hee taughte mee juſtice and the laws
" Wyth pitie to unite;
" And eke hee taughte mee howe to knowe
" The wrónge cauſe fromm the ryghte:
" Hee

execution, ſhe was married, at leaſt within three years, to Sir William Huddeſfeild, Attorney-general to Henry the VIIth; for it appears by the regiſter of Nevill Biſhop of Exeter, p. 22. b. that Sir William, and his wife *Elizabeth*, who is there ſtiled *nuper uxor Baldewini Fulford*, preſented jointly, as true patrons to the rectory of Weſt Putford in Devonſhire; and their clerk was inſtituted on their preſentation, May 8th, 1464. She probably died before 1470, in which year Sir William Huddesfeild preſented ſolely to this rectory, on the death of the former incumbent. Regr Booth. P. 27. a.

As to Sir Baldwin's *ſons*, who are mentioned three or four times in the courſe of this tragedy, the poet is very accurate; Sir Thomas, according to the prophetic ſpeech of Sir Baldwyn, having run

——that glorious race
Which he theyre fader runne.

for although reſtored to the title and eſtate, 8th of Edward the IVth, (ſee the introductory account) yet he ſhared the ſame fate with his father, being attainted by name, amongſt ſeveral other adherents to King Henry the VIIth, April 27th, 1471, and executed. The younger ſon, John, bred to the church, became vicar of Okehampton, 1497, and of Budleigh, in 1500, having been previouſly made archdeacon of Totneſs, afterwards of Cornwall, and laſtly of Exeter; where he lies buried in the eaſtern iſle of that cathedral, under a large flat monumental ſtone, with the following inſcription, in Gothic letters, ſpecifying his preferments.

Hic jacet magiſter Johannes Fulforde filius Baldwini Fulforde Militis hujus Eccleſie Reſidentiarius, Primo Archidiaconus Totton, deinde Cornubiae, ultimo Exon, qui obiit xix die Januarii Anno Dñi mdxviii. Cujꝙ aīe propitietr. Deꝙ.

William, the brother of Sir Baldwin, who ſurvived him thirteen years, was alſo Canon of Exeter, and Archdeacon of Barnſtaple. He founded an obit in 1472, to pray for his own ſoul, and for that of *Henry* his father. The two daughters of Sir Baldwin, not mentioned in this poem, were, Alice the wife of Thomas Cary, from whom were deſcended the Earls of Dover and Monmouth; and Thomaſin, married to Wiſe of Sydenham in Devonſhire, from whom ſprang the family of Ruſſels, Earls of Bedford.

" Hee taughte mee wythe a prudent hande
" To feede the hungrie poore,
" Ne lett mye ſervants dryve awaie
" The hungrie fromme my doore:

" And none can ſaye, butt alle mye lyfe
" I have hys wordyes kept;
" And ſumm'd the actyonns of the daie
" Eche nyghte before I ſlept.

" I have a ſpouſe, goe aſke of her,
" Yff I defyl'd her bedde?
" I have a kynge, and none can laie
" Blacke treaſon onne my hedde.

" Ynne

Sir Baldwin ſeems to have ſignalized himſelf early in life as a ſoldier: His name occurs amongſt the Devonſhire Knights in 1434, in the twelfth year of Henry the VIth, and he was ſheriff of the county in the thirty-ſixth year of the king, only three years before Edward's acceſſion. It appears from the records above quoted, that he was a Knight of the Sepulchre; and the duties of that order requiring them, amongſt other things, *to fight againſt the Saracens and infidels with all their power* (See Aſhmole's Garter, p. 52) it is not improbable that he might have been in the Holy Land, or at leaſt have waged war againſt the Infidels either in Spain or Italy, which kingdoms were at that time much annoyed by them. Agreeably to this idea, he ſays,

Howe oft ynne battaile have I ſtoode,
Whan thouſands dy'd arounde. V. 129.

And there is a family tradition recorded to his honour by Prince, Riſdon, Weſtcott, and the Devonſhire antiquaries, " that he was a great ſoldier and traveller, of " ſo undaunted a reſolution, that, for the honour and liberty of a Royal Lady, in " a caſtle beſieged by the Infidels, he fought a combat with a Saracen, for bulk " and bigneſs an unuſual match, (as the repreſentation of him in Fulford-hall " doth plainly ſhew) whom yet he vanquiſhed, and releaſed the lady." Prince's Worthies, p. 300.

This circumſtance, though not properly authenticated, yet ſhews his character to have been diſtinguiſhed for valour, and therefore a worthy ſubject for Rowley's

" Ynne Lent, and onne the holie eve,
" Fromm fleſhe I dydd refrayne;
" Whie ſhould I thenne appeare diſmay'd
" To leave thys worlde of payne?

" Ne! hapleſs HENRIE! I rejoyce,
" I ſhalle ne ſee thye dethe;
" Moſte willynglie ynne thye juſt cauſe
" Doe I reſign my brethe.

" Oh, fickle people! rewyn'd londe!
" Thou wylt kenne peace ne moe;
" Whyle RICHARD's ſonnes exalt themſelves,
" Thye brookes wythe bloude wylle flowe.

" Saie, were ye tyr'd of godlie peace,
" And godlie HENRIE's reigne,
" Thatt you dydd choppe youre eaſie daies
" For thoſe of bloude and peyne?

" Whatte tho' I onne a ſledde bee drawne,
" And mangled by a hynde,
" I doe defye the traytor's pow'r,
" Hee can ne harm my mynde;

" Whatte

pen. To his merit as an hero, he added that of a tender huſband and affectionate father. The reader cannot but admire the maſterly diſplay of the paſſions, in the parting ſcene between him and his wife; where, after having given her excellent advice, and endeavoured to conſole her for his fate, which he was meeting with the moſt firm intrepidity, the diſtant poſſibility of her death made ſo forcible an impreſſion on his mind, that, with an apoſtrophe conveying more than words can expreſs, he ſeeks refuge from the idea in the hands of his executioners:

Florence! ſhou'd dethe thee take—Adieu!
Ye officers, leade onne. V. 251.

" Whatte tho', uphoiſted onne a pole,
" Mye lymbes ſhall rotte ynne ayre,
" And ne ryche monument of braſſe
" CHARLES BAWDIN's name ſhall bear;

" Yett ynne the holie booke above,
" Whyche tyme can't eate awaie,
" There wythe the ſervants of the Lorde
" Mye name ſhall lyve for aie.

" Thenne welcome dethe! for lyfe eterne
" I leave thys mortall lyfe:
" Farewell, vayne worlde, and alle that's deare,
" Mye ſonnes and lovynge wyfe!

" Nowe dethe as welcome to mee comes,
" As e'er the moneth of Maie;
" Nor woulde I even wyſhe to lyve,
" Wyth my dere wyfe to ſtaie."

Quod CANYNGE, " 'Tys a goodlie thynge
" To bee prepar'd to die;
" And from thys world of peyne and grefe
" To Godde ynne Heav'n to flie."

And nowe the bell beganne to tolle,
And claryonnes to ſounde;
Syr CHARLES hee herde the horſes feete
A prauncyng onne the grounde:

And

V. 195. The alluſion to a rich monument of braſs, correſponded with the taſte of that age, when monuments and grave-ſtones were embelliſhed with braſs plates, whereon the figure and coat armour of the perſons were engraved.

And juſt before the officers,
His lovynge wyfe came ynne,
Weepynge unfeigned teeres of woe,
Wythe loude and dyſmalle dynne.

" Sweet FLORENCE! nowe I praie forbere,
" Ynne quiet lett mee die;
" Praie Godde, thatt ev'ry Chriſtian ſoule
" Maye looke onne dethe as I.

" Sweet FLORENCE! why theſe brinie teeres?
" Theye waſhe my ſoule awaie,
" And almoſt make mee wyſhe for lyfe,
" Wyth thee, ſweete dame, to ſtaie.

" 'Tys butt a journie I ſhalle goe
" Untoe the lande of blyſſe;
" Nowe, as a proofe of huſbande's love,
" Receive thys holie kyſſe."

Thenne FLORENCE, fault'ring ynne her ſaie,
Tremblynge theſe wordyes ſpoke,
" Ah, cruele EDWARDE! bloudie kynge!
" My herte ys welle nyghe broke:

" Ah, ſweete Syr CHARLES! why wylt thou goe,
" Wythoute thye lovynge wyfe?
" The cruelle axe thatt cuttes thye necke,
" Ytte eke ſhall ende mye lyfe."

And nowe the officers came ynne
To brynge Syr CHARLES awaie,
Whoe turnedd toe his lovynge wyfe,
And thus toe her dydd ſaie:

" I goe

" I goe to lyfe, and nott to dethe;
" Truſte thou ynne Godde above,
" And teache thye ſonnes to feare the Lorde,
" And ynne theyre hertes hym love:

" Teache them to runne the nobile race
" Thatt I theyre fader runne:
" FLORENCE! ſhou'd dethe thee take——Adieu!
" Yee officers, leade onne."

Thenne FLORENCE rav'd as anie madde,
And dydd her treſſes tere;
" Oh! ſtaie, mye huſbande! lorde! and lyfe!"—
Syr CHARLES thenne dropt a teare.

'Tyll tyredd oute wythe ravynge loud,
Shee fellen onne the flore;
Syr CHARLES exerted alle hys myghte,
And march'd fromm oute the dore.

Uponne a ſledde hee mounted thenne,
Wythe lookes fulle brave and ſwete;
Lookes, thatt enſhone [c] ne moe concern
Thanne anie ynne the ſtrete.

Before hym went the council-menne,
Ynne ſcarlett robes and golde,
And taſſils ſpanglynge ynne the ſunne,
Muche glorious to beholde:

[c] *Shewed.*

The

V. 265. The proceſſion here deſcribed was probably real, at leaſt it was ſo orderly in point of form, that no modern pen could have diſpoſed it with ſo much propriety.

The

The Freers of Seincte AUGUSTYNE next
Appeared to the ſyghte,
Alle cladd ynne homelie ruſſett weedes,
Of godlie monkyſh plyghte:

Ynne diffraunt partes a godlie pſaume
Moſte ſweetlie theye dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backes ſyx mynſtrelles came,
Who tun'd the ſtrunge bataunt [d].

[d] *Stringed inſtrument.*

Thenne

The councilmen, Auguſtinian fryers, and a body of archers (to prevent a reſcue) precede the criminal; another body of archers, the monks of St. James's, with the mayor and corporation, follow him. Theſe two convents probably made a part of the proceſſion, becauſe they were the moſt numerous and conſiderable in Briſtol; and we may obſerve, that they took their ſtation agreeably to the antiquity of their eſtabliſhment: The Auguſtinians (now the cathedral) being founded by Robert Fitzharding, in 1148, gave the pas to the Benedictine monaſtery of St. James's, which was eſtabliſhed by Robert Earl of Glouceſter, in 1135.

V. 271. The poet has been charged with impropriety, for dreſſing the Auguſtinians in *ruſſet weeds*, when the habit of their order was black.

Alle cladd ynne *ruſſett* weedes
Of godlie monkyſh plyghte.

Ruſſet (in French rouſſet) originally ſignified a reddiſh brown colour, but the garments of peaſants and hermits, made of undyed wool, being of this colour, the idea of *ruſſet* became affixed rather to the ſubſtance, than to the colour of the garment: Thus Pierce Plowman expreſſes his mean appearance, as being clad in *ruſſet* *; and he ſpeaks of a perſon

Dreſſed in a gown of *grey ruſſet:*

And in Evans's Old Ballads, p. 11, are mentioned

Coats of *grey ruſſet.*

The Beggar's Daughter of Bethnal Green was alſo cloathed in *grey ruſſett.* Percy, vol. ii. p. 156. Shakeſpear had the ſame idea, when in Love's Labour Loſt he contraſts

Taffeta phraſes, and ſilken words preciſe,
With *Ruſſet* yeas, and honeſt *Kerſeys* no's. Act v.

And Dryden deſcribes the Doric dialect as a fair ſhepherdeſs in her *country ruſſet.*

* Warton, vol. i. page 267.

This

Thenne fyve-and-twentye archers came;
Echone the bowe dydd bende,
From reſcue of kynge HENRIES friends
Syr CHARLES forr to defend.

Bolde as a lyon came Syr CHARLES,
Drawne onne a clothe-layde ſledde,
Bye two blacke ſtedes ynne trappynges white,
Wyth plumes uponne theyre hedde:

Behynde hym fyve-and-twentye moe
Of archers ſtronge and ſtoute,
Wyth bended bowe echone ynne hande,
Marched ynne goodlie route:

Seincte JAMESES Freers marched next,
Echone hys parte dydd chaunt;
Behynde theyre backs ſyx mynſtrelles came,
Who tun'd the ſtrunge bataunt:

Thenne

This idea is conveyed in the expreſſion of *godlie weeds*. In fact, *ruſſet weeds*, being the dreſs of hermits, were conſidered as tokens of humility and mortification, and as ſuch, were worn by the Knights of the Bath on the eve of their creation *; they were therefore, with great propriety, aſſumed in this melancholy ceremonial.

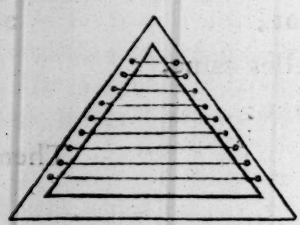
V. 292. As to the *ſtrunge bataunt*, uſed in this proceſſion, the name ſeems to imply, that it was a ſtringed inſtrument, like a dulcimer, played on by ſtriking the wires with a piece of iron or wood. It is an inſtrument of ſome antiquity, and two different forms of it may be ſeen in Strutt's Þorþe Angel Cynnan. Plate Iſt, N°. 17, in vol. ii. repreſents a dulcimer of nine ſtrings, in the time of King Stephen, copied from the Pſalter of Eadmer, in Trinity college library, Cambridge. Plate VI, N°. 25, in the ſame volume, is one of a different form, of ten

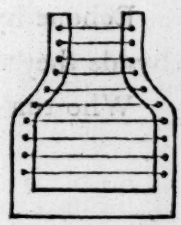
* See Anſtis's Eſſay, Appendix, p. 42.

Thenne came the maior and eldermenne,
Ynne clothe of ſcarlett deck't;
And theyre attendyng menne echone,
Lyke Eaſterne princes trickt:
And after them a multitude
Of citizenns dydd thronge;
The wyndowes were alle fulle of heddes,
As hee dydd paſſe alonge.
And whenne hee came to the hyghe croſſe,
Syr CHARLES dydd turne and ſaie,
" O Thou, thatt ſaveſt manne fromme ſynne,
" Waſhe mye ſoule clean thys daie!"

Att

ſtrings, from a MS. Tiberius, A. 7. in the Cotton library. See the repreſentation of them below.





V. 293. Though Briſtol was not erected into a city till 1542, the thirty-fourth year of Henry the VIIIth, yet on account of its ſize, populouſneſs, and flouriſhing trade, the inhabitants might be ſtiled citizens, (in poetry at leaſt) without breach of decorum. Leland indeed, who probably wrote ſome part of his Itinerary before that event, expreſsly calls it a city. " Briſtowe upon Avonne, *a great citie*, well " waulled, having a fair caſtel. In it now, as I remember, eighteen paroche " churches. *St. Auguſtines black Canons extra mænia.*" Itin. vol. v. p. 60. From the manner in which he mentions this church, we may conclude that it was not then erected into a cathedral; and the ſame patent made Briſtol a city. It had been long governed, however, by a mayor and aldermen; for William de Wirceſtre, deſcribing, in his Itinerary, the chapel on Briſtol bridge, ſays, " et eſt volta " inferiori loco pro *Aldermannis Villæ.*" P. 234.

V. 301. The high croſs, by which the proceſſion paſſed, then ſtood in the center of the city, at the meeting of the four principal ſtreets, each of which was terminated by

Att the grete mynſterr wyndowe ſat
The kynge ynne mycle ſtate,
To ſee CHARLES BAWDIN goe alonge
To hys moſt welcom fate.

Soone

by a church: This croſs was afterwards removed to the middle of College Green; and, being pulled down not many years ago, was given to Henry Hoare, Eſq; who has added it to the many other ornaments which grace his elegant gardens at Stourhead. St. Audoens, now called St. Ewin's, (probably the moſt conſiderable, as well as the moſt convenient of theſe four churches) was appointed for the reception of King Edward, that he might be a ſpectator of the proceſſion; and this remarkable fact is confirmed by an evidence as ſingular as it is authentic; though probably it would never have been known, if the diſcovery of theſe poems had not occaſioned a ſearch into the records of this church, to authenticate the fact: The yearly accounts of its procurators or churchwardens, from March 20th, A^no^. primo Edvardi quarti, mention this among other articles of expence incurred that year:

"Item, for waſhynge the church payven agaynſt Kynge Edward 4th is "comynge, iiiid. ob."

It is not material to the queſtion of authenticity, whether the king's viſit to this church was to ſee the proceſſion, or only to perform his devotions. His preſence there, or even his being at that time in Briſtol, was ſufficient to juſtify the poet in making him both a ſpectator and a ſpeaker; but we are not obliged to ſuppoſe that either he, his brother, or even the criminal, delivered their ſentiments in the words of the poet, though they convey the true ſpirit and character of the ſpeakers. Fulford is bold and undaunted; Edward touched with the feelings of humanity, but too much the tyrant to yield to their impulſe. Glouceſter (as he is generally repreſented) unfeeling, reſentful, and mercileſs.

V. 305. The church where the king ſat is diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Minſter*, denoting it to be a principal church; Mr. Warton *, preſuming that the word *Minſter* was almoſt always appropriated to cathedral churches, concludes that the poet had placed the king at the church of the Auguſtinians for viewing this proceſſion, and charges him with an anachroniſm (which no contemporary writer could have been guilty of) in calling that church a *Minſter*, almoſt a century before it was erected into a cathedral: But, with ſubmiſſion to that learned objector, his inference is founded on two miſtakes; for the word *Minſter* was not *originally* given to

* Vol. ii. p. 156.

Soone as the ſledde drewe nyghe enowe,
Thatt EDWARDE hee myghte heare,
The brave Syr CHARLES hee dydd ſtande uppe,
And thus hys wordes declare:

"Thou

cathedral churches, nor afterwards appropriated ſolely to them: It meant only (as the word imports) *the church of the monaſtery*; epiſcopal ſees having been placed in ſome of the moſt conſiderable among them, as Canterbury, Durham, Ely, Worceſter, &c. the cathedral was called the *Minſter*, as were alſo other monaſtic churches, where there were no biſhops. The name was alſo given (eſpecially in the North of England) to large and collegiate churches, as Rippon, Beverly, and Southwell, and to Winborn-minſter, in Dorſetſhire; ſome parochial churches bore the ſame name; as Upminſter, Bedminſter, Sturminſter, Axminſter, &c. A name ſo indeterminate in its application might be given to any church, eſpecially to one that was conſiderable either for its ſize or ſituation.

But the church of the Auguſtinians was in every reſpect moſt improper, and therefore moſt unlikely to be choſen for the reception of the king; being ſituated in a remote ſuburb of the town, and entirely out of the way, by which this and all other criminals paſſed from the priſon of Newgate to the ancient place of execution; which was on St. Michael's hill, either at or near the place at preſent appointed for that purpoſe. See William Wirceſtre's Itin. p. 243. But whether Rowley or Chatterton formed the proceſſion, both muſt have been equally aware, that they would have deviated from probability in carrying it ſo far out of its ſtraight and accuſtomed road; and if we can allow the improbable ſuppoſition (by way of indulging the objectors) that Chatterton was previouſly acquainted with the entry in St. Ewin's books, he could not have been ſo abſurd as to have contradicted that inconteſtible evidence, by placing the king at another church.

It may be proper here to take notice of another objection to the word *minſter*, contained in the ſame note. In the ſong to Ella, the poet ſuppoſes that his ſpirit did

Fiery round the *Minſter* glare.

As guardian of the town, he is ſuppoſed to watch over it from two of its moſt conſpicuous and eminent parts; from the *Caſtle ſteers*, or fortreſs, and from the principal Church, or *Minſter*, of St. Ewin's, ſituated in the center of the town: It would ill ſuit the Genius of that hero, to be ſent for the protection of a monaſtery in the ſuburbs, at that time under a ſeparate juriſdiction from the town; nor is the ſpirit of Ella ſaid to be *ſometimes appearing in the Minſter* (as Mr. Warton has repreſented the quotation) but, like a *ſun* or a *ſtar glaring round it*, hovering over, and protecting it with his influence.

" Thou ſeeſt mee, EDWARDE! traytour vile!
" Expos'd to infamie;
" Butt bee aſſur'd, diſloyall manne!
" I'm greaterr nowe thanne thee.

" Bye foule proceedyngs, murdre, bloude,
" Thou weareſt nowe a crowne;
" And haſt appoynted mee to dye,
" By power nott thyne owne.

" Thou thynkeſt I ſhall dye to-daie;
" I have beene dede 'till nowe,
" And ſoone ſhall lyve to weare a crowne
" For aie uponne my browe:

" Whylſt thou, perhapps, for ſom few yeares,
" Shalt rule thys fickle lande,
" To lett them knowe howe wyde the rule
" 'Twixt kynge and tyrant hande:

" Thye pow'r unjuſt, thou traytour ſlave!
" Shall falle onne thye owne hedde"—
Fromm out of hearyng of the kynge
Departed thenne the ſledde.

Kynge EDWARDE's ſoule ruſh'd to hys face,
Hee turn'd hys hedde awaie,
And to hys broder GLOUCESTER
Hee thus dydd ſpeke and ſaie:

" To hym that ſoe-much-dreaded dethe
" Nę ghaſtlie terrors brynge,
" Beholde the manne! hee ſpake the truthe,
" Hee's greater thanne a kynge!

" Soe lett hym die!" Duke RICHARD ſayde;
" And maye echone oure foes
" Bende downe theyre neckes to bloudie axe,
" And feede the carryon crowes."

And nowe the horſes gentlie drewe
Syr CHARLES uppe the hyghe hylle;
The axe dydd glyſterr ynne the ſunne,
Hys pretious bloude to ſpylle.

Syrr CHARLES dydd uppe the ſcaffold goe,
As uppe a gilded carre
Of victorye, bye val'rous chiefs
Gayn'd ynne the bloudie warre:

And to the people hee dydd ſaie,
" Beholde you ſee mee dye,
" For ſervynge loyally mye kynge,
" Mye kynge moſt rightfullie.

" As longe as EDWARDE rules thys lande,
" Ne quiet you wylle knowe;
" Youre ſonnes and huſbandes ſhalle bee ſlayne,
" And brookes wythe bloude ſhalle flowe.

" You leave youre goode and lawfulle kynge,
" Whenne ynne adverſitye;
" Lyke mee, untoe the true cauſe ſtycke,
" And for the true cauſe dye."

Thenne hee, wyth preeſtes, uponne hys knees,
A pray'r to Godde dydd make,
Beſeechynge hym unto hymſelfe
Hys partynge ſoule to take.

Thenne, kneelynge downe, hee layd hys heede
Moſt ſeemlie onne the blocke;
Whyche fromme hys bodie fayre at once
The able heddes-manne ſtroke:

And oute the bloude beganne to flowe,
And rounde the ſcaffolde twyne;
And teares, enow to waſhe't awaie,
Dydd flowe fromme each mann's eyne.

The bloudie axe hys bodie fayre
Ynnto foure parties cutte;
And ev'rye parte, and eke hys hedde,
Uponne a pole was putte.

One parte dydd rotte onne Kynwulph-hylle,
One onne the mynſter-tower,
And one from off the caſtle-gate
The crowen dydd devoure:

The other onne Seyncte Powle's goode gate,
A dreery ſpectacle;
Hys hedde was plac'd onne the hyghe croſſe,
Ynne hyghe ſtreete moſt nobile.

Thus

V. 381. It may alſo be obſerved, that in the expoſure of the criminal's quarters, after execution, one of them was fixed on the *Minſter* Tower, as a moſt conſpicuous place, and in the center of the town; one on *Kynwulph's Hill*, ſo called from Kenwulf, king of Mercia, and probably the ſame ſpot which ſtill bears the name of *King's Down*, a very eminent part of the city, and not far diſtant from Michael's Hill, the place of execution; another at the caſtle; and the fourth at St. Paul's gate (the ſituation of which is uncertain, though ſuppoſed to have been at Temple-gate); and his head was fixed on the high croſs.

Thus was the ende of BAWDIN's fate:
Godde prosper longe oure kynge,
And grante hee maye, wyth BAWDIN's soule,
Ynne heav'n Godd's mercie synge!

V. 391. The coneluding prayer in this poem marks the political principles of its author, and proves it to have been written during Edward's reign; as a Lancastrian, he takes it for granted that Bawdin's soul is actually in Heaven, but he can only *wish* that King Edward's may bear him company there.

THE ENGLYSH METAMORPHOSIS.

THE Engliſh Metamorphoſis may be conſidered as a mythological poem, and an imitation of Ovid, to whoſe works we cannot ſuppoſe Rowley to have been a ſtranger; eſpecially, as Mr. Warton obſerves, that many French verſions, both of the Greek and Latin claſſics, began to appear in England about the middle of the fourteenth century. There was a French tranſlation of Ovid's Metamorphoſis in Duke Humphrey's library; and another, written by an eccleſiaſtic of Normandy, in 1467: A poet who wanted this aſſiſtance, might have learned from either of theſe authors the method of treating ſuch ſubjects: But the ſucceſsful imitator of the Iliad, might be well acquainted with the Metamorphoſis in the original. The diſtinction of *Book the firſt* ſeems to imply, that the author had written, or at leaſt intended to write, other hiſtories of this kind; and Chatterton thought ſo too, by profeſſing, in the note, his endeavour to get the remainder of theſe poems.

The fertility of Rowley's invention was well adapted to the taſte of that age, which delighted in romances and fabulous hiſtories.

The poem is founded on that part of Geoffroi of Monmouth's Hiſtory, which deſcribes the landing of Brute, the diviſion of his kingdom, the hiſtory and death of his eldeſt ſon Locrine, in a war waged againſt him by Guendolen his wife, her revenge on his concubine Elſtrid and her daughter Sabrina, by drowning them

both in the Severn, and ordering that the river ſhould hereafter bear the damſel's name. Lib. 2. Rowley has taken the principal facts in this hiſtory, without ſervilely copying his original; a circumſtance very favourable to the authenticity of the poem. Indeed, the hiſtory itſelf was beyond the compaſs of Chatterton's erudition: He could not have underſtood the original if it had come in his way; and even the Engliſh tranſlation, by Aaron Thompſon, is not commonly to be met with. Later Engliſh poets have alſo copied this hiſtory. An anonymous dramatic author of the ſixteenth century, wrote a tragedy called *Locrine*, which for ſome time paſſed under Shakeſpeare's name, but has long ſince been excluded from his works. Drayton has given us this hiſtory in his ſixth ſong, and Milton has introduced it in his Maſk at Ludlow caſtle; wherein Sabrina is received by the Water Nymphs, who make her the Goddeſs of the river. It was very natural for Rowley to chuſe this ſubject for his poem; the ſcene of it was laid in his own country, and not far from Briſtol, which he ſo much delighted to honour. The fable, as far as it related to the deaths of Elſtrid and Sabrina, was ready made to his hands; but it was reſerved for the powers of his imagination to dignify the Metamorphoſis, by changing Elſtrid into the ſpring of St. Vincent, and making her bones the rocks which contained the waters of her daughter Sabrina. No modern poet would have choſen ſo obſolete and fabulous a tale for the ſubject of an entire poem; leaſt of all would Chatterton have employed his time in celebrating any event wherein the honour of Briſtol was concerned. Indeed the compoſition beſpeaks a more learned hand. It ſwells into a kind of epic ſtile, with epithets more compounded, and numbers leſs harmonious, than thoſe of his other poems; and though the ſtory itſelf is not intereſting, yet the magnificence of his deſcriptive powers is happily diſplayed, particularly in his repreſentation of the Giant.

ENGLYSH METAMORPHOSIS:

Bie T. ROWLEIE.

BOOKE 1ſt [a].

WHANNE Scythyannes, ſalvage as the wolves theie chacde,
Peyncted in horrowe [b] formes bie nature dyghte [c],
Heckled [d] yn beaſtſkyns, ſlepte uponne the waſte,
And wyth the morneynge rouzed the wolfe to fyghte,
Swefte as deſcendeynge lemes [e] of roddie lyghte
Plonged to the hulſtred [f] bedde of laveynge [g] ſeas,
Gerd [h] the blacke mountayn okes yn drybblets [i] twighte [j],
And ranne yn thoughte alonge the azure mees,

[a] I will endeavour to get the remainder of theſe poems. [b] Unſeemly, diſagreeable. [c] *Dreſſed.* [d] Wrapped. [e] Rays. [f] Hidden, ſecret. [g] *Waſhing.* [h] Broke, rent, *ſtruck.* [i] Small pieces. [j] Pulled, rent.

Whoſe

V. 1. The firſt ſtanza is rendered obſcure by too great an aſſemblage of compound ideas, deſcribing the fury, ſwiftneſs, and terror accompanying the Scythian invaders.

V. 7. *Gird* ſignifies to ſtrike. *Through girt*, in the Knights Tale, means *pierced through:*

Thurgh girt with many a grievous bloody wound. V. 1012.

V. 8. The *mees* or meadows are ſaid to be azure, from the reflected blue lightening. It is called the *azure vapour*, v. 105; and is here ſaid to *run in thought*, i. e. as ſwift as thought. See this expreſſion uſed, B. H. N° 2. v. 217 and 513; and *ſwifte as the wiſhe*, Ecl. 2. v. 85, and Ella, v. 910.

Whoſe eyne dyd feerie ſheene, like blue-hayred defs [k],
That dreerie hange upon Dover's emblaunched [l] cleſs.

Soft boundeynge over ſwelleynge azure reles [m]
The ſalvage natyves ſawe a ſhyppe appere;
An uncouthe [n] denwere [o] to theire boſomme ſteles;
Theyre myghte ys knopped [p] ynne the froſte of fere.
The headed javlyn liſſeth [q] here and there;
Theie ſtonde, theie ronne, theie loke wyth eger eyne;
The ſhyppes ſayle, boleynge [r] wythe the kyndelie ayre,
Ronneth to harbour from the beateynge bryne;

[k] Vapours, meteors, *rather, ſpectres.* [l] Emblaunched, *white.* [m] Ridges, *blue* riſing waves. [n] [o] Unknown tremour, *rather, doubt.* [p] Faſtened, chained, congealed. [q] Boundeth. [r] Swelling.

Theie

V. 9. The *blue-hayred defs* are explained by Chatterton as *meteors* or *vapours*; they rather mean *ſpectres* or *fairies*, which might be ſuppoſed to inhabit theſe cliffs. *Deffe Netyll*, in the P. Parv. is explained *archangelus*. *Deffe* therefore may ſignify *ſpirit*; and it may be owing to ſome tradition about theſe ſpirits, that Edgar in Lear pretended to his father Glouceſter, that he had ſeen one part from him on that ſpot,

—— whoſe eyes
Were two full moons, he had ten thouſand noſes,
Horns welked and waved like the enraging ſea;
It was ſome fiend ———

Might not one infer from Glouceſter's ſpeech, that this ſpot had ſome connection with the fairies? for when he gives Edgar his purſe, he ſays,

——— fairies and gods
Proſper it with thee——— Act IV. Sc. 5.

Ben Johnſon, in his Maſque of the Sad Shepherd, Act II. Sc. 8, mentions as part of the witches enchantment,

Croaking night-crows in the air,
Blue fire-drakes in the ſky.

And in another of his Maſques, vol. iii. p. 376, he ſpeaks of *blue drakes*: May we not ſuppoſe ſome connection between theſe and Rowley's *blue-hayred defs?*

V. 15. *Lyſſeth*: So Tournament, v. 2.

The courſers *lyſſe* about the menſuredde fielde.

In both places the word means to *leap, fly*, or *perform a very quick motion*; but in other

Theie dryve awaie aghaſte, whanne to the ſtronde
A burled [s] Trojan lepes, wythe Morglaien [t] ſweerde yn honde.
Hymme followede eftſoones hys compheeres [u], whoſe ſwerdes
Gleſtred [x] lyke gledeynge [y] ſtarres ynne froſtie nete,
Hayleynge theyre capytayne in chirckynge [z] wordes
Kynge of the lande, whereon theie ſet theyre fete.
The greete kynge Brutus thanne theie dyd hym greete,
Prepared for battle, mareſchalled the fyghte;
Theie urg'd the warre, the natyves fledde, as flete
As fleaynge cloudes that ſwymme before the ſyghte;
Tyll tyred with battles, for to ceeſe the fraie,
Theie uncted [a] Brutus kynge, and gave the Trojanns ſwaie.

[s] Armed. [t] *Enchanted.* [u] Companions. [x] *Shone, or glittered.* [y] Livid.
[z] A confuſed noiſe, *rather, a diſagreeable ſound.* [a] Anointed.

Twayne

other paſſages it is uſed in a different ſenſe, implying *confinement*, *boundary*, or *limit*; as in Ella, v. 53,

All thie yntente to pleaſe was *liſſed* to mee.

So Ecl. iii. v. 86, the *unliſte* or unconfined branches; and Le. v. 46, an *onliſt*, or unbounded lecture. The modern word *boundeth*, by which Chatterton has explained this paſſage, admits of both ſignifications, but it may be doubted whether the ſame can be ſaid of the word *liſſeth*. Cotgrave, however, has made it applicable in either ſenſe: "*Liſer*, to *liſt*, or *border* a garment; alſo to *coaſt along* "*by a country*:" So that the *liſſing* of the javelin in this paſſage, and in that of the *cŏurſers* in the Tournament, does not mean *to bound*, or *to ſport and play*, as Chatterton has explained it; but *to deſcribe a line*, CIRCUIT, or BOUNDARY, in their motion. Unleſs it ſhould be thought that the word, in both theſe paſſages, ſhould be read *gliſſeth*, ſignifying to *glide* or *paſs quickly*.

V. 20. *Morglaien* ſword. See the note on B. H. N° 2. v. 653.

V. 22. *Gledeynge ſtarres*, ſo called from their appearance like a *glede* or live coal. This alluſion is different from that made to falling ſtars, B. H. N° 2. v. 235. Chatterton properly calls them *livid*. Stiernhelm derives *gladius* from *glode*, which ſignifies *a burning coal*, or *torch*, becauſe of the ſhining ſurface of the ſwords; and Hicks obſerves, in his notes upon Edda, Gram. Anglo Saxon, p. 192, "that "the hall of Odin was ſaid to be enlightened only by drawn ſwords."

Twayne of twelve years han lemed [b] up the myndes,
Leggende [c] the ſalvage unthewes [d] of theire breſte,
Improved in myſterk [e] warre, and lymmed [f] theyre kyndes,
Whenne Brute from Brutons ſonke to æterne reſte.
Eftſoons the gentle Locryne was poſſeſt
Of ſwaie, and veſted yn the paramente [g];
Halceld [h] the bykrous [i] Huns, who dyd infeſte
Hys wakeynge kyngdom wyth a foule intente;
As hys broade ſwerde oer Homberres heade was honge,
He tourned toe ryver wyde, and roarynge rolled alonge.

He wedded Gendolyne of roieal ſede,
Upon whoſe countenance rodde healthe was ſpreade;
Blouſhing, alyche [k] the ſcarlette of herr wede [l],
She ſonke to pleaſaunce on the marryage bedde.
Eftſoons her peacefull joie of mynde was fledde;
Elſtrid ametten [m] with the kynge Locryne;
Unnombered beauties were upon her ſhedde,
Moche fyne, moche fayrer thanne was Gendolyne;
The mornynge tynge [n], the roſe, the lillie floure,
In ever ronneynge race on her dyd peyncte theyre powere.

[b] Enlightened. [c] Alloyed. [d] Savage barbarity, *or*, *bad qualities*. [e] Myſtic, *the buſineſs, or profeſſion*. [f] Poliſhed. [g] A princely robe. [h] Defeated, *harraſſed*. [i] Warring. [k] Like. [l] *Garment*. [m] *Met with*. [n] *Bluſh of the morning*.

The

V. 33. *Myſterk warre*. Chatterton is again miſtaken. The word does not mean *myſtic*, i. e. ſecret or hidden, but *practical* and *profeſſional*, in the ſame ſenſe that trade and handicraft are called *myſteries*.

V. 49. The deſcription of Elſtrid's beauty is no leſs ſingular in idea than it is in expreſſion. It is preſumed that *the mornynge tynge*, means the *ſoft tint* or *bluſh of the morning*.

The gentle ſuyte of Locryne gayned her love;
Theie lyved ſoft momentes to a ſwotie [o] age;
Eft [p] wandringe yn the coppyce, delle, and grove,
Where ne one eyne mote theyre diſporte engage;
There dydde theie tell the merrie lovynge fage [q],
Croppe the prymroſen floure to decke theyre headde;
The feerie Gendolyne yn woman rage
Gemoted [r] warriours to bewrecke [s] her bedde;
Theie roſe; ynne battle was greete Locryne ſleene;
The faire Elſtrida fledde from the enchafed [t] queene.

A tye of love, a dawter fayre ſhe hanne,
Whoſe boddeynge [u] morneyng ſhewed a fayre daie,
Her fadre Locrynne, once an hailie [x] manne.
Wyth the fayre dawterre dydde ſhe haſte awaie,
To where the Weſtern mittee [y] pyles of claie
Ariſe ynto the cloudes, and doe them beere;
There dyd Elſtrida and Sabryna ſtaie;
The fyrſte tryckde out a whyle yn warryours gratch [z] and gear;
Vyncente was ſhe ycleped [a], butte fulle ſoone fate
Sente deathe, to telle the dame, ſhe was notte yn regrate [b].

[o] Sweet. [p] Oft. [q] A tale. [r] Aſſembled. [s] Revenge. [t] Heated, enraged.
[u] *Budding.* [x] *Happy.* [y] Mighty. [z] Apparel. [a] *Called.* [b] Eſteem, favour.

The

V. 65. It was natural for the poet to ſearch for high mountains near the ſources of the Severn, whence the waters of Sabrina might flow after her metamorphoſis; he has therefore judiciouſly choſen the Clee Hills in Shropſhire, not far diſtant from the Severn; their ſituation and name agreeing with the poet's deſcription; and for a ſimilar reaſon he raiſed the more lofty and diſtant mountain of Snowdon out of the aſhes of the Giant Knight. The deſcription of him is one of Rowley's capital images, far exceeding thoſe of Polypheme in Homer and Virgil: The latter expreſſes the Giant's power by the loudneſs of his voice, Rowley by the greatneſs of his actions.

The queene Gendolyne ſente a gyaunte knyghte,
Whoſe doughtie heade ſwepte the emmertleynge [c] ſkies,
To ſlea her whereſoever ſhe ſhulde be pyghte [d]
Eke everychone who ſhulde her ele [e] emprize [f].
Swefte as the roareynge wyndes the gyaunte flies,
Stayde the loude wyndes, and ſhaded reaulmes yn nyghte,
Stepte over cytties, on meint [g] acres lies,
Meeteynge the herehaughtes [h] of morneynge lighte;
Tyll mooveynge to the Weſte, myſchaunce hys gye [i],
He thorowe warriours gratch [k] fayre Elſtrid did eſpie.

[c] Glittering, *or*, *ambient*. [d] Settled. [e] Help. [f] Adventure, *or*, *undertake*. [g] Many. [h] *Heralds*. [i] Guide. [k] *Dreſs*.

He

V. 72. Whoſe doughtie heade ſwepte the emmertleynge ſkies,
Like Diſcord in Homer, and Fame in Virgil,

Caput inter nubila condit. Æn. iv. v. 177.

Emmertlyng, though unexplained by the gloſſaries, ſeems to be compounded of the Saxon prepoſition ymbhen, circum, and to have the ſame import with reſpect to the earth, that *Aumere* has to a garment.

V. 77. Stepte over cytties, on meint acres lies,
How correſpondent is this idea to Homer's deſcription of Neptune's motions:

Αυτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀρεος κατεβήσατο παιπαλόεντος,
Κραιπνὰ ποσὶ προβιβάς, τρέμε δ' ὄρεα μακρα καὶ ὕλη
Ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰοντος
Τρὶς μὲν ὀρέξατ' ἰὼν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἵκετο τέκμωρ
Αιγάς. Il. N. v. 17.

Thus tranſlated by Mr. Pope;

Prone down the rocky ſteep he ruſh'd along,
Fierce as he paſt the lofty mountains nod,
The foreſts ſhake, earth trembled as he trod,
And felt the footſteps of th' Almighty God;
From realm to realm three ample ſtrides he took,
And at the fourth the diſtant Ægе ſhook. B. xiii. v. 28.

This is not the firſt inſtance wherein Rowley has choſen thoſe images in Homer for his imitation, which have been diſtinguiſhed by the notice and commendation of critics. Longinus confeſſes himſelf wonderfully ſtruck with the ſublimity of this deſcription: Sect. ix. 17. See alſo Mr. Pope's note upon it.

V. 80. The ideas contained in this and the four following lines are majeſtically

He tore a ragged mountayne from the grounde,
Harried [k] uppe noddynge forreſts to the ſkie,

[k] Toſt.

Thanne

wild, and well adapted to the romantick hiſtory of this poem; they ſeem to be borrowed from the Battle of the Giants, as deſcribed by the heathen poets, and particularly by Claudian in the following lines:

Hic rotat Æmonium præduris rupibus Œten,
Hic juga connexis manibus Pangæa coruſcat,
Hunc armat glacialis Athos; hoc Oſſa movente
Tollitur, hic Rhodopen Hebri cum fonte revellit,
Et ſocias truncavit aquas, ſummâque volutus
Rupe gyganteos humeros irrorat Enipeus;
Subſidit patulis tellus ſine culmine campis.

Gygantomachia, v. 66.

There ſeems to be ſome connection between this laſt line and that in the Metamorphoſis:

On a broad graſſie playne was layde the hill.

Claudian, in the wildneſs of his fancy, repreſents a giant lifting up the mountain on his back, and the river Enipeus, which aroſe from it, flowing down between his ſhoulders: Our poet, with a greater exertion, but with leſs improbability, *lets fly the mountain into the middle ayre*, buries Vincent and Sabrina under it, and poetically deſcribes the *purple fountain* of their blood, as boiling up *thro' their ſandy grave*, which, in the true ſpirit of metamorphoſis, he transforms into a *river clear*.

Mr. Addiſon, in his Spectator N° 333, has introduced this paſſage of Claudian, as a foil to Milton's deſcription of the war of the Angels; obſerving, "that the "Roman poet's ideas ſavour more of the burleſque than of the ſublime; that they "proceed from a wantonneſs of imagination, and rather divert the mind than "aſtoniſh it: But Milton has taken every thing that is ſublime in theſe paſſages, "and compoſes out of them the following great image:

"From their foundations looſening to and fro
"They pluck'd the ſeated hills with all their load,
"Rocks, waters, woods; and by the ſhaggy tops
"Uplifting, bore them in their hands."

Though the author of the Metamorphoſis ſhould be ſuppoſed to have lived ſince Milton's time, yet it appears that he borrowed his ideas from the Latin, and not from our Engliſh poet; and upon compariſon he will not be found inferior to

Thanne wythe a fuirie, mote the erthe aſtounde [l],
To meddle ayre he lette the mountayne fle.
The flying wolfynnes ſente a yelleynge crie;
Onne Vyncente and Sabryna felle the mount;
To lyve æternalle dyd theie eftſoones die;
Thorowe the ſandie grave boiled up the pourple founte,
On a broade graſſie playne was layde the hylle,
Staieynge the rounynge courſe of meint a limmed [m] rylle.

The goddes, who kenned the actyons of the wyghte,
To leggen [n] the ſadde happe of twayne ſo fayre,
Houton [o] dyd make the mountaine bie theire mighte.

[l] Aſtoniſh. [m] Glaſſy, reflecting. [n] Leſſen, alloy. [o] Hollow, *rather, lofty.*

Forth

either.—*To tear a ragged mountayne from the grounde*, is a more gigantic exertion, than *to looſen it to and fro from its foundations*—*To let it fly into the middle ayre*, a greater effort than *to bear it in his hands*, and—*To harrie up the noddynge forreſts to the ſkie*, expreſſes more than *to uplift them by their ſhaggy tops.* The aſtoniſhment impreſſed on the earth, and the cry excited by the flying wolfins fear, are images peculiar to Rowley; and the *nodding forreſts*, which are omitted by Claudian, and mentioned only in general terms by Milton, are particularly pointed out by Homer, who ſays, "that the Giants heaped upon mount Oſſa, the *foreſt-bearing* "Pelion;"

——— αὐταὰρ ἐπ' Ὄσσῃ
Πήλιον εἰνοσίφυλλον. Odyſſ. B. A. v. 314.

V. 81. *Meddle ayre*; ſo Robert Glouceſter and P. Pl. call the world *the meddel erthe*.

V. 88. Has one, if not two, redundant ſyllables.

V. 93. Chatterton miſinterprets the word *houton*; it does not mean *hollow*; nor could that circumſtance be any alleviation to the fate of Elſtrid and Sabrina; but *hawten* is explained in the Prompt. Parv. by *exalto*, and is uſed in this ſenſe by Peter Langtoft; and *hautain*, in old French, ſignifies *proud* or *lofty*. The ſize and height of the mountain are mentioned as an exertion of might by the gods, to add dignity to their fate; and with the ſame idea, the poet has choſen the higheſt hill in

Forth from Sabryna ran a ryverre cleere,
Roarynge and rolleynge on yn courſe byſmare [p];
From female Vyncente ſhotte a ridge of ſtones,
Eche ſyde the ryver ryſynge heavenwere;
Sabrynas floode was helde ynne Elſtryds bones.
So are theie cleped; gentle and the hynde
Can telle, that Severnes ſtreeme bie Vyncentes rocke's ywrynde [q].

The bawſyn [r] gyaunt, hee who dyd them ſlee,
To telle Gendolyne quycklie was yſped [s];
Whanne, as he ſtrod alonge the ſhakeynge lee,
The roddie levynne [t] gleſterrd [t] on hys headde:
Into hys hearte the azure vapoures ſpreade;
He wrythde arounde yn drearie dernie [u] payne;
Whanne from his lyfe-bloode the rodde lemes [x] were fed,
He felle an hepe of aſhes on the playne:
Stylle does hys aſhes ſhoote ynto the lyghte,
A wondrous mountayne hie, and Snowdon ys ytte hyghte [y].

[p] Bewildered, curious. [q] Hid, covered. [r] Huge, bulky. [s] Diſpatched. [t] Red lightning. [t] *Glittered, ſhone.* [u] Cruel, *or ſecret.* [x] Flames, rays. [y] *Called.*

Wales for the monument of the giant: In this ſenſe we may alſo underſtand that line in Robert Canning's epitaph.

Houton are wordes for to tell his doe.

It required *lofty*, not *hollow*, words to celebrate his praiſe.

V. 94. It may be imputed to Rowley's partiality for his native country, that he calls the Severn *a river clear*; but there is ſufficient foundation in etymology to derive the word from CLARUS, *noble* or *diſtinguiſhed*, an epithet more worthy of its ſtream.

V. 95. This, together with v. 40, are ſpecimens of our author's expreſſive alliterations; a figure which he does not often make uſe of, though he might be ſufficiently juſtified by the example of Homer.

V. 107. The idea is bold, and perhaps ſingular, of the *red* flaſhes of lightning *being fed by the Giant's blood.*

AN EXCELENTE BALADE OF CHARITIE.

THE Excellent Ballad of Charity, ſo well deſerving that title, was the laſt poem of Rowley's produced by Chatterton, who ſent it to the printer of the Town and Country Magazine only a month before his death; in whoſe hands it remained till Mr. Tyrwhit added it to this collection: It is more fully gloſſed and explained by Chatterton, than any other of Rowley's works, in proportion as he became more converſant with our ancient language; but his anecdotes concerning the birth, education, and death of Rowley, muſt reſt upon his own authority, for want of more authentic evidence, and carry ſuch a degree of credit as the reader may be inclined to allow them. Rowley's Memoirs ſay, that he declined the offer of a Canonry from his friend Canning, in the church of Weſtbury; after whoſe death, he lived in a houſe which he had purchaſed in Briſtol.

This poem is written in the ſtile of a moral ſatyriſt, cenſuring the pride, pomp, and want of generoſity in the wealthy Eccleſiaſtics of thoſe days. It is in effect an illuſtration of the parable of the good Samaritan, marking, with the moſt ſevere and poignant reflections, the contraſt between the charitable Limitour, and the ſupercilious Abbot. The ſatire is keen, the morality excellent,

excellent, and the deſcription worked up with wonderful art, propriety, and dignity of expreſſion. The ripeneſs of the Autumnal ſeaſon, the heat of the ſun, the cloſeneſs of the atmoſphere, the gradual approach of the thunder-ſtorm, with its violent effects, the momentary intervening calm, and return of the ſtorm, cannot be deſcribed in words more expreſſive of their effects.

AN EXCELENTE BALADE OF CHARITIE:

AS WROTEN BIE THE GODE PRIESTE

THOMAS ROWLEY[a], 1464.

IN Virgyne[b] the ſweltrie ſun gan ſheene,
And hotte upon the mees[c] did caſte his raie;
The apple rodded[d] from its palie greene,
And the mole[e] peare did bende the leafy ſpraie;
The peede chelandri[f] ſunge the livelong daie;
'Twas nowe the pride, the manhode of the yeare,
And eke the grounde was dighte[g] in its moſe defte[h] aumere[i].

[a] Thomas Rowley, the author, was born at Norton Mal-reward in Somerſetſhire, educated at the Convent of St. Kenna at Keyneſham, and died at Weſtbury in Glouceſterſhire. [b] *The ſign of Virgo.* [c] Meads. [d] Reddened, ripened. [e] Soft. [f] Pied goldfinch. [g] Dreſt, arrayed. [h] Neat, ornamental. [i] A looſe robe or mantle.

The

V. 1. It was uſual with our ancient poets to deſcribe the ſeaſon of the year by the ſigns of the Zodiac. Thus Lidgate,

When Phœbus in the Crabbe had nere his courſe run.

And in Chaucer's Prologue;

——— and the young Son
Hath in the Ram half his courſe run.

In the Proem to Troil. and Creſſ. b. ii.

And when Phœbus doth his bright beemis ſpread,
Right in the white Bolle.

So

The ſun was glemeing in the midde of daie,
Deadde ſtill the aire, and eke the welken[k] blue,
When from the ſea ariſt[l] in drear arraie
A hepe of cloudes of ſable ſullen hue,
The which full faſt unto the woodlande drewe,
Hiltring[m] attenes[n] the ſunnis fetive[o] face,
And the blacke tempeſte ſwolne and gatherd up apace.

Beneathe an holme, faſte by a pathwaie ſide,
Which dide unto Seyncte Godwine's covent[p] lede,
A hapleſs pilgrim moneynge did abide,
Pore in his viewe, ungentle[q] in his weede[r],
Longe bretful[f] of the miſeries of neede,

[k] The ſky, the atmoſphere. [l] Aroſe. [m] Hiding, ſhrouding. [n] At once. [o] Beauteous. [p] It would have been *charitable*, if the author had not pointed at perſonal characters in this Ballad of Charity. The Abbot of St. Godwin's, at the time of the writing of this; was Ralph de Bellomont, a great ſtickler for the Lancaſtrian family. Rowley was a Yorkiſt. [q] Beggarly. [r] *Dreſs*. [f] Filled with.

Where

So Skelton, in his Prologue to the Bouge of Court;

In Autumpne, whan the Sun in Virgine,
By radyant Sunne enrypend had our corne.

And Gawyn Douglas's Prologue to the 13th book of the Eneid;

Towart the evyn, amid the Someris hete,
Quhen in the Crab Apollo held hys ſete.

V. 16. The ſituation of St. Godwin's Abbey is amongſt Rowley's hiſtorical difficulties: No Saint of that name, nor any church dedicated to ſuch a Saint, occurs either in our Legends or Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. It may be therefore a fictitious title, under which he intended to laſh the character of ſome wealthy Abbot. The Memoirs before mentioned, ſpeak ſeriouſly of ſuch an abbey, to which Rowley went on a commiſſion from Mr. Canning, in ſearch of drawings; but to anſwer for the authenticity of that account, is no part of the preſent undertaking.

V. 18. Pore in his viewe, ungentle in his weede,

Dunbar, the Scotch poet, has a deſcription not unlike this, in his Golden Terge;

Rude is thy weid, deſtitute, bair, and rent:
Well aucht thou be affeirit of the licht. Warton, vol. ii. p. 272.

V. 19. *Bretfull* is an expreſſion uſed by Pierce Plowman; *Bretfull of breath*;—and in Chaucer's Knights Tale, *Bretfull of Rubies*.

Where from the hail-ſtone coulde the almer [s] flie?
He had no houſen theere, ne anie covent nie.

Look in his glommed [t] face, his ſprighte there ſcanne;
Howe woe-be-gone, how withered, forwynd [u], deade!
Haſte to thie church-glebe-houſe [x], aſshrewed [y] manne!
Haſte to thie kiſte [z], thie onlie dortoure [a] bedde.
Cale, as the claie whiche will gre on thie hedde,
Is Charitie and Love aminge [b] highe elves;
Knightis and Barons live for pleaſure and themſelves.

The gatherd ſtorme is rype; the bigge drops falle;
The forſwat [c] meadowes ſmethe [d], and drenche [e] the raine;
The comyng ghaſtneſs [f] do the cattle pall [g],
And the full flockes are drivynge ore the plaine;
Daſhde from the cloudes the waters flott [h] againe;

[s] Beggar. [t] Clouded, dejected. A perſon of ſome note in the literary world is of opinion, that *glum* and *glom* are modern cant words; and from this circumſtance doubts the authenticity of Rowley's Manuſcripts. Glum-mong in the Saxon ſignifies twilight, a dark or dubious light; and the modern word *gloomy* is derived from the Saxon *glum*. [u] Dry, ſapleſs. [x] The grave. [y] Accurſed, unfortunate. [z] Coffin. [a] A ſleeping room. [b] *Among*. [c] Sun-burnt, *ſweating*. [d] Smoke. [e] Drink. [f] *Ghaſtlineſs*. [g] Pall, a contraction from appall, to fright. [h] Fly, *rather*, *float*.

The

V. 22. This account of the Almer's face and dreſs is marked with Rowley's deſcriptive lineaments: The word *glommed* wanted not an explanation from Chatterton; *clum*, in the Miller's Tale, means ſilence, cloſely connected with the *gloom* or *glommed face* of melancholy. *Woe-begone* is alſo a familiar word both with Gower and Spenſer.

V. 29. The ſtorm gathers and advances moſt poetically in the fifth ſtanza. In that which follows, the elements themſelves ſeem to ſpeak, and every idea is realiſed in the deſcription: The ſlow approach, loud burſt, and gradual dying away of the thunder, conveyed both in the meaſure and ſound of the poetry, the

The welkin opes; the yellow levynne[i] flies;
And the hot fierie ſmothe[k] in the wide lowings[l] dies.

Liſte! now the thunder's rattling clymmynge[m] ſound
Cheves[n] ſlowlie on, and then embollen[o] clangs,
Shakes the hie ſpyre, and loſſt, diſpended[p], drown'd,
Still on the gallard[q] eare of terroure hanges;
The windes are up; the lofty elmen ſwanges;
Again the levynne and the thunder poures,
And the full cloudes are braſte[r] attenes in ſtonen ſhowers.

Spurreynge his palfrie oere the watrie plaine,
The Abbote of Seyncte Godwynes convente came;
His chapournette[s] was drented with the reine,
And his pencte[t] gyrdle met with mickle ſhame;
He aynewarde tolde his bederoll[u] at the ſame;
The ſtorme encreaſen, and he drew aſide,
With the miſt[x] almes craver neere to the holme to bide.

[i] Lightning. [k] Steam, or vapours. [l] Flames. [m] Noiſy. [n] Moves, *rather, trembles.* [o] Swelled, ſtrengthened. [p] *Exhauſted.* [q] Frighted. [r] Burſt. [s] A ſmall round hat, not unlike the ſhapournette in heraldry, formerly worn by eccleſiaſtics and lawyers. [t] Painted. [u] He told his beads backwards; a figurative expreſſion to ſignify curſing. [x] Poor, needy.

His

ſucceeding ſtorm of wind, the trees bending under its fury, with the return of thunder, lightning and hail, compleat a deſcription not to be excelled either in ancient or modern poetry.

V. 37. *Cheves* expreſſes that tremulous ſound, which is heard on the diſtant approach of thunder. It is uſed by Gower and Chaucer, as equivalent to *ſhiver*, R. R. 1732. *In that day I have cheverd oft*; and in Black Knight's Tale, 231. *That now I chiver for default of hete.* Chatterton did not know the force of the expreſſion, when he explained it by *moves.*

V. 38. *Diſpended* or *exhauſted*, is a word uſed by Gower.

V. 43. The deſcription of the Abbot's dreſs is ſuitable to the age, and not unlike that of Chaucer's Monk:

His cope [y] was all of Lyncolne clothe ſo fyne, 50
With a gold button faſten'd neere his chynne;
His autremete [z] was edged with golden twynne,

[y] A cloke. [z] A looſe white robe, worn by prieſts, *rather, a cowl.*

And

I ſaw his ſleevis purfiled at the hand
With gris, and that the fineſt in the land;
And for to faſten his hood under his chin,
He hadde of gold ywroughte a curious pinne. V. 193.

The girdle was a principal part of dreſs, and a painted one was a capital piece of finery.

V. 50. The Abbot's cope was of *Lincolne clothe*, in high repute at that time for its fineneſs and colour, eſpecially the *green*, which probably the Abbot wore, whilſt the dreſs of the Monks was *grey* or *black*: So Lidgate, in his Canterbury Tale, deſcribes himſelf as the reverſe in dreſs and equipment from the richer eccleſiaſtics,

In a cope of *black*, and *not of grene*,
On a palfray ſlender long and lene,
With ruſty bridle made not for the ſale,
My man to forne with a void male *.

Edward the IIId made Lincoln a ſtaple for wool; and the extenſive neighbouring heath, which fed great flocks of ſheep, contributed to the eſtabliſhment of the woollen manufacture there: Drayton, in his 25th Song, deſcribes

Her ſwains in ſhepherds gray, her girls in *Lincoln green*:

And in the following book, Robin Hood's men are deſcribed as

All clad in *Lincoln green*:

So Spenſer—All in a woodmans jacket he was clad of *Lincoln green*:

In the old ballads about Robin Hood, publiſhed by Evans, vol. i. p. 141, he is repreſented as clothed in a mantle of *Lincoln green*; and p. 88, it is ſaid of his mother,

That ſhe got on her holyday kirktle and gown,
They were all of *Lincoln green*.

See again p. 151. It is by no means probable that Chatterton could have known the reputation of this manufacture.

V. 52. *Autremite* was not, as Chatterton explains it, *a long looſe robe*, but a *cowl*, *coif*, or *head-dreſs*. Skinner, who calls it ſimply *veſtimentum*, adds *forſan q. Altera mitra*; and ſo it is uſed by Chaucer in his Monk's Tale, where he deſcribes the reverſe of Zenobia's fortune:

And ſhe that *helmid* was in ſtarke ſtouris,
Shall on her hedde now werin *Autremite*.

* Portmanteau.

Mr.

And his ſhoone pyke [a] a loverds [b] mighte have binne;
Full well it ſhewn he thoughten coſte no ſinne:
The trammels of the palfrye pleaſde his ſighte,
For the horſe-millanare [c] his head with roſes dighte.

[a] *Picked ſhoes.* [b] A lord. [c] I believe this trade is ſtill in being, though but ſeldom employed.

An

Mr. Tyrwhit, vol. iii. p. 282, from the authority of MSS. calls it "*vitrymite*, "*wytermite*, *wintermite*, and *vitryte*, but acknowledges the printed editions read it "*Autremite*; which he ſays is equally unintelligible:" But does not this paſſage confirm the printed text of Chaucer, both in the orthography and ſenſe?

V. 53. The *ſhoone pyked*, or picked ſhoes, was another elegance of dreſs in thoſe days. Thus, in the Story of William Canning, Truth is deſcribed as having

Ne browded mantell of a ſcarlett hue,
Ne *ſhoone pykes* plaited o'er with ribband geere.

This cuſtom of projecting the pikes or points of their ſhoes, to a moſt inordinate length, became ſo faſhionable, that in 1465 (the year after this poem was written) Stowe ſays, "It was proclaimed through England, that the beakes or pikes of ſhoone "or boots ſhould not paſs two inches, upon pain of curſing by the clergy, and for-"feiting twenty ſhillings, to be paid, one noble to the king, another to the cord-"wainers of London, and the third to the chamber of London; and in other "cities and townes the like order was taken: Before this time, and ſince the year "of our Lord 1382, the pikes of ſhoon and boots were of ſuch length, that they "were faine to be tyed up to their knees with chaines of ſilver gilt, or at the "leaſt with ſilk lace."

This ballad bearing date a year before the proclamation, invalidates the objector's remark in Gentleman's Magazine for May 1777, p. 207, "That the Abbot was "a bold man, to retain this cuſtom to the laſt."

V. 55. The furniture of of their horſes was likewiſe a great object of attention: It is ſaid of Chaucer's Monk,

That when he rode, men might his bridel here,
Gingeling in a whiſtling wind, as clere,
And eke as loud as doth the chapelle belle. V. 169.

The hoſt obſerves on the meanneſs of Lidgate's appearance,

That his bridle had neither boſs nor *bell.*

And in another paſſage, it is remarked,

His palfrey was as brown as a berry. V. 207.

An almes, ſir prieſte! the droppynge pilgrim ſaide,
O! let me waite within your covente dore,
Till the ſunne ſheneth hie above our heade,
And the loude tempeſte of the aire is oer;
Helpleſs and ould am I alas! and poor;
No houſe, ne friend, ne moneie in my pouche;
All yatte I call my owne is this my ſilver crouche [a].

Varlet, replyd the Abbatte, ceaſe your dinne;
This is no ſeaſon almes and prayers to give;
Mie porter never lets a faitour [b] in;
None touch mie rynge who not in honour live.
And now the ſonne with the blacke cloudes did ſtryve,

[a] *Crucifix.* [b] A beggar, or vagabond, *deceiver, impoſtor.*

And

To the ſame purpoſe, Mr. Warton quotes a paſſage from Wicliff's Trialogue, who inveighs againſt the prieſts for their "fair hors and jolly and gay ſaddeles, and bridles ringing by the way." Vol. i. p. 164, note.

It is not doubted, I preſume, that the perſons who made trappings and furniture for horſes, were called *Horſe Millanars*; for though the word is now generally confined to the dreſs of the fair ſex, yet the etymology of both is the ſame, taking its riſe from a trade begun and carried on by the inhabitants of Milan; though we cannot regularly deduce the hiſtory and progreſs of it.

In a roll of expences, temp. Henry VIII. (publiſhed with the Form of Cury, by Mr. Pegge,) mention is made of *myllen ſleeves of whyte ſatten*, and *a millon bonnett dreſsd with agletts*. The office of horſe-milliner, however, is ſtill preſerved in the king's ſtables, and has a place in the Red book, with a yearly ſalary of ten guineas annexed to it, in favour of a female, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſupply the roſes and ribbands with which the king's horſes are adorned on particular occaſions, ſuch as reviews, or when the king goes in ſtate to the Houſe of Peers, or in any other great and ſolemn proceſſion. I am alſo credibly informed, that the term of *Horſe Milliner* is ſtill ſo common at Norwich, as to be uſed in advertiſements and hand-bills, and applied to collar-makers; who furniſh moſt kinds of geer for farmers draught-horſes, and are more generally called *Knackers*.

V. 67. It is well known that Biſhops and Abbots wore rings of ſtate, adorned with a gem, generally a ſapphire; the azure colour being emblematical of heaven.

And ſhettynge[f] on the grounde his glairie[g] raie,
The Abbatte ſpurrde his ſteede, and eftſoones roadde awaie.

Once moe the ſkie was blacke, the thounder rolde;
Faſte reyneynge oer the plaine a prieſte was ſeen;
Ne dighte full proude, ne buttoned up in golde;
His cope and jape[h] were graie, and eke were clene;
A Limitoure[i] he was of order ſeene;
And from the pathwaie ſide then turned hee,
Where the pore almer laie binethe the holmen tree.

An almes, ſir prieſt! the droppynge pilgrim ſayde,
For ſweete Seyncte Marie and your order ſake.
The Limitoure then looſen'd his pouche threade,

[f] *Shooting.* [g] *Clear, ſhining.* [h] A ſhort ſurplice, worn by friars of an inferior claſs, and ſecular prieſts. [i] *A licenſed begging friar.*

And

John Biſhop of Ardfert, who died at St. Albans, bequeathed to that Abbey no leſs than three magnificent ſapphire rings.—(See Sir James Weare's lives of the Iriſh Biſhops, and the Regiſter of St. Albans in the Cotton Library.) This cuſtom continued even after the Reformation, for Archbiſhop Parker bequeathed his beſt ſapphire ring to Grindall, Archbiſhop of York (who happened to be his ſucceſſor), and his ſecond ſapphire ring to William Cecil.—So likewiſe Grindall, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, bequeathed a ſapphire ring to Whitgift, Biſhop of Worceſter, who was alſo his ſucceſſor.—See Strype's Lives of the Archbiſhops. The touching this ring by an inferior, or at leaſt the kiſſing the hand which wore it, was conſidered as a mark of diſtant reſpect on approaching their perſons; and the permiſſion denoted an acceptance of the compliment.

V. 69. *Shettynge* for ſhooting, is the vulgar pronunciation of the word in Devonſhire to this day.

V. 75. Limitours were friars who had a licence to beg within a certain diſtrict; the word occurs in Chaucer's Prologues. The form of his purſe, his manner of wearing it, and the piece of money given in charity, ſpeak the genuine language of that age.

And did thereoute a groate of ſilver take;
The miſter [k] pilgrim dyd for halline [l] ſhake.
Here take this ſilver, it maie eathe [m] thie care;
We are Goddes ſtewards all, nete [n] of oure owne we bare.

But ah! unhailie [o] pilgrim, lerne of me,
Scathe [p] anie give a rentrolle [q] to their Lorde.
Here take my ſemecope [r], thou arte bare I ſee;
Tis thyne; the Seynctes will give me mie rewarde.
He left the pilgrim, and his waie aborde [s].
Virgynne and hallie Seyncte, who ſitte yn gloure [t];
Or give the mittee [u] will, or give the gode man power.

[k] *Needy.* [l] Joy. [m] Eaſe. [n] Nought. [o] Unhappy. [p] *Scarce.* [q] *An account of their rent.* [r] A ſhort under-cloke. [s] *Went on.* [t] Glory. [u] Mighty, rich.

V. 82. *The miſter pilgrim.* This word is explained by Johnſon and others as ſignifying trade or occupation; and indeed Chaucer uſes it in that ſenſe,

What *miſtere* men ye be. V. 5614.

But Dr. Johnſon has not obſerved, that it alſo ſignifies *want* and *neceſſity:*

If that men had *miſtere* of thee. Chaucer, v. 6078.
And han of council more *miſter.* v. 6511.

So Gawen Douglas,

Quhare I offendit or *myſteris* correction.

And Spenſer,

As to my name, it *miſtreth* not to tell. F. Q. B. iii. l. 7. ſt. 51.

V. 86. *Rentrolle* here, and *renteynge rolles* in the Storie of William Cannynge, v. 128, mean *rent*, or the money due for what they occupy. One of theſe parchments called a *Rent-roll*, and containing an account of Canning's chantries, for the year 1467, is in Mr. Barret's poſſeſſion: The manner of ſignifying the diſcharge of each quarter's rent, was by cutting a ſmall hole in the left hand margin of the roll, in the ſhape of a lozenge.

The concluding prayer of this Ballad marks the genuine diſpoſition of its author, who, in all his compoſitions, ſtudied not leſs to improve, than to amuſe the mind of his reader.

THE

SONGE TO ÆLLA.

WE may now conſider Rowley's abilities in Lyric poetry, of which ſome ſpecimens have been already given in the Minſtrells Songs in Ella, Godwin, and the Tournament: But the Song to Ella was, in the opinion of the author, when he wrote it; *The beſt performance of his lyttel wytte.* The reader will determine whether the Chorus in Godwin, though imperfect, does not excel in deſcriptive expreſſion.

This Song or Ode, being prefaced with a challenge to Lidgate, and followed by his anſwer; and the authenticity of all theſe pieces being queſtioned; the objections muſt be removed, before the merit of the Ode can be conſidered: Unfortunately for the poet, the Challenge and Anſwer are ſuppoſed to be ſpurious by Mr. Warton, on account of the affected meanneſs of the compoſition; whilſt other critics, with no leſs preciſion, condemn the Ode itſelf, as exceeding the poetic abilities of the fifteenth century: Other objections, of a particular kind, are made to the ſeveral paſſages; all which ſhall be duly conſidered.

Rowley's ſuppoſed competitor, John Lidgate, Monk of Bury, was a poet of great fame at the beginning of the fifteenth century; for even the catalogue of his poems (many of which are printed) fills more than three folio pages in Tanner's Bibl. Britan. who ſpeaks of him not only as "an elegant poet, and a good orator, "but alſo as an expert mathematician, an acute philoſopher, and

" no contemptible divine." Having travelled in France and Italy, and acquired the languages of thoſe countries, he enriched his native tongue with poetic tranſlations from them. He was ordained prieſt in 1397, and was certainly alive in 1446, as appears by one of his poems. (See Tanner's Bibl. Britan.)

If the Ballad on the Craft of Lovers, aſcribed by Urry to Chaucer, p. 353, from a miſtake in the date *, was written by Lidgate, (of whoſe poetry it makes a part, in the original MS. in the Harleian Collection) it will extend that poet's life to a much later period, and render him ſtill more nearly contemporary with Rowley. But notwithſtanding ſo conſiderable a diſparity in their age, they might have had communication with each other; and the note in the ſecond poem on the Battle of Haſtings ſeems to imply that Rowley had ſubmitted that poem to Lidgate's peruſal. The Challenge is addreſſed to him in London, where he muſt frequently have been, when he preſented his poems to King Henry the VIth, and to the Duke of Glouceſter: The printed title calls him *Ladgate*, but Mr. Barrett convinced Chatterton, from the original, that he had miſtaken it for *Lidgate*; it was not eaſy, however, to make him acknowledge an error, though he had fallen into other miſtakes in the ſame poem, as appears by the various readings in the Introductory account. By the way, this was the firſt of Rowley's compoſitions produced by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett; and, beſides the apparent antiquity of the vellum, ink, and handwriting, it had this unuſual, but ſtrong proof of authenticity, that it was written in continued lines, extending the whole breadth of the parchment, like a proſe compoſition. Mr. Warton himſelf has obſerved, vol. i. p. 35, " That it was cuſ-
" tomary with ancient ſcribes, when ſtanzas conſiſted of ſhort

* Which, inſtead of 1347, ſhould be 1459; for it ſtands thus in the original MS.

In the yere of our Lord M by rekoning,
Four hundred fiftie & nine following.

" verſes,

" verſes, to throw them together like proſe." The yellow colour of the ink and parchment (which Mr. Warton concludes to be a fraud, without bringing the leaſt proof to give credit to his aſſertion) is certainly a preſumptive argument in favour of its authenticity; but the parchment from which Mr. Warton formed his judgment, is now no longer the ſubject of appeal; having been lent by Mr. Barrett, to gratify the curioſity of ſome friends, it was unfortunately loſt, almoſt beyond the hope of recovery; that deficiency, however, may be ſupplied by internal proofs.

It has been alſo objected by the ſame learned critic, that the writing of this roll did not correſpond with the record hand of that age; but is there any neceſſity that theſe poems ſhould have been written in a record hand? and as to the common running hand of the fifteenth century, it was much more deficient in regularity and orthography than the ſpecimens in queſtion.

As to the Challenge, it can hardly be conſidered as a real competition for fame between theſe two poets. The diſparity in their age, and the eſtabliſhed reputation of Lidgate, forbid the ſuppoſition, and make it more probable that this ſpecimen of Rowley's Muſe was intended as a compliment and mark of deference to Lidgate, aſpiring to fame under the favour of ſo conſiderable a poet. Lidgate's reply confirms the idea: He produces no poem in oppoſition to Rowley: But the Anſwer is intended as a compliment to his genius, by comparing him with the firſt poets of our own or other countries. Indeed Rowley ſeems to diſclaim all idea of rivaling Lidgate, in thoſe words,

Rememberr Stowe, the Brightſtowe Carmalyte, &c.

He might rather ſay with Lucretius,

Haud ita certandi cupidus, quam propter amorem,
Quod te imitari aveo; quid enim contendat hirundo
Cycnis?———

May it not not be ſuppoſed that Lidgate had ſent to Rowley, in a manner not to be denied, expreſſing a curioſity to ſee ſome of his compoſitions; which, though no challenge, or bowting match, Rowley, in compliment to Lidgate, might affect to conſider as ſuch? *A bowting match* agrees with the language of ancient ballads. See Evans's Collection, vol. i. p. 134, where Robin Hood ſays,

A bowt with thee I mean to have.

As to John Clarkynge's literary merit (who is ſaid to be *one of mickle lore)* we know nothing more of it than is here mentioned; but Stowe may mean *John Stone*, a famous divine, and Carmelite-fryar at Briſtol, contemporary with Rowley, who is ſaid by Tanner to have written *Sermones de tempore*. It has been already obſerved, that Chatterton frequently miſtook *w* for *n* in his tranſcripts.

It will not detract from the authenticity of theſe pieces to ſuppoſe, that both the Challenge and Anſwer were ideal, the produce of Rowley's imagination, founded either in his love for invention, or his ambition for fame: Such fictions are not without example: Skelton, poet laureat to Henry VIIIth, repreſents himſelf as introduced by the Queen of Fame to her temple, amongſt ſeveral celebrated writers and poets: Gower, Chaucer, and Lidgate compliment him ſeparately on his poetic merit, and he is dubbed by Lidgate *Prothonatary of the Court*. See his "Crown of Laurel." The conteſt between Lidgate and Rowley, if it had been real, muſt have been very unequal. In that view, no objection can be made to the meanneſs of Lidgate's reply; who, notwithſtanding his high reputation as a poet, and ſome brilliant deſcriptions ſelected from his works by Mr. Warton, is ſaid by him to be "verboſe "and diffuſe in his manner, often tedious and languid, ſeldom "pathetic or animate." Vol. ii. p. 58.

A ſpecimen of his literature and poetic merit will appear from a part of his Prologue to the Tranſlation of Boccace's Fall of Princes.

I never was acquainted with Virgile,
Nor with the ſuggard ditties of Homere,
Nor Dares Phrygius with his golden ſtile,
Nor with Ovide in poetry moſt entire,
Nor with the ſovereign Ballads of Chaucer,
Which among all that ever were read or ſung,
Excelld all other in our Engliſh tung.
B. ix. c. 18.

And in his addreſs to the Prince,

I was never yet at Citheron,
Nor in the mountain called Parnaſs,
Where nine muſes have their manſion;
I will procede furth with white and black,
And where I fail, let Lydgate bear the lack.

But Mr. Warton, on another occaſion (vol. ii. p. 59) expreſſes ſo much ſurprize at the merit of Lidgate's verſes, "that in this "ſagacious age we ſhould have judged them to be a forgery, was "not their genuineneſs authenticated, and their antiquity confirm-"ed, by Caxton's types and unqueſtionable manuſcripts:" Why may not, then, his judgment be equally deceived with reſpect to Rowley, whoſe poetry is ſupported by a weight of internal evidence, not inferior to the external one of Caxton's types.

There is an impropriety charged on Lidgate's Anſwer to the Challenge, for placing King Alfred among the poets. But it muſt be acknowledged, that he was a great hiſtorian and lawgiver; and eminent for his parables, which is alſo a ſpecies of poetry. "In "parabolis ita enituit, ut nemo poſt illum amplius." See Annales Winceſt. apud Dugdale's Monaſt. t. i. p. 32. A ſpecimen of them may be ſeen in Spelman's Life of Alfred, lib. ii. ſect. 46.

This circumſtance alone might juſtify the poet in ſaying, that

To the Saxon men
He ſang with elocation.

And for a ſimilar reaſon Turgotus might have been placed

in the ſame company; for he was moſt indiſputably an eminent hiſtorian: And the beam which Rowley caught from him might have conveyed hiſtoric light, not poetic fire. But, in fact, Alfred is ranked by our hiſtorians among the poets. Bale ſays, "Poeta non vulgaris haberetur:" Spelman, in his life, quotes an author who calls him "Saxonicorum poetarum "peritiſſimus;" and he is ſtiled, in the Biographia Britannica, "the Prince of Saxon Poets." Mr. Warton alſo charges the Anſwer rather uncandidly, for making Chaucer and Stowe contemporaries with Turgot; for it was not the intention of the poet to diſtinguiſh preciſely their reſpective æra's, but to deduce the ſucceſſion of theſe eminent geniuſes from thoſe of Greece and Rome, to our own countrymen, Merlin, Alfred, and Turgot, under the three ſucceſſive governments of Britons, Saxons and Normans. The two perſons next in order, viz. Chaucer and Stowe, could not be otherwiſe deſcribed, as living at a ſucceſſive period: The word *then* being equivalent to *afterwards*. But it is not to be ſuppoſed, that poets of that or any other age attended to ſuch nice chronological accuracies; nor indeed is the objection of any force; for if Chatterton had half the knowledge of poetry that his advocates wiſh to give him, he was not more likely than Rowley to have miſtaken the age in which Chaucer lived.

But enough of Lidgate. Let us proceed to the objections made to the Song, from the excellence of its poetry, and the peculiarity of its meaſure. The former of theſe will extend to every poem in the collection, and amounts only to this, that the fifteenth century has not produced, and therefore could not produce, ſo great a genius as Rowley. But this point having been already conſidered, and anſwered, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that the like objection may be extended to every other great genius in poetry, and in all other ſciences, who, by ſurpaſſing their contemporaries, have been conſidered as prodigies of the age in which they lived: Might not the works of Homer and Pindar, of Shakeſpeare

and Milton, be condemned as ſpurious on the ſame principle? and with what conſiſtence of argument can theſe excellencies (uncommon as they are) be denied to a perſon mature in age, learned by education and profeſſion, and yet be allowed (without the advantages of age, experience, ſtudy, and learning) to the earlieſt efforts of a diſſipated youth of ſeventeen years of age, born in indigence, and educated in a charity-ſchool?

The objections to the metre of the Song are, that the Pindaric or (to ſpeak more properly) irregular meaſure, was unknown, or at leaſt not revived in Rowley's time *. It muſt be acknowledged, that the firſt efforts of our Engliſh poets were unenriched with variety, being chiefly confined to lines of equal feet, rhiming either in couplets or alternately. The many-line ſtanza was afterwards introduced, and terminated by an Alexandrine. This meaſure was thought ſufficient to deſcribe hiſtorical events, or to expreſs the common emotions of the human paſſions; and Rowley himſelf is a proof how adequate they are for that purpoſe, under the conduct of ſo great a poet. But might not the fire of his genius, when inſpired by his ſubject, take the ſame liberty in varying the poetic *meaſure*, as other contemporary poets did in the *rhime*, even on a ſuppoſition that he had never ſeen or heard of the works of Pindar, which the objectors cannot take upon them to prove?

The irregularity in the metre of this Song is very conſiderable; dividing it into ſix ſtanzas of ſix lines each, the ſecond anſwers exactly to the fifth, and the fourth to the ſixth, and the difference between all four is a mere trifle. The third is quite irregular, and the firſt, though quite unlike the reſt, is not inharmonious.

The perſon, character, and offices of Ella having been already deſcribed, the following remarks ſhall be confined to ſuch paſſages of the Song as may ſeem to require illuſtration.

* Cowley obſerves, that Pancirollus might have counted this in the liſt of the loſt inventions of antiquity, which he made a bold and vigorous attempt to recover. See Johnſon's Life of that Poet.

TO

TO JOHNE LADGATE.

[SENT WITH THE FOLLOWING SONGE TO ÆLLA.]

WELL thanne, goode Johne, ſythe [a] ytt muſt needes be ſoe,
Thatt thou & I a bowtynge matche muſt have,
Lette ytt ne breakynge of oulde friendſhyppe bee,
Thys ys the onelie all-a-boone [b] I crave.

Rememberr Stowe, the Bryghtſtowe Carmalyte,
Who whanne Johne Clarkynge, one of myckle lore [c],
Dydd throwe hys gauntlette-penne, wyth hym to fyghte,
Hee ſhowd ſmalle wytte, and ſhowd hys weakneſſe more.

Thys ys mie formance, whyche I nowe have wrytte,
The beſt performance of mie lyttel wytte.

SONGE TO ÆLLA,

LORDE OF THE CASTEL OF BRYSTOWE YNNE DAIES OF YORE.

OH thou, orr what remaynes of thee,
Ælla, the darlynge of futurity,
Lett thys mie ſonge bolde as thie courage be,
As everlaſtynge to poſteritye.

[a] *Since.* [b] *Favour.* [c] *Much learning.*

Whanne

Whanne Dacya's [d] ſonnes, whoſe hayres of bloude-redde hue
Lyche kynge-cuppes [e] braſtynge wythe the morning due,
Arraung'd ynne dreare arraie,
Upponne the lethale daie,
Spredde farre and wyde onne Watchets ſhore;
Than dyddſt thou furiouſe ſtande,
And bie thie valyante hande
Beeſprengedd [f] all the mees wythe gore.

Drawne bie thyne anlace [g] felle,
Downe to the depthe of helle
Thouſandes of Dacyanns went;
Bryſtowannes, menne of myghte,
Ydar'd the bloudie fyghte,
And actedd deeds full quent [h].

Oh thou, whereer (thie bones att reſte)
Thye Spryte to haunte delyghteth beſte,
Whetherr upponne the bloude-embrewedd pleyne,
Orr whare thou kennſt fromm farre
The dyſmall crye of warre,
Orr ſeeſt ſomme mountayne made of corſe of ſleyne;

[d] *The Danes.* [e] *Butter-flowers.* [f] *Sprinkled.* [g] *Terrible ſword.* [h] *Strange.*

Orr

V. 29. The invocation at the beginning of the ſecond ſtanza, reſembles Virgil's addreſs to the Spirit of Cæſar.—Georg. B. i. l. 24.

Tuque adeo, quem mox quæ ſint habitura Deorum
Concilia, incertum eſt, urbiſne inviſere Cæſar,
Terranimque velis curam———
An Deus immenſi venias maris—
Quicquid eris———

Orr ſeeſt the hatchedd [i] ſtede,
Ypraunceynge o'er the mede,
And neighe to be amenged [k] the poynctedd ſpeeres;
Orr ynne blacke armoure ſtaulke arounde
Embattel'd Bryſtowe, once thie grounde,
And glowe [l] ardurous [m] onn the Caſtle ſteeres;

[i] *Armed and covered with atchievements.* [k] *Among, or mingled with.*
[l] *Look earneſtly, ſtare.* [m] *Burning.*

Orr

V. 35. The hatched horſe (in the ſtile of that age) or the horſe covered with atchievements,

Ypraunceyng o'er the mead,
Who neighs to be among the pointed ſpears,

may remind the reader of the horſe in Job, ch. xxxix. v. 21.

21. He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth in his ſtrength: He goeth on to meet the armed men.

23. The quiver rattleth againſt him, the glittering ſpear and the ſhield.

But this may be only a caſual coincidence of ideas, which (like others before mentioned) occur to original poets without any communication with each other's works.

The critic before quoted, in the Gentleman's Magazine, May 1777, p. 207, objects to the mention of hatchments or devices on the ſhields. See B. H. N° 2. v. 279, 280, 489, and 572; where each Norman knight is ſaid

To beer *war-token* in a ſhielde ſo fyne

This uſage he ſuppoſes not to be as ancient as the Conqueror's time; but devices on ſhields, and even mottoes to them, are as old as Æſchylus and Euripides, and even as the heroes they introduce on the ſtage. See the Ἑπτα ἐπὶ Θήβαις, v. 393, of the former, and the Phæniſſæ, v. 1114, & ſeq. of the latter. They are undoubtedly coeval with the Conqueſt, at leaſt they are to be found on the Bayeux Tapeſtry, which is ſuppoſed to be almoſt as ancient; but if the fact was otherwiſe, ſuch a poetical anachroniſm would not affect the authenticity of the poem.

V. 36. Chatterton having miſtaken the word *ypraunceynge*, wrote it *ifrayning*. See the Introd. Account: A ſure proof that he was the copier, and not the author of the Song.

V. 40. *Caſtle ſteeres.* Davie, in his *Geſte of Alexander*, uſes the word *Steris* for *apartments*; and *ſtede* for *lodging*. See Warton, vol. iii. p. 124.

Orr fierye round the mynſterr glare;
Lette Bryſtowe ſtylle be made thie care;
Guarde ytt fromme foemenne & conſumynge fyre;
Lyche Avones ſtreme enſyrke [n] ytte rounde,
Ne lette a flame enharme the grounde,
Tylle ynne one flame all the whole worlde expyre.

[n] *Encircle.*

V. 41. Orr fierye round the mynſterr glare.

It has been already obſerved, that the word *minſter* can only be applied to St. Ewin's church, ſituated in the center of the town, where he might ſurvey it encircled by Avon's ſtream; a circumſtance noticed by Leland, "So that Avon doth "peninſulate the town," Itin. vol. v. p. 611; but Briſtol, in its preſent ſtate, can furniſh no ſuch idea.

V. 43. The danger of fire and thieves are deprecated in all cities; but Rowley's genius alone could dignify the idea, by connecting it with the general conflagration; an event which Chatterton publickly ridiculed and totally diſbelieved.

A reference is made in this Song, v. 30, and in the Tragedy of Ella, to the Caſtle of Briſtol, of which Ella was Warden or Governor in days of yore: Without recurring to the particulars relating to it in Turgot's MS. Hiſtory of Briſtol, it is obſerved by John Roſs and Leland, that Robert, the natural ſon of Henry the firſt, Conſul of Glouceſter, who married Mabill, the heireſs of Robert Fitz Hamon, founded the caſtle, or at leaſt built the large ſquare tower, called the Dongeon, with ſtones brought from Caen in Normandy. "Circa hæc tempora Robertus "filius Hamonis Comes Glouceſtriæ caſtrum Briſtoliæ fundavit cum prioratu "Sti Jacobi." Roſs Warwic. p. 110.—"Robert Conſul builded the caſtle of "Brightſtowe, or the moſt part of it. Every man ſayeth that he builded the great "ſquare dongeon, and that the ſtones thereof came out of Caen in Normandy." Leland's Itin. vol. vi. p. 85. But Sir William Dugdale, Baron. vol. i. p. 535, aſſerts, on the authority of Glover's MS. that Walter Conſtable of England, the father of Milo Fitz Warren, Earl of Hereford, built the caſtles of London, Rocheſter, and *Briſtol*; which cannot be ſtrictly true, thoſe caſtles having had a more early foundation; but from the nature of his office, we may ſuppoſe that he *rebuilt*, or at leaſt *repaired* them, and the rather, becauſe (as Sir William Dugdale obſerves) his ſon Milo came over to the Empreſs Maud's party *at Briſtol*, and entered into a ſtrict and ſolemn league with Robert, Conſul of Glouceſter, to aid him in *keeping his caſtles*. The papers now in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion furniſh a very extraordinary and authentic evidence of this fact: Amongſt them are ſome drawings repreſenting

the ground plan and elevation of the different parts of the caſtle, eſpecially the Square Tower or Dongeon, probably as they ſtood in Rowley's time, in a ſtile of architecture ſomewhat different from, but not of a more modern taſte than the buildings of the fifteenth century. The repreſentation of the Square Tower, or Dongeon, is conformable in its ſize, ſhape, and external diſpoſition, to thoſe of London, Rocheſter, and other ancient towers erected about the ſame period; but it is remarkably decorated with images, ornaments, tracery-work, and croſſes within circles, in a ſtile not uſually ſeen in thoſe buildings: Near the top of each buttreſs are alternately carved in the ſtone the following ſhields of coat armour, viz. Gules, three bow reſts, Or; and Gules, two bends, one argent the other Or. The reſpective blazons (which are not expreſſed in the drawing, nor could be repreſented on the ſtone) are here mentioned, in order to ſhew, that the former is the coat armour of Fitz Hamon, which was born by Robert Conſul of Glouceſter, firſt founder of this caſtle (ſee Milles's Catalogue of Honour, p. 358) and the latter that of Milo Fitz Warren, Earl of Hereford, the ſecond founder, or repairer of it. (Milles, p. 1061.) Amongſt theſe drawings, one repreſents this Robert Earl of Glouceſter, with a ſword in his right hand, and a ſhield with his coat-armour in his left.

Can there exiſt a more convincing proof of the originality of theſe drawings, at leaſt as far as Rowley is concerned? What can be more probable, than that the two great perſonages, who are ſaid in hiſtory to have been the founders of this caſtle, ſhould be repreſented by their coat-armour in the ſubſequent improvements of it? If the form of the building correſponds with that of the ancient Norman caſtles, why ſhould the decorations be thought ideal, becauſe no other buildings of the kind appear thus highly ornamented? The Caen ſtone, of which this Dongeon was built, is well adapted to receive carved ornaments; and, by Robert of Glouceſter's account, this caſtle was one of the moſt elegant ſtructures of the kind in England; for he ſays of Robert, the firſt Earl of Glouceſter,

> And Brikkow thour hys wyf was alſo hys;
> And he brogt in gret ſta* the toun as he gut ys,
> And rerde ther an caſtel myd the noble tour,
> That of alle the tours of Engelond ys yholde flour. P. 433.

Let it be ſuppoſed, however, that the draughtſman, whoever he was, gave a looſe to his imagination in thus ornamenting the building; yet he muſt have been acquainted with the hiſtory of the caſtle, to inſert with ſo much propriety the arms of its reſpective founders; the knowledge of them, or even of the facts to which they related, would not have continued to Rowley's time, if they had not been preſerved in authentic records, or repreſented in drawings: But if we ſuppoſe

* *State, condition.*

the

the drawing, like the poems, to have been the mere inventions of Chatterton, where was the hiſtory or ſource from which he could derive his knowledge? Was he capable of collecting, either from Leland or Dugdale, theſe remote and unintereſting facts? Could he have recourſe to heraldic authority for their verification? And, without the advantages of age, literature, or books, could he have diſcovered ſo critical a concurrence of evidence?

It is to be obſerved alſo, that theſe drawings are accompanied with proper references, explaining the ſeveral views and buildings they were intended to repreſent; and they will be found to correſpond with the accounts given of this caſtle by William Wirceſtre and Leland, whenever Mr. Barrett ſhall oblige the public with his Hiſtory of Briſtol; notwithſtanding Mr. Warton objects to them as "the "repreſentation of a building which never exiſted, in a capricious and affected ſtile "of Gothic architecture, reducible to no period or ſyſtem." See his Emendations to vol. ii. In ſhort, if this was a real edifice, Rowley muſt have been the author of the drawings; if it was only ideal, he was certainly better qualified to be the inventor, than this illiterate youth, who muſt have been an entire ſtranger both to the hiſtory and form of a building, which has lain in ruin for the two laſt centuries.

The underwritten Lines were compoſed by JOHN LADGATE, a Prieſt in London, and ſent to ROWLIE, as an Anſwer to the preceding *Songe of Ælla*.

HAVYNGE wythe mouche attentyonn redde
Whatt you dydd to mee ſende,
Admyre the varſes mouche I dydd,
And thus an anſwerr lende.

Amongs the Greeces Homer was
A Poett mouche renownde,
Amongs the Latyns Vyrgilius
Was beſte of Poets founde.

The Brytiſh Merlyn oftenne hanne
The gyfte of inſpyration,
And Afled [a] to the Sexonne menne
Dydd ſynge wythe elocation [b].

Ynne Norman tymes, Turgotus and
Goode Chaucer dydd excelle,
Thenn Stowe, the Bryghtſtowe Carmelyte,
Dydd bare awaie the belle.

Nowe Rowlie ynne theſe mokie dayes
Lendes owte hys ſheenynge lyghtes,
And Turgotus and Chaucer lyves
Ynne ev'ry lyne he wrytes.

[a] *King Alfred.* [b] *Elocution.*

THE

THE ECLOGUES.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.

THE abilities of Rowley as a paſtoral writer may be ſeen in his Eclogues, and in the Songs of Ella, which deſcribe the beauties and pleaſures of the different ſeaſons of the year: If theſe are genuine compoſitions, Mr. Warton acknowledges them to be the moſt early ſpecimens of paſtoral writing extant in our language; for he obſerves, (vol. ii. p. 255.) "that the Eclogues "of Alexander Barclay were not written till 1514, and, like "thoſe of Petrarch and Mantuan, were of the moral and ſatirical "kind, containing but few touches of rural deſcription;" a point in which Rowley particularly excels, for his ideas ſeem to have been borrowed from Theocritus and Virgil. It is eaſy to trace a reſemblance beween the firſt and fourth Eclogue of Rowley, and the firſt and ninth Paſtoral of Virgil: In both which civil diſſenſions are the ſubject of complaint; and the circumſtances of the times deſcribed in ſome degree ſimilar; the commotions occaſioned by the Triumvirates at Rome, reſembling thoſe of the civil war between the houſes of York and Lancaſter; a ſubject intereſting to ſuch as were concerned in thoſe tumults, and felt their effects; but too remote, both in date and conſequence, to be choſen for the ſubject of a modern eclogue. Robert and Rauf, deprived of the profit and pleaſure of their farms,

complain in the ſtile of thoſe Mantuan ſhepherds whom Auguſtus had deprived of their lands, in order to beſtow them on his veteran ſoldiers; and how ſimilar is the language of Melibæus to that of our Engliſh neat-herd, when he ſays, in the language of Dryden,

Farewell my paſtures, my paternal ſtock,
My fruitful fields, and my more fruitful flock;
No more my ſheep ſhall ſip the morning dew,
No more my ſong ſhall pleaſe the rural crew,
Adieu my tuneful pipe, and all the world adieu.

DRYDEN.

POEMS, &c.

ECLOGUE THE FIRST.

WHANNE Englonde, ſmeethynge[a] from her lethal[b] wounde,
From her galled necke dyd twytte[c] the chayne awaie,
Kennynge her legeful ſonnes falle all arounde,
(Myghtie theie fell, 'twas Honoure ledde the fraie,)
Thanne inne a dale, bie eve's dark ſurcote[d] graie,
Twayne lonelie ſhepſterres[e] dyd abrodden[f] flie,
(The roſtlyng[g] liff doth theyr whytte hartes affraie[h],)
And wythe the owlette trembled and dyd crie;
Firſte Roberte Neatherde hys ſore boeſom ſtroke,
Then fellen on the grounde and thus yſpoke.

ROBERTE.

Ah, Raufe! gif thos the howres do comme alonge,
Gif thos wee flie in chaſe of farther woe,

[a] Smething, ſmoking; in ſome copies bletheynge, but in the or^al as above. [b] Deadly. [c] Pluck or pull. [d] Surcote, a cloke, or mantel, which hid all the other dreſs. [e] Shepherds. [f] Abruptly, ſo Chaucer, Syke he abredden dyd attourne, *or, abroad.* [g] *Ruſtling.* [h] Affright.

Oure

V. 12. Things are chaced with two different views, either to catch, or to drive them away. The word is here uſed in the latter ſenſe.

Thus

Oure fote wylle fayle, albeytte wee bee ſtronge,
Ne wylle oure pace ſwefte as oure danger goe.
To oure grete wronges we have enheped[i] moe,
The Baronnes warre! oh! woe and well-a-daie!
I haveth lyff, bott have eſcaped ſoe,
That lyff ytſel mie Senſes doe affraie.
Oh Raufe, comme lyſte, and hear mie dernie[k] tale,
Comme heare the balefull[l] dome[m] of Robynne of the Dale.

RAUFE.

Saie to mee nete; I kenne thie woe in myne;
O! I've a tale that Sabalus[n] mote[o] telle.
Swote[p] flouretts, mantled meedows, foreſtes dygne[q];
Gravots[r] far-kend[s] arounde the Errmiets[t] cell;
The ſwote ribible[u] dynning[x] yn the dell;
The joyous daunceynge ynn the hoaſtrie[y] courte;
Eke[z] the highe ſonge and everych joie farewell,
Farewell the verie ſhade of fayre dyſporte[a]:
Impeſtering[b] trobble onn mie heade doe comme,
Ne on kynde Seyncte to warde[c] the aye[d] encreaſynge dome.

[i] Added. [k] Sad. [l] Woeful, lamentable. [m] *Fate.* [n] The Devil. [o] Might. [p] Sweet. [q] Good, neat, genteel. [r] Groves, ſometimes uſed for a coppice. [s] Far-ſeen. [t] Hermit. [u] Violin. [x] Sounding. [y] Inn, or public-houſe. [z] Alſo. [a] Pleaſure. [b] Annoying. [c] To keep off. [d] Ever, always.

ROBERTE.

Thus the Shepſter
In gentle ſlumbers *chaced* the heat of day,
B. H. N° 2. v. 82.
Not meaning to *follow* or *purſue*, but to *diſpel* the heat: So in Ella,
To *chace* the merkyneſs of nyghte awaie. V. 1128.
In the ſame ſenſe the word is to be explained in Spenſer's Calendar for October,
And let us caſt with what delight to *chace*,
And *weary* the long lingering Phæbus race.

ROBERTE.

Oh! I coulde waile mie kynge-coppe [d] -decked mees [e],
Mie ſpreedynge flockes of ſhepe of lillie white,
Mie tendre applynges [f], and embodyde [g] trees,
Mie Parker's Grange [h], far ſpreedynge to the ſyghte,

[d] *Butter-flowers.* [e] Meadows. [f] Grafted trees, *rather, Apples, or Apple-trees.*
[g] Thick, ſtout. [h] Liberty of paſture given to the Parker, *rather, Arable farm.*

Mie

V. 31. The neatherds in enumerating their loſſes, ſpecify almoſt every article of profit or pleaſure which could ariſe from a country farm.

The *King-cups*, or *King-cobbs*, (a favourite flower with Rowley, See the Song to Ella) ſtill adorns our meads, under the name of the *Butter-flower*.

V. 33. The *Applyns*, or *Apples*, were alſo the produce of Tityrus's farm:

——————Sunt nobis mitia poma.

And the liquor produced by them is noticed by our early writers. Wicliff, in his tranſlation of the New Teſtament, gives this character of John the Baptiſt, Luke i. 15. "He ſhall drink neither win nor ſidir." But the Angloſaxon tranſlators, who wrote before that liquor was introduced into the kingdom, expreſſed the ſenſe of the original by that ſpecies of fermented liquor which was then in uſe among them—"Þe ne ðrinc ẏn ne beer."—*Orcheyards* belonging to convents are mentioned by Pierce Plowman; and Chaucer ſpeaks of *ſour ſidyr*; and the Romaunt of the Roſe mentions a garden,

That peches, coines, and *apples* bare.

The epithet of *tender applyns*, if applied to the tree, may be contraſted, in reſpect to ſize, with thoſe large foreſt or *embodied trees*, (as he calls them) which alſo grew on the farm: They might be called *tender*, as young trees newly planted. *Applyn*, meaning the fruit, may be ſtiled *tender*, being much expoſed to the caſualties of weather and ſeaſons: The reader therefore may juſtly wonder why this word is placed amongſt the objectionable ones in Mr. Tyrwhit's Appendix. If Rowley is the firſt author who uſes this diminutive, have not other poets at all times, and in all ages, taken the ſame liberty? And of all diminutives, thoſe which terminate in *ling* are the moſt ancient in our language, being derived from the Saxon; ſuch as Ethe*ling*, Kind*ling*, Hinder*ling*, &c. Shakeſpear might with equal juſtice be queſtioned about the word ſapp*ling*, in Richard the IIId, becauſe that expreſſion may not be found in any preceding writer; ſome critics indeed would ſubſtitute *ſappling* in this paſſage, inſtead of *applyn*, as a proper contraſt to the *embodied trees:* But in that age, when the kingdom was ſo much encumbered with wood, the uſe and beauty

Mie cuyen [i] kyne [k], mie bullockes ſtringe [l] yn fyghte, 35
Mie gorne [m] emblaunched [n] with the comfreie [o] plante,
Mie floure [p] Seyncte Marie ſhotteyng wythe the lyghte,
Mie ſtore of all the bleſſynges Heaven can grant.

[i] Tender. [k] Cows, *rather, Cow-cattle.* [l] Strong. [m] Garden. [n] Whitened.
[o] Cumfrey, a favourite diſh at that time. [p] Marygold.

I amm

of young foreſt-trees was little attended to, nor any diſpoſition ſhewn either to plant or cut them down, unleſs for neceſſary uſes; beſides, the contraſt ſeems more elegant between barren, and fruitful, than between ſmaller and larger trees of the ſame ſpecies. Chatterton, in explaining *applyn* by *engrafted trees*, conveys neither a true nor determinate idea; but, after all, this objection may be anſwered another way, by ſhewing that *applyn* is not a diminutive, but uſed as the plural number of *apple*; and for this we have authority more ancient than Rowley's time, for *applin* occurs in Robert of Glouceſter (ſee the Gloſſary); and *applyn* is mentioned in the book of ancient receipts in cookery, in the time of Richard the IId, called, *The Form of Cury*, lately publiſhed by the Reverend Mr. Pegge.—N° 17. p. 96. *Nim appelyn*, i. e. *take apples*; and p. 97. *Par applyn*, i. e. *pare apples*. In the ſame book we find them called *appelys*, and *appels*; and the words *oyſtryn*, *piſyn*, and *hennyn*, uſed for *oyſters*, *pens*, and *hens*.

Chatterton is no leſs miſtaken in calling the word *Grange*, a *liberty of paſture*. It means a farm producing *grain*, which is the apparent etymology of the word: Every religious houſe had its farm or *grange*, which provided bread for the community: They were generally ſituated in very fertile ſpots, and many of them ſtill retain the ſame name. Theſe are therefore to be added to the proofs already given, that Chatterton did not underſtand the language of the poems, and therefore could not have been the author of them.

V. 34. The *Parker*, or hind, had the care of the encloſures, then called *parks*; ſome of which were allotted for cattle, for they are deſcribed as extenſive, and *far ſpreedynge to the ſyghte*.

V. 35. *My cuyen kine.* This is another error of Chatterton; *Cuyen* is the plural of *Cu*, the Saxon word for a cow; and *Kyne*, or *cynne*, ſignifies, in the ſame language, *ſpecies*, or *generation*; and we ſhould call them in modern Engliſh, with great propriety, *Cow-cattle*, or the *breed of cows*, as diſtinguiſhed from the males, here called *Bullockes ſtringe yn fyghte*; alluding to the then favourite diverſion of bull-baiting, for which theſe animals were trained.

V. 36. The contents of Robert's garden (which, according to provincial ſound and pronunciation, is here called *Gorne*) are well adapted to the neceſſities of the peaſant, and to the taſte of thoſe times. The *Cumfrey plant*, (one ſpecies of which

I amm dureſſed [q] unto ſorrowes blowe,
Ihanten'd [r] to the peyne, will lette ne ſalte teare flowe.

[q] Hardened, *or, compelled by.* [r] Accuſtomed.

RAUFE.

which bears a white flower) has probably never decorated any garden, except that of an herbaliſt, ſince Johnſon's time; and he had every ſpecies of that plant. But if the laying out the neatherd's garden had been the work of Chatterton, he would probably have ſelected his flowers from Shakeſpear or Milton, and have planted *daiſies*, *panſies*, *violets*, and *cuckow-buds*, interſperſed with *eglantine* and *woodbine*, the noſegays of thoſe poets; and not have contented himſelf with the homely *comfrey* and *marigold*. The latter, however, is a claſſical flower, the *Caltha* of Virgil, with one ſpecies of which Corydon decked the bower of his beloved Alexis:

Tum caſia, atque aliis intexens ſuavibus herbis,
Mollia luteola pingit vaccinia *caltha*. Ecl. ii. v. 49.

And ſet ſoft hyacinths with iron blue,
To ſhade marſh marigolds of ſhining hue.

Columella alſo thus ſpeaks of it,

Candida leucoia, & candentia lumina *calthæ*.

Stock jilly-flowers exceeding white,
And marygolds moſt yellow bright.

The property of this flower is mentioned by our poets (although unnoticed by the claſſical writers) that it opens and ſhuts with the ſun. So Shakeſpear,

The marygold that goes to bed with th' ſun,
And with him riſes weeping.
Winter's Tale, Act iv. ſc. 3.

And winking marybuds begin to ope their golden eyes.
Cymbeline, Act ii. ſc. 3.

And Sir David Lindſay,

The maryguldis, that all day were rejoyſit
Of Phœbus, now craftily ar cloſit.
Warton, vol. ii. p. 313.

A flower there is that ſhineth bright,
Some call it marygold a.
Percy, vol. ii. p. 343.

RAUFE.

Here I wille obaie [s] untylle Dethe doe 'pere,
Here lyche a foule empoyſoned leathel [t] tree,
Whyche ſleaeth [u] everichone that commeth nere,
Soe wille I fyxed unto thys place gre [x].
I to bement [y] haveth moe cauſe than thee;
Sleene in the warre mie boolie [z] fadre lies;
Oh! joieous I hys mortherer would ſlea,
And bie hys ſyde for aie encloſe myne eies.
Calked [a] from everych joie, heere wylle I blede [b];
Fell ys the Cullys-yatte [c] of mie hartes caſtle ſtede.

[s] Abide. This line is alſo wrote, "Here wyll I obaie untill dethe appere," but this is modernized. [t] Deadly. [u] Deſtroyeth, killeth. [x] Grow. [y] Lament. [z] Much-loved, beloved. [a] Caſt out, ejected, *or driven*. [b] *Stay, abide*. [c] Alluding to the portcullis, which guarded the gate, on which often depended the caſtle.

ROBERTE.

V. 42. It may be queſtioned whether there be any European tree which ſtrictly deſerves the title of *lethal* and *empoiſoned*; but thoſe terms are in ſome meaſure applicable to the Yew, which is ſuppoſed by thoſe ancient phyſicians and naturaliſts, Galen, Dioſcorides, and Theophraſtus, to be of a poiſonous quality. Dioſcorides obſerves, that ſleeping under the ſhadow of a yew-tree cauſed ſickneſs, and ſometimes death; nor is it doubted that the leaves are fatal to the cattle which browſe upon them.—It is alſo well known that bows were generally made of yew; and probably it is with reference to this, that Chaucer mentions, in his R. R. v. 923. one which was made *of a tree*.

That beareth fruit of ſavour wicke,
Full crokid was that foule ſticke.

V. 49. Here will I *blede*. This word, unexplained by Chatterton, ſhould more properly have been ſpelt *bleve*, from the A. S. word Belipan, which ſignifies *to abide*, and is evidently the ſhepherd's meaning in this paſſage; for *bleeding* and *death* are quite out of the queſtion here. The compariſon of the human heart to a caſtle, and the ſtrength of it to the portcullis, marks in the ſtrongeſt terms the military ideas of that age.

ROBERTE.

Oure woes alyche, alyche our dome [d] ſhal bee.
Mie ſonne, mie ſonne alleyn [e], yſtorven [f] ys;
Here wylle I ſtaie, and end mie lyff with thee;
A lyff lyche myn a borden ys ywis.
Now from een logges [g] fledden is ſelyneſs [h],
Mynſterres [i] alleyn [k] can boaſte the hallie [l] Seyncte,
Now doeth Englonde weare a boudie dreſſe
And wyth her champyonnes gore her face depeyncte;
Peace fledde, diſorder ſheweth her dark rode [m],
And thorow ayre doth flie, yn garments ſteyned with bloude.

[d] Fate. [e] My only ſon. [f] Dead. [g] Cottages. [h] Happineſs. [i] Monaſterys. [k] Only. [l] Holy. [m] Complexion, *or*, *countenance*.

ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

THE Second Eclogue contains no paſtoral idea. It is rather an ode of triumph on the military atchievements of King Richard the Iſt, in the Cruſade *. It bears ſome reſemblance to Virgil's fourth Eclogue, each of them celebrating the praiſes of a hero, the one crowned with the honours of war, the other diffuſing the bleſſings of peace.

The poet has artfully contrived to put the praiſes of his hero into the mouth of a private perſon, who, from motives of filial affection, is intereſted more nearly in the exploits of Richard, than the ſpeakers in Theocritus and Virgil are in the actions of Ptolemy and Pollio.

The hiſtory of this expedition is moſt happily compriſed within the compaſs of eight ſtanza's. It was a favourite topic with the military ſpirits of thoſe times; and the merit of Richard's exploits in that war, continued in high repute long after the Cruſades were ended.

The diction of the Eclogue is ſuited to the dignity of the ſubject. It abounds with compound and majeſtic epithets, ſhewing how ſucceſsfully the author could adapt his ſtile to his ſubject and his metre.

* Galfrid Vineſaulf, who wrote the *Iter Ricardi Regis*, printed in Gale's Quindecim Scriptores, ſays, "that Richard had the virtue of Hector, the magnanimity of Achilles, *nec virtute junior Rollando.*"

In a poem of this kind, ſtrict hiſtorical truth is not to be expected; but the magnificent outſet of ſo large and formidable a fleet correſponds with the hiſtory given of Richard's embarkation from Meſſina in 1180, when he was attended with one hundred and fifty ſhips of war; but the poet ſpeaks not of his return, it being well known that he was taken and detained priſoner by the Duke of Auſtria, ſo that his ſubjects and cruſaders had the mortification of returning without their prince, and humbled with the additional diſgrace of his captivity.

ECLOGUE

ECLOGUE THE SECOND.

SPRYTES[a] of the bleſte, the pious Nygelle ſed,
Poure owte yer pleaſaunce[b] onn mie fadres hedde.

Rycharde of Lyons harte to fyghte is gon,
Uponne the brede[c] ſea doe the banners gleme[d];
The amenuſed[e] nationnes be aſton[f],
To ken[g] ſyke[h] large a flete, ſyke fyne, ſyke breme[i].
The barkis heafods[k] coupe[l] the lymed[m] ſtreme;
Oundes[n] ſynkeynge oundes upon the hard ake[o] rieſe;
The water ſlughornes[p] wythe a ſwotye[q] cleme[r]
Conteke[s] the dynnynge[t] ayre, and reche the ſkies.
Sprytes of the bleſte, on gouldyn trones[u] aſtedde[x],
Poure owte yer pleaſaunce onn mie fadres hedde.

[a] Spirits, ſouls. [b] Pleaſure, *or bleſſings*. [c] Broad. [d] Shine, glimmer. [e] Diminiſhed, leſſened. [f] Aſtoniſhed, confounded. [g] See, diſcover, know. [h] Such, ſo. [i] ſtrong, *furious*. [k] Heads. [l] Cut. [m] Glaſſy, [n] ſecting, *poliſhed*. [n] Waves, billows. [o] Oak. [p] A muſical inſtrument, not unlike a hautboy, *rather, a war trumpet*. [q] Sweet. [r] Sound. [s] Confuſe, contend with. [t] Sounding. [u] Thrones. [x] Seated.

The

V. 9. Chatterton explains the *water ſlughorn* as a *muſical inſtrument, not unlike a hautboy*; but the note on v. 90 of the Tournament ſhews, that he did not underſtand the nature of this inſtrument.

The gule [y] depeyncted [z] oares from the black tyde,
Decorn [a] wyth fonnes [b] rare, doe ſhemrynge [c] ryſe;
Upſwalynge [d] doe heie [e] ſhewe ynne drierie pryde,
Lyche gore-red eſtells [f] in the eve [g]-merk [h] ſkyes;
The nome-depeyncted [i] ſhields, the ſperes aryſe,
Alyche [k] talle roſhes on the water ſyde;
Alenge [l] from bark to bark the bryghte ſheene [m] flyes;
Sweft-kerv'd [n] delyghtes doe on the water glyde.
Sprites of the bleſte, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte youre pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde

The Saraſen lokes owte: he doethe feere,
That Englondes brondeous [o] ſonnes do cotte the waie.
Lyke honted bockes, theye reineth [p] here and there,
Onknowlachynge [q] inne whatte place to obaie [r].

[y] Red. [z] Painted. [a] Carved. [b] Devices. [c] Glimmering, *or ſhining*. [d] Riſing high, ſwelling up. [e] They. [f] A corruption of *eſtoile*, Fr. a ſtar. [g] Evening. [h] Dark. [i] Rebus'd ſhields; a herald term, when the charge of the ſhield implies the name of the bearer. [k] Like. [l] Along. [m] Shine. [n] Short-lived, *rather, quick-made bubbles*. [o] Furious. [p] Runneth. [q] Not knowing. [r] Abide.

The

V. 20. The *ſwift-kerv'd delights* which on the water glide, may allude to the ſoam and bubbles of the ſea, created by the motion of their oars. Spenſer has a deſcription ſimilar to this,

And the light bubbles daunced all along,
Whilſt the ſalt brine out of the billows ſprung.

V. 25. Lyke honted bockes, theye reineth here and there.
This is the idea of Homer,

Φυζακινῆς ἐλαφοισιν ἐοίκεσαν, ἅιτε καθ' ὕλην
* * * * * * *
Αὐτως ἠλάσκεσαι. Il. N. v. 102.

Like frighted fawns, from hill to hill purſu'd.
Pope, B. xiii. v. 143.

The banner gleſters on the beme of daie;
The mitte [f] croſſe Jeruſalim ys ſeene;
Dhereof the ſyghte yer corrage doe affraie [s],
In balefull [t] dole their faces be ywreene [u].
Sprytes of the bleſte, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte your pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde.

The bollengers [x] and cottes [y], ſoe ſwyfte yn fyghte,
Upon the ſydes of everich bark appere;
Foorthe to his offyce lepethe everych knyghte,
Eftſoones [z] hys ſquyer, with hys ſhielde and ſpere.
The jynynge [a] ſhieldes doe ſhemre and moke glare [b];
The doſheynge oare doe make gemoted [c] dynne;
The reynyng [d] foemen [e], thynckeynge gif [f] to dare,
Boun [g] the merk [h] ſwerde, theie ſeche to fraie [i], theie blyn [k].

[f] Mighty. [s] Affright. [t] Woeful. [u] Covered. [x y] Different kinds of boats. [z] Full ſoon, preſently. [a] *Joining.* [b] *Much*, glitter. [c] United, aſſembled. [d] Running. [e] Foes. [f] If. [g] Make ready. [h] Dark. [i] Engage. [k] Ceaſe, ſtand ſtill.

Sprytes

V. 28. Inſtead of *the* mitte croſſe, read *thie mitte croſſe, Jeruſalim, ys ſeene*; which will correct the grammar, and add propriety and beauty to the expreſſion.

V. 33. The *bollengers* and *cottes* were ſmaller veſſels, uſed for the convenience of diſembarking the troops: They are very well known to our Engliſh hiſtorians, Walſingham, Froiſſart, and Rymer, under the name of *Ballingars*; by Spelman erroneouſly called *Babingers:* Gawin Douglas mentions them in his tranſlation of the Eneid;

And mony grete ſchip, *ballingare* and *bark*, Æn. iv. p. 113. v. 41.

Du Freſne calls them *navis bellicæ ſpecies*; and there is an order of Henry the IVth (iſſued in 1401, on the report of an invaſion,) to certain cities, boroughs, and vills, to provide *bargeas* & *balingeras*, quæ cæteris navibus tempore guerræ prævalent, pro ſalvâ cuſtodiâ maris. (Rymer, tom. viii. p. 172.) The *ballinger*, though probably larger than the *cott*, was ſmaller than the *barge*; for the navy appointed by the ſame king, for Thomas de Lancaſtre, his admiral, was to conſiſt of "twenty grand niefs de Toure, twenty barges, and twenty balengers." (Ibidem, p. 389.) Gawin Douglas mentions both theſe veſſels,

Quhil at the laſt bayth *ballingare* and *barge*
Æn. Lib. vi. v. 2. Douglas, p. 162—19.

Sprytes of the bleſte, and everyche Seyncte ydedde,
Powre oute yer pleaſaunce onne mie fadres hedde.

Now comm the warrynge Saraſyns to fyghte;
Kynge Rycharde, lyche a lyoncel[l] of warre,
Inne ſheenynge goulde, lyke feerie[m] gronfers[n], dyghte[o],
Shaketh alofe hys honde, and ſeene afarre.
Syke haveth I eſpyde a greter ſtarre
Amenge the drybblett[p] ons to ſheene fulle bryghte;
Syke ſunnys wayne[q] wyth amayl'd[r] beames doe barr
The blaunchie[s] mone or eſtells[t] to gev lyghte.
Sprytes of the bleſte, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte your pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde.

[l] A young lion. [m] Flaming. [n] A meteor, from *gron*, a fen, and *fer*, a corruption of fire; that is, a fire exhaled from a fen. [o] Deckt. [p] Small, inſignificant. [q] Carr. [r] Enameled. [s] White, ſilver. [t] Stars.

Diſtraughte

V. 45. The armour of King Richard, "being of *ſheenynge goulde* and *lyke feerie gronfers*," was probably adorned with inlaid work, repreſenting the ſun and the ſtars, to which it is compared in the following lines; the ſame idea may be alluded to in the 68th line:

The waylynge *mone* doth fade before hys *ſonne*;

The *moon* or creſcent being the ſtandard of the Turks; and the word *waylynge* does not ſignify *lamenting*, but, as Chatterton has truly explained it, *decreaſing*, or, as it is ſtill called, *wayning*. The *gronfer*, a fiery meteor proceeding from *grons* or *fens*, is more than once alluded to in this poetry. It is called in Ella,

A ſommer morie *gronfer droke*. v. 460.
——A rodde *gronfer*—— v. 642.

And in Goodwin,

———Brendeynge *gronfyres*. v. 200.

V. 47. The ſimilies of the ſun and ſtars are evidently copied from Homer:

Οἷος δ' ἀστὴρ εἶσι μετ' ἀρῃσι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ
Ἕσπερος, ὅς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἵσταται ἀστὴρ.
Il. X. v. 317.

As radiant Heſper ſhines with keener light,
For beaming o'er the fainter hoſt of night.
Pope, B. xxii. l. 399.

Diſtraughte [u] affraie [x], wythe lockes of blodde-red die,
Terroure, emburled [y] yn the thonders rage,
Deathe, lynked to diſmaie, dothe ugſomme [z] flie,
Enchafynge [a] echone champyonne war to wage.
Speeres bevyle [b] ſperes; ſwerdes upon ſwerdes engage;
Armoure on armoure dynn [c], ſhielde upon ſhielde;
Ne dethe of thoſandes can the warre aſſuage,
Botte falleynge nombers ſable [d] all the feelde.

[u] Diſtracting. [x] Affright, *fright, or fear.* [y] Armed. [z] Terribly. [a] Encouraging, heating. [b] Break, a herald term, ſignifying a ſpear broken in tilting, *or bend to.* [c] Sounds. [d] Blacken.

Sprytes

Or, as it is ſaid of another ſtar,

———ἀριζηλοι δὲ οἱ αὐγαὶ
Φαίνονται πολλῦισι μετ' ἄστρασι νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ.
Il. X. v. 27.

And o'er the feeble ſtars exerts his ray. Pope.

Spenſer has twice copied the ſame idea,

——— A precious ſtone,
Shaped by a lady's hand, exceeding ſhone,
Like Heſperus among the leſſer lights. B. i. c. 7. ſt. 30.

And again,

Compared to her that ſhone as *Phœbus bright*,
Among the leſſer ſtars, in evening clear.
B. iv. c. 5. ſt. 14.

V. 53. The ideas conveyed in the three next lines, are thoſe of the terrific ſublime, very expreſſive, and much in the ſtile of the Iliad.

Δειμός τ' ἠδὲ φόβος, ἠὲ Ἔρις ἄμοτον μεμαυῖα.
Il. Δ. v. 440.

Pale Flight around, and dreadful Terror reign,
And Diſcord raging bathes the purple plain.
Pope, B. iv. v. 50.

V. 57. Nor is the following deſcription of the engagement leſs Homerical,

Φράξαντες δόρυ δορὶ, σάκος σάκεϊ προθελύμνω,
Ἀσπὶς ἀρ' ἀσπὶδ' ἔρειδε, κόρυς κόρυν, ἀνέρα δ' ἀνήρ.
Il. N. v. 130.

Spears

Sprytes of the bleſte, and everych Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte youre pleaſaunce on mie fadres hedde.

The foemen fal arounde; the croſs reles [e] hye;
Steyned ynne goere, the harte of warre ys ſeen;
Kyng Rycharde, thorough everyche trope dothe flie,
And beereth meynte [f] of Turkes onto the greene;
Bie hymm the floure of Aſies menn ys ſleene [g];
The waylynge [h] mone doth fade before hys ſonne;
Bie hym hys knyghtes bee formed to actions deene [i],
Doeynge ſyke marvels [k], ſtrongers be aſton [l].
Sprytes of the bleſte, and everych Seyncte ydedde,
Poure owte your pleaſaunce onn mie fadres hedde.

[e] Waves. [f] Many, great numbers. [g] Slain. [h] Decreaſing. [i] Glorious, worthy. [k] Wonders. [l] Aſtoniſhed.

The

Spears lean on ſpears, on targets targets throng,
Helms ſtuck to helms, and man drove man along.
Pope, B. xiii. v. 181.

See alſo Iliad Π. v. 214.

Homer indeed thus deſcribes the *march* of the army, but Rowley is ſpeaking of *the actual engagement.*

V. 66. The poet uſes the words *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Aſia's men* as ſynonymous; but he ſpeaks by anticipation of the Turks, who having conquered the Saracens, againſt whom the Cruſade was directed, became a ſovereign power in 1274, and fixed their ſeat of empire at Conſtantinople in 1453. Though they were originally Heathens, they embraced Mahometiſm, the religion of the people whom they had conquered. The terrible ideas which the Chriſtians had entertained of the Saracens during the cruſade, made the writers of thoſe times to rank them under the general title of Heathens, who are by them ſtiled *Saracens.* Thus Gower and Pierce Plowman call Trajan a *Saracen*; and a poetical verſion of the Goſpels for Sundays, not leſs ancient than Chaucer's time, gives the ſame name to the Heathens mentioned in the Old Teſtament. Robert of Glouceſter ſays, that St. Edwyn forſook the *Law Sarracyn*, i. e. the Pagan religion. And in a romance of Merlin (Cotton Library, Caligula, A. 2. f. 33,) the Saxons are called *Saracens.*

The fyghte ys wonne; Kynge Rycharde maſter is;
The Englonde bannerr kiſſeth the hie ayre;
Full of pure joie the armie is iwys [m],
And everych one haveth it onne his bayre [n];
Agayne to Englonde comme, and worſchepped there,
Twyghte [o] into lovynge armes, and feaſted eft [p];
In everych eyne aredynge [q] nete of wyere [r],
Of all remembrance of paſt peyne berefte
Sprites of the bleſte, and everich Seyncte ydedde,
Syke pleaſures powre upon mie fadres hedde.

Syke Nigel ſed, whan from the bluie ſea
The upſwol [s] fayle dyd daunce before his eyne;
Swefte as the wiſhe, hee toe the beeche dyd flee,
And founde his fadre ſteppeynge from the bryne.
Lette thyſſen [t] menne, who haveth ſprite of loove,
Bethyncke untoe hemſelves how mote the meetynge proove.

[m] Certainly. [n] Brow, *or beaver*. [o] Plucked, pulled. [p] Often. [q] *No conſideration, or thought*. [r] Grief, trouble. [s] Swollen. [t] *Theſe*.

V. 74. *The Englonde bannerr*, is put for *the Engliſh banner*; and *bayre*, v. 76, is only a contraction for *beaver*, meaning his head or his face.

The poet has brought home the ſhip which carried Nigell's father, making it the object of joy and triumph; but the perſonal return of Richard is not mentioned, either by Nigell or the poet: And as to the return of his army, what is ſaid v. 77. is perhaps mere poetic viſion, in which Nigell anticipates his wiſhes; at leaſt it might be thought improper to leſſen the ſplendor of that expedition, by taking notice of the unfortunate accident that attended it: Nor ſhould it paſs unremarked, that the repeated invocation of the bleſſed ſpirits at the end of each ſtanza, is not only a mark of antiquity, but alſo a great additional beauty to the poem.

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

THE third Eclogue is a moral eſſay formed upon a paſtoral plan, wherein the author does juſtice to his own character as a pious eccleſiaſtic and inſtructive moraliſt; whilſt he copies the genuine ideas and language of the peaſants in their part of the dialogue. A chaſtity and delicacy of ſentiment, united with the moſt ſerious impreſſions of religion and virtue, are the diſtinguiſhing characters of Rowley's poems: He ſeems a ſtranger to every irreligious and impure idea; and if there be found a paſſage in this Eclogue leſs delicate than in any other of his poems, it muſt be conſidered as a ſacrifice to the juſtice of the character he meant to repreſent, by copying a deformity, in order to preſerve a cloſer reſemblance with the original.

The various metres of this dialogue, and the tranſition of it from a ſlow to a quicker meaſure, are remarkably expreſſive of gravity and mirth.

ECLOGUE THE THIRD.

WOULDST thou kenn nature in her better parte?
Goe, ſerche the logges[a] and bordels[b] of the hynde[c];
Gyff[d] theie have anie, itte ys roughe-made arte,
Inne hem[e] you ſee the blakied[f] forme of kynde[g].
Haveth your mynde a lycheynge[h] of a mynde?
Woulde it kenne everich thynge, as it mote[i] bee?
Woulde ytte here phraſe of the vulgar from the hynde,
Withoute wiſeegger[k] wordes and knowlache[l] free?
Gyf ſoe, rede thys, whyche Iche dyſporteynge[m] pende;
Gif nete beſyde, yttes rhyme maie ytte commende.

MANNE.

Botte whether, fayre mayde, do ye goe?
O where do ye bende yer waie?
I wille knowe whether you goe,
I wylle not bee aſſeled[n] naie.

[a] Lodges, huts. [b] Cottages. [c] Servant, ſlave, peaſant. [d] If. [e] A contraction of *them*. [f] Naked, original. [g] Nature. [h] Liking, *an idea of likeneſs*. [i] Might. The ſenſe of this line is, Would you ſee every thing in its primæval ſtate. [k] Wiſe-egger, a philoſopher. [l] Knowledge. [m] Sporting. [n] Anſwered.

WOMANNE.

V. 11 & 12. A very natural and eaſy introduction to the dialogue, not unlike one in Evans's Collection of Ancient Ballads, vol. i. p. 91. Robin Hood ſays,

Fair lady, whither away?
O whither, fair lady, away?

WOMANNE.

To Robyn and Nell, all downe in the delle,
To hele[o] hem at makeynge of haie.

MANNE.

Syr Roggerre, the parſone, hav hyred mee there,
Comme, comme, lett us tryppe ytte awaie,
We'lle wurke[p] and we'lle ſynge, and wylle drenche[q] of ſtronge beer
As longe as the merrie ſommers daie.

WOMANNE.

How harde ys mie dome to wurch!
Moke is mie woe.
Dame Agnes, whoe lies ynne the Chyrche
With birlette[r] golde,
Wythe gelten[s] aumeres[t] ſtronge[u] ontolde,
What was ſhee moe than me, to be ſoe?

[o] Aid, or help. [p] Work. [q] Drink. [r] A hood, or covering for the back part of the head. [s] Guilded. [t] Borders of gold and ſilver, on which was laid thin plates of either metal counterchanged, not unlike the preſent ſpangled laces, *or bracelets.* [u] *Strung.*

MANNE.

V. 24. The object of envy and diſcontent in the woman, was the *head-dreſs* and *girdle* of Dame Agnes, which were at that time the diſtinguiſhing parts of female attire: So late as Henry the VIIIth's time, anno 1534, Sir Thomas More thus writes to Mrs. Roper, "which thing, (i.e. a farther ſearch of his houſes) if it "ſhould happen, can make but game to us that know the trouth of my poverty; "but if (i.e. unleſs) they fynd out my wyves *gay gyrdle and her gelden bedes.*" See his works, p. 1447.

The *Birlette* or *Bourelette*, a diminutive from the French *Bourette*, (in modern Italian *Beretta)* ſignified a covering for the head, which was probably ornamented with gold, not unlike the head-dreſs of Olympias, deſcribed by Adam Davie.

Yer yallow har was fayre attired,
Mid riche ſtringe of gold wired. Warton, vol. i. p. 223.

V. 25. The *gelten aumeres ſtronge ontolde*, might have been golden or gilt bracelets

MANNE.

I kenne Syr Roger from afar
Tryppynge over the lea;
Ich aſk whie the loverds[x] ſon
Is moe than mee.

SYR ROGERRE.

The ſweltrie[y] ſonne dothe hie apace hys wayne[z],
From everich beme a ſeme[a] of lyfe doe falle;
Swythyn[b] ſcille[c] oppe the haie uponne the playne;
Methynckes the cockes begynneth to gre[d] talle.
Thys ys alyche oure doome[e]; the great, the ſmalle,
Moſte withe[f] and bee forwyned[g] by deathis darte.
See! the ſwote[h] flourette[i] hathe noe ſwote at alle;
Itte wythe the ranke wede bereth evalle[k] parte.
The cravent[l], warrioure, and the wyſe be blente[m],
Alyche to drie awaie wythe thoſe theie dyd bemente[n].

MANNE.

All-a-boon[o], Syr Prieſt, all-a-boon,
Bye yer preeſtſchype nowe ſaye unto mee;

[x] Lord. [y] Sultry. [z] Car. [a] Seed. [b] Quickly, preſently. [c] Gather, *or, cloſe up.* [d] Grow. [e] Fate. [f] A contraction of wither. [g] Dried. [h] Sweet. [i] Flower. [k] Equal. [l] Coward. [m] Ceaſed, dead, no more, *rather, mixed, united.* [n] Lament. [o] A manner of aſking a favour.

Syr

bracelets or girdles, ſtrung with a number of glaſs or amber beads; an ornament much uſed in thoſe days.

V. 39. Chatterton has miſtaken the meaning of the word *blent*, which in this paſſage ſignifies *mixed*, not *ceaſed*, or *dead*. This participle, as Mr. Tyrwhit has obſerved, is derived from four different verbs, and applied to four different ſignifications, viz. *dead*, *blinded*, *mixed*, and *ſhrunk*.

The daily amuſements of the peaſant are characteriſtical of that age, and it would have been difficult for a modern poet to have drawn ſo juſt a reſemblance.

V. 41. The term *a la boon*, is as much as to ſay, *by your favour*; and the repetition of it is juſtified by the Ballad of King Arthur:

A Boone,

Syr Gaufryd the knyghte, who lyvethe harde bie,
Whie ſhoulde hee than mee
Bee more greate,
Inne honnoure, knyghtehoode and eſtate?

SYR ROGERRE.

Attourne[p] thine eyne arounde thys haied mee,
Tentyflie[q] loke arounde the chaper[r] delle[s];
An anſwere to thie barganette[t] here ſee,
Thys welked[u] flourette wylle a leſon telle:
Ariſt[x] it blew[y], itte floriſhed, and dyd welle,
Lokeynge aſcaunce[z] upon the naighboure greene;
Yet with the deigned[a] greene yttes rennome[b] felle,
Eftſoones[c] ytte ſhronke upon the daie-brente[d] playne,
Didde not yttes loke, whileſt ytte there dyd ſtonde,
To croppe ytte in the bodde move ſomme dred honde.

Syke[e] ys the waie of lyffe; the loverds[f] ente[g]
Mooveth the robber hym therfor to ſlea[h];
Gyf thou has ethe[i], the ſhadowe of contente,

[p] Turn. [q] Carefully, with circumſpection. [r] Dry, ſun-burnt. [s] Valley. [t] A ſong, or ballad. [u] Withered. [x] Ariſen, or aroſe. [y] Bloſſomed. [z] Diſdainfully, *aſide*. [a] Diſdained. [b] Glory. [c] Quickly. [d] Burnt. [e] Such. [f] Lord's. [g] A purſe or bag. [h] Slay. [i] Eaſe.

Believe

A Boone, A Boone, O King Arthur,
I beg a Boone of thee. Percy, vol. iii. p. 12.

So in Evans's Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 124.

Aboon, Aboon then Robin cries,
if thou will grant it me.

And in the Ballad of Robin Hood and the Curtal Fryer; p. 140.

Aboon, Aboon, thou Curtal Fryer;
I beg it on my knee.

See alſo, p. 153.

V. 56. The *dred* honde means a bold hand, one that *was to be dreaded.*

Beleive the trothe [k], theres none moe haile [l] yan thee.
Thou wurcheſt [m]; welle, canne thatte a trobble bee?
Slothe moe wulde jade thee than the rougheſt daie.
Couldeſt thou the kivercled [n] of ſoughlys [o] ſee,
Thou wouldſt eftſoones [p] ſee trothe ynne whatte I ſaie;
Botte lette me heere thie waie of lyffe, and thenne
Heare thou from me the lyffes of odher menne.

MANNE.

I ryſe wythe the ſonne,
Lyche hym to dryve the wayne [q],
And eere mie wurche is don
I ſynge a ſonge or twayne [r].
I followe the plough-tayle,
Wythe a longe jubb [s] of ale.
Botte of the maydens, oh!
Itte lacketh notte to telle;
Syre Preeſte mote notte crie woe,
Culde hys bull do as welle.
I daunce the beſte heiedeygnes [t],
And foile [u] the wyſeſt feygnes [x].
On everych Seynctes hie daie
Wythe the mynſtrelle [y] am I ſeene,
All a footeygne it awaie,
Wythe maydens on the greene.
But oh! I wyſhe to be moe greate,
In rennome, tenure, and eſtate.

[k] Truth. [l] Happy. [m] Workeſt. [n] The hidden or ſecret part of. [o] Souls. [p] Full ſoon, or preſently. [q] Car. [r] Two. [s] A bottle. [t] A country dance, ſtill practiſed in the North. [u] Baffle. [x] A corruption of feints, *a term of fencing*. [y] A minſtrel is a muſician.

SYR

SYR ROGERRE.

Has thou ne ſeene a tree uponne a hylle,
Whoſe unliſte [z] braunces [a] rechen far toe ſyghte;
Whan fuired [b] unwers [c] doe the heaven fylle,
Itte ſhaketh deere [d] yn dole [e] and moke affryghte.
Whyleſt the congeon [f] flowrette abeſſie [g] dyghte [h],
Stondethe unhurte, unquaced [i] bie the ſtorme:
Syke is a picte [k] of lyffe: the manne of myghte
Is tempeſt-chaft [l], hys woe greate as hys forme,
Thieſelſe a flowrette of a ſmall accounte,
Wouldſt harder felle the wynde, as hygher thee dydſte mounte.

[z] Unbounded. [a] Branches. [b] Furious. [c] Tempeſts, ſtorms. [d] Dire. [e] Diſmay. [f] Dwarf. [g] Humility. [h] Decked, *or*, *humbly clad.* [i] Unhurt, *not deſtroyed.* [k] Picture. [l] Tempeſt-beaten.

V. 91. *Syke is a pycte of liffe:* and can any pencil paint it in more juſt and lively colours? But how could an unprincipled youth, who knew little, and thought leſs about the mutability of human affairs, whoſe attention had been directed to the objects of pleaſure and of diſſipation only, dictate a converſation replete with ſentiments of religion and morality, and ſo well adapted in every reſpect to the characters of the ſpeakers?

The concluding ſimile may remind the reader of Horace's obſervation:

Sæpius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, et celſæ graviore lapſu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque ſummos
Fulmina montes.

And in this reſpect it bears the diſtinguiſhing mark of Rowley, who generally concludes his ſubject either with a ſtriking cataſtrophe or with an excellent precept of morality. The firſt and fourth Eclogues, the Ode to Ella, and the Engliſh Metamorphoſis, terminate in the former ſtile; whilſt the Tragedies of Ella and Godwin, the Ballad of Charity, the Hiſtory of Sir Charles Bawdin, the ſecond and third Eclogue, and the two Poems on our Lady's Church, may ſerve as examples of the latter.

ECLOGUE THE FOURTH,

OR

ELINOURE AND JUGA.

THE fourth Eclogue is truly paſtoral, and formed on the ſame plan with the firſt; repreſenting the confuſion and melancholy effects of the civil war at that time raging between the Houſes of York and Lancaſter. In the firſt Eclogue, the complainants were peaſants deploring the loſs of their ſubſtance; in this, *twa pynynge maydens* lament their lovers ſlain at the battle of Bernard's Heath, near Saint Albans, fought on the 17th of February 1461, between Queen Margaret and the Earl of Warwick, wherein the Earl was defeated with the loſs of 2800 men, and in conſequence of it King Henry regained his liberty. The ſcene of the dialogue is properly laid on the banks of a rivulet, which riſes a few miles north of the village of *Rudborn* in Hertfordſhire, and paſſing near Saint Albans, mixes its waters with the Colne: The etymology of the rivulet is alluded to, v. 39, and explained by Chatterton's note on v. 1. It was undoubtedly its original Saxon name, the village being ſtill denominated from it; though, where it waſhes the ruins of the ancient Verulamium, it is called *Verlume*, and by the modern maps *Wonmer*. But it is

no unuſual circumſtance for rivers to bear different names in different part of their courſe, and to aſſume thoſe of the towns or pariſhes by which they paſs. The vicinity of it to the ſcene of battle juſtifies the poet's choice, and makes it incredible that Chatterton could have been the author of the Eclogue, unleſs we can ſuppoſe him to have been acquainted not only with the hiſtory of that battle, but alſo with the geography of the country, together with the ſituation and etymology of the place, which he has choſen for the ſcene of the poem.

If Chatterton had been the author of this Eclogue, it is highly improbable that he ſhould at the ſame time have penned an imitation of it in modern poety, exerting his beſt abilities under a feigned name, and then attempting to rival himſelf under another ſignature, which equally concealed him from the public. The original Eclogue, ſent by him to the Town and Country Magazine, was dated May 1769, and printed in the ſame month. The imitation either accompanied or ſoon followed the original, for it appeared in the Magazine for June, but was not ſubſcribed with Chatterton's uſual initials, D. B. which he ſometimes varied, and at other times totally omitted; it profeſſed to be written by *W. S. A. aged* 16. The ſhort interval between the publication of theſe two pieces, the ſtile of poetry ſo much reſembling Chatterton's other compoſitions, and the age of the author ſo accurately pointed out, determine this ſecond Eclogue to Chatterton; it was probably written ſome time before it was ſent to the Printer, eſpecially as the original had been at leaſt a twelvemonth in his poſſeſſion. The ſimplicity of Rowley's ideas, the purity, eaſe, and fluency of his language, might have encouraged this attempt; in which he has ſo far ſucceeded, as only not to equal the original; but there wants no better proof of his inferiority to Rowley in point of poetic expreſſion, than to compare the concluding lines of his imitation, with thoſe of the original Eclogue.

ELINOURE

ELINOURE AND JUGA.

ONNE Ruddeborne[a] bank twa pynynge Maydens ſate,
Theire teares faſte dryppeynge to the waterre cleere;
Echone bementynge[b] for her abſente mate,
Who atte Seyncte Albonns ſhouke the morthynge[c] ſpeare.
The nottebrowne Elinoure to Juga fayre
Dydde ſpeke acroole[d] wythe languiſhment of eyne,
Lyche droppes of pearlie dew, lemed[e] the quyvryng brine.

ELINOURE.

O gentle Juga! heare mie dernie[f] plainte,
To fyghte for Yorke mie love ys dyghte[g] in ſtele;
O maie ne ſanguen[h] ſteine the whyte roſe peyncte,
Maie good Senecte Cuthberte watche Syrre Roberte wele.
Moke[i] moe thanne deathe in phantaſie I feele;
See! ſee! upon the grounde he bleedynge lies;
Inhild[k] ſome joice[l] of lyfe, or elſe mie deare love dies.

[a] Rudborne (in Saxon, red-water), a river near Saint Albans, famous for the battles there fought between the Houſes of Lancaſter and York. [b] Lamenting. [c] Murdering. [d] Faintly, *rather, in a murmuring tone.* [e] Gliſtened. [f] Sad complaint, *or ſecret.* [g] Arrayed, or caſed. [h] *Bloody.* [i] *Much.* [k] Infuſe. [l] Juice.

JUGA.

JUGA.

Syſters in ſorrowe, on thys daiſe-ey'd [m] banke,
Where melancholych broods, we wyll lamente;
Be wette wythe mornynge dewe and evene danke;
Lyche levynde [n] okes in eche the odher bente,
Or lyche forlettenn [o] halles of merriemente,
Whoſe gaſtlie mitches [p] holde the traine of fryghte [q],
Where lethale [r] ravens bark, and owlets wake the nyghte.

[ELINOURE.]

No moe the miſkynette [s] ſhall wake the morne,
The minſtrelle daunce, good cheere, and morryce plaie;
No moe the amblynge palfrie and the horne
Shall from the leſſel [t] rouze the foxe awaie;
I'll ſeke the foreſte alle the lyve-longe daie;
Alle nete [u] amenge the gravde chyrche glebe [x] wyll goe,
And to the paſſante Spryghtes lecture [y] mie tale of woe.

[m] *Probably daiſied.* [n] Blaſted, *with lightning.* [o] Forſaken. [p] Ruins, *fragments.* [q] Fear. [r] Deadly, or deathboding. [s] A ſmall bagpipe. [t] In a confined ſenſe, a buſh or hedge, though ſometimes uſed as a foreſt. [u] *Night.* [x] Church-yard. [y] Relate.

[JUGA.]

V. 19. Conveys ſome of thoſe horrid ideas, which receive wonderful force from the powers of Rowley's imagination. The ghaſtly *mitches*, in Latin *micæ*, in French *miches*, mean the broken and hideous *ſcraps*, or *fragments*, of ruined buildings. The ſtile of the following ſtanza has a caſt of that poet's turn, whom *melancholy had marked for her own*, and who found a ſingular pleaſure in expreſſing ſuch ſolitary ideas:

The breezy call of incenſe-breathing morn,
The ſwallow twittering from his ſtraw-built ſhed,
The cock's ſhrill clarion, or the ecchoing horn,
No more ſhall rouſe them from their lonely bed.
Poem in a Church-yard.

[JUGA.]

Whan mokie [z] cloudis do hange upon the leme
Of leden [a] Moon, ynn ſylver mantels dyghte;
The tryppeynge Faeries weve the golden dreme
Of Selyneſs [b], whyche flyethe wythe the nyghte;
Thenne (botte the Seynctes forbydde!) gif to a ſpryte
Syrr Rychardes forme ys lyped [c], I'll holde dyſtraughte [d]
Hys bledeynge claie-colde corſe, and die eche daie ynn thoughte.

ELINOURE.

Ah woe bementynge [e] wordes; what wordes can ſhewe!
Thou limed [f] ryver, on thie linche [g] maie bleede
Champyons, whoſe bloude wylle wythe thie waterres flowe,
And Rudborne ſtreeme be Rudborne ſtreeme indeede!
Haſte, gentle Juga, tryppe ytte oere the meade,
To knowe, or wheder we muſte waile agayne,
Or wythe oure fallen knyghtes be menged [h] onne the plain.

Soe ſayinge, lyke twa levyn-blaſted [i] trees,
Or twayne of cloudes that holdeth ſtormie rayne;
Theie moved gentle oere the dewie mees [k],
To where Seyncte Albons holie ſhrynes remayne.
There dyd theye fynde that bothe their knyghtes were ſlayne,
Diſtraughte [l] theie wandered to ſwollen Rudbornes ſyde,
Yelled theyre leathalle knelle [m], ſonke ynn the waves, and dyde.

[z] Black, *or thick.* [a] Decreaſing, *or heavy.* [b] Happineſs. [c] *Linked, or likened, qu.* [d] *Diſtracted.* [e] *Woe-bewailing.* [f] Glaſſy. [g] Bank. [h] *Mingled.* [i] *Lightning-ſtruck.* [k] Meadows. [l] Diſtracted. [m] *Funeral knell.*

ONN

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE.

UNDER the laſt head of Rowley's poetry, are to be ranked thoſe compoſitions which celebrate the hiſtory and munificence of his friend Canning, and to theſe he lays a perſonal claim, by declaring the merits of his patron to be

Greeter than can bie *Rowlies* pen be ſcande. v. 12.

The two poems on our Lady's (i. e. Redcliff) church, ſeem to be miſplaced in point of chronological order; for the latter, which mentions its *defying fyre-levyn and mokie ſtorms*, and ſpeaks of the *tall ſpire*, v. 20, as a wonderful ſtructure, muſt have been penned before that ſpire was thrown down by lightning; which, according to the MS. Chronicles of Briſtol, happened in 1445, ſoon after it was erected, and, it is ſaid, did much hurt in divers places: William of Wirceſtre, who wrote about the year 1480, ſpeaks in more than one paſſage of the accident which happened to this ſteeple:—"Altitudo turris de Redcliff continet 300 pedes, "de quibus 100 pedes, ſunt per fulmen dejecti." p. 120. Again, p. 196, "Quæ quidem ſpera ſtat modo ultra 100 pedes." And again, p. 244, "Speræ altitudo ut iſto die ſtat, quamvis defal-"catur ex fortunâ procellæ & fulminis 200 pedes, per relationem "Norton Magiſtri Eccleſiæ de Redcliff." The ſecond poem, therefore, muſt have been penned before the year 1445, unleſs the

author wilfully concealed the accident which had happened to the favourite ſtructure of his beloved friend. As to the former of theſe poems, the date is clearly aſcertained by the title of *Reverend Father*, given to Canning, which could not belong to him till the year 1468, when he was ordained prieſt, by Carpenter, biſhop of Worceſter.

Though the fabrick is ſtiled in this poem *our Ladies Church*, yet it is more than once called a *chapel*, as if it was only a part of, and not the entire edifice. It is alſo put on the ſame footing with a chapel which he built at Weſtbury;

> And eke another in the town,
> Where glaſſy bubbling Trim doth run.

But that chapel, which only made a part of the preſent parochial church of Weſtbury, cannot be admitted to any compariſon with the magnificent ſtructure of Redcliff church; and it ſeems to be a queſtion yet undecided, whether William Canning was the ſole builder, or only the principal benefactor to this latter edifice: In both theſe poems, and in one called *the Parliament of Sprites*, (yet unpubliſhed in Mr. Barrett's hands) he is ſpoken of as the ſole founder; but the Chronicle of Briſtol, before cited, gives him only the credit of a principal benefactor. "Anno 1441. "This year, William Canninge, and *others* of the worſhipfulle "towne of Briſtol, employed maſons, workmen, and labourers, "and did repair, edify, cover, and glaze Saint Mary Redcliff "church, at his and their own proper coſts."

It may be obſerved alſo, that William Wirceſtre, a native of Briſtol, and contemporary with Canning, (whoſe accounts and meaſurements of that building are ſo preciſe and accurate) who mentions Canning's trade and riches, his houſe and college of prieſts at Redcliff, does not ſpeak of him either as the *ſole*, or even *principal benefactor* to the work; even the evidence contained in Canning's will is far from being deciſive; for he orders himſelf to be buried "*in loco quem conſtrui feci* in parte auſtrali "ejuſdem

" ejuſdem eccleſiæ, juxta altare Stæ Catharinæ, ubi corpus " Johannæ uxoris meæ eſt ſepultum *."

Accordingly, his monument is placed under the principal ſouthern window, in the ſouth tranſept of the church, near to which the altar of Saint Catharine probably ſtood: But would Canning have defined the place of his interment by the words *locum quem conſtrui feci*, if he had been the ſole builder of the church? It may be inferred, on the other hand, from the uniformity of the ſtructure, that the whole was built at the ſame time; and both ancient and modern tradition give the credit of it to Mr. Canning; nor is the acknowledgement of this point more in favour of Chatterton's, than of Rowley's claim to theſe poems.

The church of Weſtbury (to the deanery of which William Canning was collated June 3d 1469, on the reſignation of Henry Sampſon) was originally collegiate, founded by Godfrey Giffard, biſhop of Worceſter, in 1288, and afterwards augmented by various benefactors. It had five prebendal ſtalls, one of which, (viz. that of Auſt) was enjoyed by the famous Wicliff. Biſhop Carpenter conceived ſuch a partiality for the place, that he ſpent a great part of his time there, adding the title of Weſtbury to his epiſcopal one of Worceſter, (whence William Wirceſtre calls it " Eccleſiam Cathedralem") and ordered himſelf to be buried there, though he died at Northwick in Worceſterſhire. It appears by Canning's will, that Biſhop Carpenter founded a chapel there for ſix prieſts and ſix almſmen; for he bequeaths " ſex preſbiteris novæ capellæ nuper fundatæ per reve- " rendum admodum Johannem Epiſcopum Wigornenſem, 3s. & " 4d. ad orandum pro animâ meâ.—Sex pauperibus eleemo- " ſynariis de Weſtbury fundatis per eundem Epiſcopum 12d.;" and though he is ſaid by Sir Robert Atkyns and Biſhop Tanner

* William Canning's will is dated November 12, 1474. It was proved the 29th of the ſame month, and is in the Prerogative Office, in a book called Wattie, p. 125.

" to

" to have rebuilt the college, and to have founded an almſhouſe " there," yet the former might be meant chiefly of the habitable part of the building, and the chapel begun by Biſhop Carpenter, which he might have finiſhed, and to whoſe prieſts and almſmen, as well as to the fellows, chaplains, deacons, and choriſters of the church, he bequeaths ſmall legacies, without mentioning any endowment of his own; and gives only forty ſhillings to the fabrick of the church.

The new chapel of Biſhop Carpenter, is probably that which now forms the ſouthern chancel of the pariſh church; on the north ſide of which is a recumbent figure in ſtone of Biſhop Carpenter, dreſſed in his epiſcopal habit; and on the floor are many painted tiles, ſome with the arms of Biſhop Carpenter, others with thoſe of the Berkeley family, the remains of the ancient pavement. Roſs of Warwick tells us, that miracles were performed at the tomb of Biſhop Carpenter; a proof that he was highly beloved and reſpected in that neighbourhood.

ONN OURE LADIES CHYRCHE.

AS onn a hylle one eve ſittynge,
At oure Ladie's Chyrche mouche wonderynge,
The counynge handieworke ſo fyne,
Han well nighe dazeled mine eyne;
Quod I; ſome counynge fairie hande
Yreer'd [a] this chapelle in this lande;
Full well I wote [b] ſo fine a ſyghte
Was ne yreer'd of mortall wighte.
Quod Trouthe; thou lackeſt knowlachynge [c];
Thou forſoth ne wotteth of the thynge.
A Rev'rend Fadre, William Canynge hight [d],
Yreered uppe this chapelle brighte;
And eke another in the Towne,
Where glaſſie bubblynge Trymme doth roun.
Quod I; ne doubte for all he's given
His ſowle will certes goe to heaven.
Yea, quod Trouthe; than goe thou home,
And ſee thou doe as hee hath donne.
Quod I; I doubte, that can ne bee;
I have ne gotten markes three.

[a] *Erected.* [b] *Know.* [c] *Underſtanding.* [d] *Named.*

Quod

Quod Trouthe; as thou haſt got, give almes-dedes ſoe;
Canynges and Gaunts culde doe ne moe.

T. R.

V. 22. *Gaunts* was a collegiate church, founded by Sir Henry Gaunt, who quitted the world, and retired thither for devotion. It was afterwards converted into an hoſpital for orphans. See Leland's Itin. vol. vii. p. 85.

ON THE SAME.

STAY, curyous traveller, and paſs not bye,
Until this fetive [a] pile aſtounde thine eye.
Whole rocks on rocks with yron joynd ſurveie,
And okes with okes entremed [b] diſponed [c] lie.
This mightie pile, that keeps the wyndes at baie,
Fyre-levyn [d] and the mokie [e] ſtorme defie,
That ſhootes aloofe into the reaulmes of daie,
Shall be the record of the Buylders fame for aie.

Thou ſeeſt this mayſtrie of a human hand,
The pride of Bryſtowe and the Weſterne lande,
Yet is the Buylders vertues much moe greete,
Greeter than can bie Rowlies pen be ſcande.
Thou ſeeſt the ſaynctes and kynges in ſtonen ſtate,
That ſeemd with breath and human ſoule diſpande [f],

[a] *Elegant.* [b] *Intermixed.* [c] *Diſpoſed.* [d] *Lightning.* [e] *Mighty, or, cloudy.* [f] *Expanded.*

As

There are ſome particulars in this ſecond poem, relative to Redcliff church, which deſerve notice.

V. 13. How could Chatterton have been enabled thus to deſcribe the ſtatues which

As payrde[g] to us enſeem theſe men of ſlate,
Such is greete Canynge's mynde when payrd to God clate.

Well maieſt thou be aſtound, but view it well;
Go not from hence before thou ſee thy fill,
And learn the Builder's vertues and his name;
Of this tall ſpyre in every countye telle,
And with thy tale the lazing rych men ſhame;
Showe howe the glorious Canynge did excelle;

[g] *Compared.*

How

which were formerly placed in the niches ſurrounding the northern portico of the church, which, by Wirceſtre's account, was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and which he deſcribes in the following words. But the outermoſt porch, which he calls *round*, is *hexagonal*; the inner is an oblong.

"Longitudo primæ portæ porticus eccleſiæ per meridiem continet ſeptem virgas, "& capella continuata ad portam introitus portæ eccleſiæ principalis continet ſex "virgas." And again (p. 221) "Quantitas rotunditatis principalis capelle S^te "Marie cum *ymaginibus regum operatis ſubtiliter in opere de Freſtone*, continet in "circuitu cum hoſtio introitus ſubtiliter operatis 44 virgas."

The *virga*, by which he computes the meaſure of this chapel, is a yard. The real dimenſions of the outward porch, and of the inner chapel are as follow: Each ſide of the hexagonal porch is eight feet ſix inches long; its breadth, from the outer door to the ſteps of the chapel, fourteen feet ſeven inches. There are ſix ſteps, each one foot and one inch broad. The inner chapel is twelve feet five inches wide, and ſixteen feet five inches long, from the uppermoſt ſtep to the door at the entrance into the church. This chapel is decorated on each ſide with a row of five ſmall ſhort pillars of Purbeck marble, making a kind of receſs, and ſupporting a ſmall pointed arcade, which appears by its form to be much more ancient than the church itſelf or the hexagonal portico. The entrance from the chapel to the church is through a ſtone door-caſe, apparently coeval with the church, neatly carved, but ſquare at top, and not arched; as other ancient door-caſes uſually were. This communication therefore ſeems to have been made ſubſequent to the building of the church; and indeed tradition ſtill calls it *St. Mary's Chapel*, and reports it to have *been built by a Pirate an hundred and thirty years antecedent to the church*. May we not therefore ſuppoſe it to have been erected by Lamington the Pirate, or rather by his cognameſake the prieſt,

How hee good man a friend for kynges became,
And gloryous paved at once the way to heaven and fame.

before mentioned, whoſe monument has been before deſcribed, and on whoſe head the tonſure is very obſervable; and that this chapel was *Lamington's Ladie's Chamber*, which the Pirate is ſaid not to have pulled down, as he did the reſt of Burton's church, hoping that it might hereafter paſs for his work?

Though Rowley profeſſes his inability to deſcribe the maſterly beauties of this building, yet he has given a degree of animation to theſe *ſtonen* figures, in a ſimile which does honour to the ſculptor's art, and to Canning's mind, by marking the reſemblance, at the ſame time that it expreſſes the infinite diſtance between him and his great Creator.

V. 23. Canning is elſewhere called by Rowley "the friend of kings," alluding to the influence which he had with Edward the fourth, on account of his trade, his intereſt, and his riches.

EPITAPH

EPITAPH ON ROBERT CANYNGE.

THYS mornynge ſtarre of Radcleves ryſynge raie,
A true manne good of mynde and Canynge hyghte,
Benethe thys ſtone lies moltrynge [a] ynto claie,
Untylle the darke tombe ſheene an eterne lyghte.
Thyrde fromme hys loynes the preſent Canynge came;
Houton [b] are wordes for to telle hys doe;
For aye ſhall lyve hys heaven-recorded name,
Ne ſhall yt dye whanne tyme ſhalle bee no moe;
Whanne Mychael's trumpe ſhall ſounde to riſe the ſolle [c],
He'll wynge to heavn wyth kynne, and happie bee hys dolle [d].

[a] *Mouldering.* [b] *Magnificent, or lofty.* [c] *Soul.* [d] *Portion.*

This epitaph implies that he was the great grandfather of William Canning, if the expreſſion *third from his loins*, is to be underſtood of a lineal deſcent. A note of Rowley, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Barrett, ſays, "that in the year 1431, "Robert Canynge was buried in the minſter of St. John's;" but no ſuch Chriſtian name appears in the pedigree of the Cannings of Foxcote, in Warwickſhire; William Canning is there ſaid to be the ſon of John, the ſon of Jeffery Canning, from whoſe elder brother Thomas, the family of Foxcote are deſcended. His father, and conſequently William's grandfather, was called John. But this pedigree differs from ſome authentic records of the family at Briſtol, collected by Mr. Barrett, which he will be better able to explain. The miſnomer, however, might have been a miſtake in the tranſcript; nor is it of much conſequence, any more than the Epitaph itſelf, except that it records an anceſtor of William Canning, and ſhews in another inſtance how well the poet could adapt his language to his ſubject.

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.

THE Story of William Canning is on many accounts one of the moſt intereſting pieces in the whole collection. The firſt thirty-ſix lines are ſtill extant in the original parchment; which being brown and dirty with age, has been made ſtill more dark, by Mr. Barrett's having ſtained it with the infuſion of galls, in order to reſtore the decayed writing. This ſlip of parchment is about eight inches and a half long, and four and a half broad. The four or five firſt lines in it are the concluſion of Rowley's liſt of ſkilled Painters and Carvellers, and contain an account of John Challenner, a Monke of St. Auſtyne's, a natyf of Briſtowe, a ſkylled Carveller, &c.; then follow the arms of Canning, with the following account or preface to the poem: "William "Canynge was borne ſecond ſon of John, ſon of William, ſonne "of Robert Canynge, alle of St. Mary of Radeclyve: He was "related to Gurnies, Nevyiles, Mountaccute, and oder gentilee "howſes; butte he dereivethe hys glory in oderwyſe than bie "Payncters and Carvellers, ande ſoe wylle I gyve ytte in verſe."

Anent a brooklette, &c.

This was the ſecond piece of Rowley's compoſition, produced by Chatterton to Mr. Barrett; and though the remainder of the

poem is not extant in the original, yet the uniformity in ſtile and ſentiment, and its ſimilarity to other compoſitions aſcribed to Rowley, are almoſt as convincing a proof of its originality, as if the whole had been authenticated by the ſame kind of evidence. The hand in which this fragment is written, is ſomewhat different from *The Accounte of Canynges Feaſt*; of which the engraved fac ſimile does not do juſtice to the original. It has been objected to both, that they are not written in the uſual record-hand of that age; but why is the ſuppoſition neceſſary, that they muſt have been written in that hand? Why might they not have been tranſcribed by different amanuenſes? and is there not a very great difference and variety obſervable in the hand-writing of that, and of the following century, as well in reſpect of ſpelling and grammar, as in the manner of forming their letters? The ſignatures of the three laſt Henries, of Edward the IVth, and Richard the Third, which are to be found in the Cotton Library, and in Mr. Aſtle's collection of fac ſimiles, contain the moſt deciſive proofs of this variety.

Though Canynge is the principal character celebrated in this poem, yet occaſion is taken from his hiſtory to introduce thoſe famous men who had done honour to Briſtol, either by their birth or atchievements, their ſanctity or good works; ſuch as Ella and St. Warburghus, Briktric and Fitzharding.

THE

THE STORIE OF WILLIAM CANYNGE.

ANENT [a] a brooklette as I laie reclynd,
Liſteynge to heare the water glyde alonge,
Myndeynge how thorowe the grene mees [b] yt twynd,
Awhilſt the cavys reſpons'd [c] yts mottring ſonge,
At diſtaunt ryſyng Avonne to he ſped [d],
Amenged [e] with ryſyng hylles dyd ſhewe yts head;

Engarlanded wyth crownes of oſyer weedes
And wraytes [f] of alders of a bercie ſcent,

[a] *Near.* [b] *Meadows.* [c] *Anſwered to.* [d] *To be ſped, or haſtened.* [e] *Mingled.* [f] *Wreaths.*

And

V. 1. The brooklet, near which he deſcribes himſelf as laying reclined, bears a remarkable ſimilitude in point of ſituation with the rivulet Trym at Weſtbury, where he is ſuppoſed to have retired with his friend Canning, when he became Dean of that church. This *glaſſy bubbling brooklet* (as he truly deſcribes it in the Poem on our Lady's Church) having paſt Weſtbury, trickles through the green meadows, and joins the Avon at Pill, two miles below Briſtol: It is, indeed, the only rivulet in that neighbourhood which anſwers to the deſcription of mixing its waters with the Avon, near the place of its union with the *blatant Severn*, which

Rores flemie o'er the ſandes that ſhe hepde.

V. 8. The *wraytes of alders* may mean the wreaths of alders, correſponding with the *garlands of oſyer weeds* in the preceding line, and with the *reytes* which crowned the

And ſtickeynge out wyth clowde ageſted [g] reedes,
The hoarie Avonne ſhow'd dyre ſemblamente [h],
Whyleſt blataunt [i] Severne, from Sabryna clepde [k],
Rores ſiemie [l] o'er the ſandes that ſhe hepde.

Theſe eynegears [m] ſwythyn [n] bringethe to mie thowghte
Of hardie champyons knowen to the floude,
How onne the bankes thereof brave Ælle foughte,
Ælle deſcended from Merce kynglie bloude,
Warden of Bryſtowe towne and caſtel ſtede,
Who ever and anon made Danes to blede.

Methoughte ſuch doughtie [o] menn muſt have a ſprighte
Dote [p] yn the armour brace [q] that Mychael bore,
Whan he wyth Satan kynge of helle dyd fyghte,
And earthe was drented [r] yn a mere of gore;

[g] *Lying on the earth or clodde.* [h] *Appearance.* [i] *Noiſy.* [k] *Named* [l] *Frighted.* [m] *Objects of the eyes.* [n] *Quickly.* [o] *Valiant.* [p] *Dreſſed.* [q] *Suit of armour, or accoutrements for the arms.* [r] *Drenched.*

Orr,

the *water-witches* in the Roundelai of Ella, v. 899. But if *wraytes* and *reytes* ſignify *reeds*, and not *wreaths*, we muſt read the paſſage,

Wraytes *and* alders of a bercie ſcent.

The meaning of *bercie* is not explained in any of our gloſſaries; but, as bỳnce is the Saxon word for a birch-tree, which frequently grows in moiſt ſituations, it may probably be the ſubject of this alluſion.

V. 9. *Clowde ageſted* reeds, is an unintelligible expreſſion; but the change of two letters will give ſenſe and propriety to it. Read *clod-ageſted reeds*, or reeds lying or *agiſted on the clod*, or earth out of which they grow, and the difficulty is removed.

V. 13. The *eynegears* are the objects of the eye. The word *gear* has a very extenſive ſignification, implying *manner*, *form*, *dreſs*, and all kinds of *implements* and *furniture*.

V. 20. *Dote* is a participle of the verb *dight*, which ſignifies to *dreſs*, or *prepare*. The participle, regularly formed, ſhould be *dighted*; but many ſimilar inſtances are collected in the preface to Lye's Gloſſary.

Orr, ſoone as theie dyd ſee the worldis lyghte,
Fate had wrott downe, thys mann ys borne to fyghte.

Ælle, I ſayd, or els my mynde dyd ſaie,
Whie ys thy actyons left ſo ſpare yn ſtorie?
Were I toe diſpone [1], there ſhould lyvven aie
In erthe and hevenis rolles thie tale of glorie;
Thie actes ſoe doughtie ſhould for aie abyde,
And bie theyre teſte all after actes be tryde.

Next holie Wareburghus fylld mie mynde,
As fayre a ſayncte as anie towne can boaſte,

[1] *Diſpoſe.*

Or

The *armourbrace* may mean the *armerbrace*, or that which was braced on the arm; ſo the Squiers yeoman, in Chaucer,

Upon his arm wore a gay *bracer*.

V. 26. The poet complains, that the actions of his favourite Ella are *left ſo ſpare yn ſtorie*, which may be intended as an apology for introducing an ideal hero; or, if he was a real perſonage, may imply, that he was poſſeſſed of ſome anecdotes concerning him, which had not been mentioned by other hiſtorians.

V. 31. His favourite ſaint, Wareburghus, is truly apocryphal; nor is his name to be found in any of our Engliſh legends, which ſpeak only of the female ſaint Werburga, the daughter of Wulfer, king of Mercia, who reigned about the year 659. According to the MS. Hiſtory of Briſtol amongſt Rowley's papers, aſcribed to Turgot, ſhe was baptiſed by this Wareburghus; ſo that it was not ignorance of the real ſaint, and of her merits, that induced Turgot or Rowley to ſubſtitute a commentitious one in her place. She was made Abbeſs of Ely, and died in high reputation for ſanctity. Her body was removed from Henbury, in Staffordſhire, the original place of her interment, to the preſent cathedral church of Cheſter, which is dedicated to her, as are ſome other parochial churches in England and Ireland: But the Saint Wareburghus of Rowley (or rather of Turgot, whoſe MS. Hiſtory of Briſtol contains the legend) preached in 638, to the inhabitants of Caer Brito, which is ſaid to have been ſituated on the banks of the Severn, not far from the preſent city of Briſtol; but, on their treating the Saint with neglect, he threatened to deſtroy them with a flood, and, aſcending by the banks

banks of the Avon, ſtuck his ſtaff in the channel of the river, oppoſite to Redcliff, where the people of the place attentively heard him. In conſequence of the Saint's denunciation againſt Caer Brito, at midnight the Severn overflowed its banks, and the inhabitants fled to the hills, with the loſs of their goods and cattle: But by Wareburghus's interceſſion the waters retired, and the inhabitants came and built their city oppoſite to Redcliff, making a wooden bridge over the river. Six years afterwards, viz. A. D. 644, the inhabitants of Redcliff built a wooden church, caſed with *fable* ſtone, by the water-ſide, which they dedicated to our Lady and St. Wareburghus. It was rebuilt in ſtone by Briktricus, in 789, with a tower; but was fallen down when Turgot is ſuppoſed to have written this account. The church which he deſcribes, ſeems to have been ſituated at Redcliff, whereas that dedicated to the female Saint of the ſame name (called by William Wirceſtre *eccleſia ſanctæ Werburgæ*) ſtands in Corn-ſtreet, nearer to the centre of the city, and, according to the Chronicle of Briſtol before-mentioned, was erected in 1384. It would be miſpending time, to point out the inconſiſtencies of this legend. Such a collection of fables could not be the work of ſo reſpectable a pen as Turgot's, and there are ſeveral circumſtances which make it impoſſible to have been the invention of Chatterton: To whom then can it be aſcribed but to Rowley? whoſe fertile invention, and ſportive fancy, inſtead of being confined to the ſimplicity of facts, delighted, in this inſtance alſo

To ſoar above the truth of hiſtorie.

His account of the ceremonial in paſſing the new bridge at Briſtol, referring to the year 1247 (when, according to Leland, Itin. vol. vii. p. 88, and the Briſtol Chronicle, the new bridge was built,) was the firſt of Rowley's papers communicated to the public by Chatterton, being printed in Farley's Briſtol Journal, Oct. 1ſt, 1768. A part of that ceremony conſiſted in ſinging a hymn to the honour of St. Wareburghus, and another to St. Baldwin. Neither of theſe hymns having been printed, either in that paper or elſewhere, they may afford ſome entertainment to the reader; exhibiting additional ſpecimens of Rowley's poetical talents, and affording room for freſh obſervations on the ſubject.

SONG OF SEYNCTE WARBURGHE.

I.

WHANNE Kynge Kynghill[a] ynn his honde
Helde the ſceptre of thys londe,
Sheenynge ſtarre of Chryſtes lyghte,
The merkie[b] myſts of pagann nyghte
Gan to ſcatterr farr and wyde:
Thanne Seyncte Warburghe hee aroſe,
Doffed hys honnores and fyne clothes;

[a] *King Coenwulf.* [b] *Dark.*

Preechynge hys Lorde Jeſus name,
Toe the lande of Weſt Sexx came,
Whare blacke[c] Severn rolls hys tyde.

II.

Stronge ynn faithfullneſſe, he trodde
Overr the waterrs lyke a Godde,
Till he gaynde the diſtaunt hecke[d],
Ynn whoſe bankes hys ſtaffe dydd ſteck,
Wytneſſe to the myrracle;
Thenne he preechedd nyghte and daie,
And ſet manee ynn ryghte waie.
Thys goode ſtaffe great wonders wroughte,
Moe thann gueſte bie mortalle thoghte,
Orr thann mortall tonge can tell.

III.

Thenn the foulke a brydge dydd make
Overr the ſtreme untoe the hecke,
All of wode eke longe and wyde,
Pryde and glorie of the tyde;
Whyche ynn tyme dydd falle awaie:
Then Erle Leof[e] he beſpedde[f]
Thys grete ryverr fromme hys bedde,
Round hys caſtle for to rynne,
T'was in trothe ann ancyante onne,
But warre and tyme wyll all decaie.

IV.

Now agayne, wythe bremie[g] force,
Severn ynn hys aynciant courſe
Rolls hys rappyd ſtreeme alonge,
With a ſable[h] ſwifte and ſtronge,
Moreying[i] manie ann okie wood:
Wee the menne of Briſtowe towne
Have yreerd thys brydge of ſtone,
Wyſhynge echone that ytt maie laſte
Till the date of daies be paſt,
Standynge where the other ſtoode.

There appears a remarkable anachroniſm in this Song; for St. Werburgh, who is ſaid to have preached here in 638, is made contemporary with King

[c] *Yellow.* [d] *Height.* [e] *Earl Leofwin.* [f] *Diſpatched, turned away.* [g] *Furious, violent.* [h] *Sand.* [i] *Rooting up, ſo explained in the gloſſary to Robert Glouceſter---Mored, i. e. digged, grubbed. The roots of trees are ſtill called Mores in Devonſhire.*

Kynghill,

Kynghill, or Coenwulf, king of Mercia, who did not reign till 796. And the terms in which he deſcribes Leof's or Leofwin's caſtle,

T'was in trothe ann ancyante onne,
But warre and tyme wyll all decaie.

are not applicable to ſo early a period as 1247, at which time the caſtle was in its full ſtrength; but might be very true at the time when Rowley wrote; and indeed it is ſo deſcribed by his contemporary William of Wirceſtre.

" Aula quondam magnifica in longitudine latitudine, altitudine *eſt totum ad* " *ruinam*; capella alia magnifica pro Rege & Dominis & Dominabus ſcita in " principaliſſimâ wardâ, exparte boreali aulæ, ubi cameræ pulcherrimæ ſunt ædifi- " catæ, ſed *diſcopertæ*, *nudæ*, *& vacuæ de planchers & copertura*;" p. 270. And Leland, in deſcribing this caſtle, obſerves, *that all tendith to ruine*. Itin. vol. vii. p. 84.

The Chronicle of Briſtol before mentioned, ſays, " that in the year 1247, the " mayor and commonalty of Briſtol concluded to build a bridge over the river " Avon, with the conſent of the governors of Redcliff and Temple, thereby to in- " corporate them with the town of Briſtowe, and to make of the two but one cor- " porate town: For this purpoſe they purchaſed lands of Sir William Bradſtone, " then Abbot of St. Auguſtin." See Leland's Itin. vol. vii. p. 88.

Another part of this ceremony conſiſted in ſinging the following ſong of St. Baldwyn.

SONGE OF SEYNCTE BALDWYNNE.

WHANN Norrurs[a] & hys menne of myghte,
Uponne thys brydge darde all to fyghte,
For ſlagenn manie warriours laie,
And Dacyanns well nie wonne the daie.
Whanne doughty Baldwinus aroſe,
And ſcatterd deathe amonge hys foes,
Fromme out the brydge the purlinge bloode
Embolled[b] hie the runnynge floude.
Dethe dydd uponne hys anlace hange,
And all hys arms were *gutte de ſangue*[c].
His doughtineſſe wrought thilk diſmaye,
The foreign warriors ranne awaie.
Erle Baldwynus regardedd well,
How manie menn for ſlaggen fell;
To Heaven lyft oppe hys holie eye,
And thankedd Godd for victorye;
Thenne threw hys anlace ynn the tyde,
Lyvdd ynne a cell, and hermytte died.

[a] *King of Norway.* [b] *Swelled.* [c] i. e. *Drops of blood; an heraldic alluſion, ſuitable to the genius of that age.*

The hiſtory of this hero-ſaint is alluded to in a part of the ceremony, "A mickle "ſtrong man in armour, repreſenting St. Baldwin, carried a huge anlace—ſtode "on the fyrſt top of a mound yreered in the midſt of the brydge, and when the "proceſſion arrived there, they ſung the Songe of St. Baldwynne; which being "done, the manne on the top threw, with great myght, his anlace into the ſea." But this Saint, and his hiſtory, like that of St. Warburgh, is totally unnoticed by our writers, and not at all explained by the ſong.

The engagement here alluded to, was with the Danes or Dacyans; for *Norrurs* ſignifies the King of Norway: But the æra is not aſcertained. The name of Baldwin was little, if at all, known in England during the incurſion of the Danes; but ſome countenance is given to this legend, by Baldwin's croſs, which formerly ſtood in the city of Briſtol, and a ſtreet which is ſtill called by that name.

Upon the whole, it appears from authentic records, that a new bridge was built at Briſtol in 1247; and a proceſſion might have been inſtituted on that occaſion, in which the hymns to theſe two Saints were introduced. The ceremony might have been performed but once, or it might have been renewed every century; this, however, is the only memorial of it now extant, and is far from being a perfect or ſatisfactory account. If no ſuch ceremony had ever been performed, Rowley could have had no inducement to invent ſo ſtrange a tale; nor could he hope to impoſe on his friend Canning, or on the inhabitants of Briſtol, the names of two Saints, of whom they never before had heard: If that ceremony was renewed, and exhibited in Rowley's time, the two ſongs, as they now ſtand, might have been ſubſtituted by him in the place of ſome more ancient and leſs elegant compoſitions on the ſame ſubject; the language of them being too modern for the thirteenth century, and the ſtate of Leofwin's caſtle, as therein deſcribed, though ſuitable to the age of Rowley, was not applicable to the other more early period, in which the caſtle was in its full ſtrength. If the ceremony was repreſented only in 1247, at the time here mentioned, his ſportive genius was both capable and ready to dreſs up this old ſtory in his own language, for the entertainment of Mr. Canning; but it is impoſſible to conceive that Chatterton could be acquainted with any of thoſe hiſtorical facts, which were neceſſary to give a plauſibility to the account.

A ſingular circumſtance relating to the hiſtory of this ceremony has been communicated to the public within theſe two laſt years; and candour requires that it ſhould not paſs unnoticed here, eſpecially as the character of the relator leaves no room for ſuſpicion. The objectors to the authenticity of theſe poems may poſſibly triumph in the diſcovery of a fact, which contains, in their opinion, a deciſive proof that Chatterton was the author of this paper, and (as they would infer) of all the poetry which he produced under Rowley's name; but, when the circumſtances are attentively examined, the reader will probably find, that even this fact tends rather to eſtabliſh, than to invalidate the authenticity of the poems.

Mr. John Ruddall, a native and inhabitant of Briſtol, and formerly apprentice to Mr. Francis Greſley, an apothecary in that city, was well acquainted with Chatterton, whilſt he was apprentice to Mr. Lambert: During that time, Chatterton frequently called upon him at his maſter's houſe, and, ſoon after he had printed this

this account of the bridge in the Briſtol paper, told Mr. Ruddall, that he was the author of it; but it occurring to him afterwards, that he might be called upon to produce the original, he brought to him one day a piece of parchment, about the ſize of a half-ſheet of Fools-cap paper; Mr. Ruddall does not think that any thing was written on it when produced by Chatterton, but he ſaw him write ſeveral words, if not lines, in a character which Mr. Ruddall did not underſtand, which he ſays was totally unlike Engliſh, and, as he apprehended, was meant by Chatterton to imitate or repreſent the original from which this account was printed. He cannot determine preciſely how much Chatterton wrote in this manner, but ſays, that the time he ſpent in that viſit did not exceed three quarters of an hour; the ſize of the parchment, however, (even ſuppoſing it to have been filled with writing) will in ſome meaſure aſcertain the quantity which it contained. He ſays alſo, that when Chatterton had written on the parchment, he held it over the candle, to give it the appearance of antiquity, *which changed the colour of the ink*, and *made the parchment appear black and a little contracted*; he never ſaw him make any ſimilar attempt, nor was the parchment produced afterwards by Chatterton to him, or (as far as he knows) to any other perſon. From a perfect knowledge of Chatterton's abilities, he thinks him to have been incapable of writing the Battle of Haſtings, or any of thoſe poems produced by him under the name of Rowley; nor does he remember that Chatterton ever mentioned Rowley's Poems to him, either as originals or the contrary, but ſometimes (though very rarely) intimated that he was poſſeſſed of ſome valuable literary productions. Mr. Ruddall had promiſed Chatterton not to reveal this ſecret, and he ſcrupulouſly kept his word till the year 1779; but, on the proſpect of procuring a gratuity of ten pounds for Chatterton's mother, from a gentleman who came to Briſtol in order to collect information concerning her ſon's hiſtory, he thought ſo material a benefit to the family would fully juſtify him for divulging a ſecret, by which no perſon now living could be a ſufferer. It ought to be mentioned, that Chatterton ſoon after broke off his acquaintance with Mr. Ruddall, improperly reſenting by a challenge ſome good advice which Mr. Ruddall had given him, in point very eſſential to his temporal and eternal happineſs; and the propriety of that advice too ſoon appeared, in the ſubſequent fate of that unhappy youth.

This account only proves that Chatterton was diſpoſed to exerciſe his inventive genius, and to make Mr. Ruddall believe that he could counterfeit the hand-writing and appearance of ancient MSS.: But the experiment does not ſeem in any reſpect to have anſwered the end he propoſed; for the *contraction of the parchment* is no diſcriminating mark of antiquity: The *blackneſs* given by ſmoke appears upon trial to be very different from the *yellow* tinge which parchment acquires by age; and *the ink does not change its colour*, as Mr. Ruddall ſeems to apprehend. Nor indeed did this experiment carry proper conviction even to Mr. Ruddall; who, profeſſing himſelf ignorant of the character in which Chatterton wrote, and being a ſtranger to the other ſuppoſed originals, which Chatterton had never ſhewn or even ſpoke of to him, could be no judge of their reſemblance or diſagreement with each other: If Chatterton really meant to convince Mr. Ruddall of the adroitneſs of this manœuvre, he would have produced and compared them in his preſence (even on the ſuppoſition

that they had all been forgeries,) unleſs he meant to act by him, as he afterwards did by Mr. Barrett, and choſe to declare himſelf the author of the paper, that he might avoid producing the original. Indeed his conduct on this occaſion ſhews that he did not ſeriouſly mean an impoſition on the public: If he was capable of inventing this account, which he printed as an ancient fragment, and wiſhed to authenticate it by a forged original, would he not have prepared it *before the publication*, that it might be produced in evidence, to eſtabliſh the credit of his account, whenſoever it ſhould be queſtioned? But inſtead of ſuch a premeditated plan, this act of forgery was in conſequence of an afterthought, that the original might be called for; nor did he make any uſe of the experiment, either thinking it unneceſſary, or becauſe he was convinced of its imperfection and inſufficiency for his purpoſe; as Mr. Ruddall never afterwards either ſaw the parchment, or heard Chatterton mention it. It was not ſhewn by him either to Mr. Barrett or Mr. Catcot, nor has it appeared amongſt the originals he left behind him. It is alſo very improbable, that in this early period of his life, he ſhould have formed a deſign to impoſe his own performances upon the world for ancient anecdotes, before he had either information or abilities to compoſe them. For, when he ſhewed this parchment to Mr. Ruddall, he was not ſixteen years of age, had been diſcharged only three months from Colſton's ſchool, where he could have no opportunity to borrow books, nor leiſure to read them; much leſs to collect anecdotes relating to the hiſtory of Briſtol. It is to be obſerved alſo, that this poem was the ſecond piece of Rowley's compoſition which Chatterton produced to Mr. Barrett. As he was not acquainted with the ancient parchments till after he became apprentice to Mr. Lambert, the period of three months, which intervened between that event and the publication of this paper, was little more than ſufficient for him to ſelect, decypher, and tranſcribe this account for the preſs.

The tranſaction with Mr. Ruddall, as he ſays, followed at the diſtance of about ten days or a fortnight; for the recency of the publication, and the converſation conſequent upon it, gave riſe to Chatterton's forgery: Had the ſubject been a ſhort poem, or any proſe account, which required only genius and invention in the author, Chatterton might be ſuppoſed equal to it; or, if the forgery conſiſted only of a few lines, he might have imitated an ancient hand with a tolerable degree of accuracy and uniformity; but the length of this account, including the two Songs, would have made it very difficult for him to preſerve the ſame uniformity, and much more ſo to tranſcribe all thoſe reputed originals which are now in Mr. Barrett's hands, under the name of Rowley, and of which he has obligingly furniſhed me with the following catalogue.

Parchments penes me, W. B.

The Song to Ella, with the Challenge to Lidgate, and the Anſwer. This poem was ſent by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is unfortunately loſt.

Canynges Feaſt: A poem.

The firſt thirty-ſix lines of the Storie of William Canynge.

The following are Hiſtorical Proſe Compoſitions.

1. The Yellow Roll, containing an Account of the origin of Coinage in England, and of the Curioſities in Canynge's Cabinet. This alſo was lent, with the Song to Ella, by Mr. Barrett to a friend, and is loſt.
2. The Purple Roll, thirteen inches by ten, containing an Account of particular Coins, and the ſecond and third Sections of Turgotus's Hiſtory of Briſtol. *N. B.* The firſt Section above quoted is alſo extant in Chatterton's own hand, but the original does not appear.
3. Vita Burtoni, a parchment roll, about eight inches long and four broad, very cloſely written; containing an account of Sir Simon De Burton, and his rebuilding Redcliff Church.
4. Knights Templars Church; a Hiſtory of its foundation, &c.
5. St. Mary's Church of the Port: A Hiſtory of it from its foundation, ending with the Verſes on Robert Canynge.
6. Roll of St. Bartholomew's Priory, with a Liſt of the Priors.
7. An Account of the Chapel and Houſe of Calendaries: A drawing of the Chapel, and underneath an explanation of it.
8. Ellas Chapple. No drawing, except of the Kiſt of Ella; but there is an account of its foundation.
9. St. Mary Magdalen's Chapel: A drawing only.
10. Grey Friars Church: A drawing only.
11. Drawing of three monumental inſcriptions.
12. Ancient Monument, and Rudhall: Mere delineations.
13. Leſſer and Greater St. John's: Only a rude delineation.
14. Several drawings of the Caſtle of Briſtol.
15. Strong Hold of the Caſtle: A drawing, and account of its foundation by Robert Earl of Glouceſter, and ſite thereof.
16. Old Wall of Briſtol: Mere drawings.
17. Carne of Robert Curthoſes Mynde in Caſtleſteed: A drawing or figure, with the words *Carne*, &c. underneath.

The hiſtorical anecdote which Chatterton pretended to have written, and of which he affected to forge the original, was ſo far founded in truth, that a new bridge was built over the Avon at Briſtol in 1247; but the ceremony performed at the opening of it, reſts ſolely on the authority of this account. If the fact was true, Chatterton muſt have been indebted for it to Rowley's papers, or to ſome other ancient documents: If it was a fable, the genius of Rowley might be equal to the invention, but the ſubject was altogether foreign to Chatterton's ideas, and the circumſtances beyond the reach of his knowledge or imagination; for though we ſhould ſuppoſe him capable of dreſſing up a mock proceſſion of the mayor and citizens parading over the new bridge, yet how could he invent ſo circumſtantial a hiſtory

Or bee the erthe wyth lyghte or merke [t] ywrynde [u],
I ſee hys ymage waulkeyng throwe the coaſte:
Fitz Hardynge, Bithrickus, and twentie moe
Ynn viſyonn fore mie phantaſie dyd goe.

Thus all mie wandrynge faytour [w] thynkeynge ſtrayde,
And eche dygne buylder dequac'd [x] onn mie mynde,
Whan from the diſtaunt ſtreeme aroſe a mayde,
Whoſe gentle treſſes mov'd not to the wynde;

[t] *Darkneſs.* [u] *Covered.* [w] *Deceiver.* [x] *Daſhed.*

Lyche

a hiſtory of St. Wareburghus, in whoſe honour a ſong was ſung as a part of the ceremony? The account of that Saint, is the ſame with that given by Turgot in his firſt ſection of the Hiſtory of Briſtol, and an alluſion is made to the ſame hiſtory in the poem now before us: Muſt we not therefore infer, that all three are the work of the ſame author; and if they are not to be aſcribed to Rowley, muſt we not ſuppoſe, in contradiction to reaſon and experience, and to the teſtimony of Chatterton's own friends and acquaintance, that this illiterate youth, at the age of ſixteen, was capable of writing all theſe poems, of compiling the hiſtorical anecdotes in proſe, which are ſtill extant in Mr. Barrett's poſſeſſion, and of giving to them all the appearance of authenticity, by tranſcribing them in a feigned but uniform character, affecting to be ancient? To ſuch dilemmas as theſe are the opponents to Rowley, and the advocates for Chatterton, reduced; and if any further argument was wanted, to ſhew that the authenticity of the poetry could not be affected by this ſingle inſtance of Chatterton's forgery, the learned Editor of the poems might be appealed to, as an able and impartial judge; who, in his preface, has thus given his opinion of the point in queſtion:

"If the writing of the fragment ſhall be judged to be counterfeit, and forged "by Chatterton, it will not of neceſſity follow, that the matter of them was alſo "forged by him; and ſtill leſs, that all the other compoſitions, which he profeſſed "to have copied from ancient MSS. were merely inventions of his own: *In either* "*caſe, the deciſion muſt depend upon the internal evidence.*"

V. 35. But the hiſtory of Rowley's other heroes is better authenticated; for Leland obſerves, that Brictric was Lord of Briſtow before the conqueſt. See alſo the note on B. H. N° 2. v. 116. The name of Robert Fitzharding is perpetuated as the founder of the Auguſtinian convent, now the cathedral church.

V. 40. The beautiful ſimplicity in the perſonification of Truth need not be ſuggeſted to the reader, nor the modeſt deſcription of the Poet's innocent and virtuous ſentiments, ſo truly correſpondent to his profeſſion;

For well he minded what by vow he hete.

Lyche to the ſylver moone yn froſtie neete,
The damoiſelle dyd come ſoe blythe and ſweete.

Ne browded [y] mantell of a ſcarlette hue,
Ne ſhoone pykes [z] plaited o'er wyth ribbande geere,
Ne coſtlie paraments [a] of woden [b] blue,
Noughte of a dreſſe, but bewtie dyd ſhee weere;
Naked ſhe was, and loked ſwete of youthe,
All dyd bewryen [c] that her name was Trouthe.

The ethie [d] ringletts of her notte-browne hayre
What ne a manne ſhould ſee dyd ſwotelie [e] hyde,
Whych on her milk-white bodykin [f] ſo fayre
Dyd ſhowe lyke browne ſtreemes fowlyng the white tyde,
Or veynes of brown hue yn a marble cuarr [g],
Whyche by the traveller ys kenn'd from farr.

Aſtounded mickle there I ſylente laie,
Still ſcauncing [h] wondrous at the walkynge ſyghte;
Mie ſenſes forgarde [i] ne coulde reyn awaie;
But was ne forſtraughte [k] whan ſhee dyd alyghte
Anie to mee, dreſte up yn naked viewe,
Whych mote yn ſome ewbrycious [l] thoughtes abrewe [m].

But I ne dyd once thynke of wanton thoughte;
For well I mynded what bie vowe I hete [n],
And yn mie pockate han a crouchee [o] broughte,
Whych yn the bloſom woulde ſuch ſins anete [p];

[y] *Embroidered.* [z] *Piked or picked ſhoes.* [a] *Robes of ſtate.* [b] *Dyed with woad.* [c] *Diſcover, ſhew.* [d] *Eaſy.* [e] *Sweetly.* [f] *Body.* [g] *Quarry.* [h] *Looking obliquely.* [i] *Loſt.* [k] *Confounded.* [l] *Adultrous.* [m] *Brew, or mix.* [n] *Promiſed.* [o] *Crucifix.* [p] *Deſtroy, annihilate.*

I lok'd wyth eyne as pure as angelles doe,
And dyd the everie thoughte of foule eſchewe.

Wyth ſweet ſemblate [q] and an angel's grace
Shee 'gan to lecture from her gentle breſte;
For Trouthis wordes ys her myndes face,
Falſe oratoryes ſhe dyd aie deteſte:
Sweetneſſe was yn eche worde ſhe dyd ywreene [r],
Tho ſhe ſtrove not to make that ſweetneſſe ſheene.

Shee ſayd; mie manner of appereynge here
Mie name and ſleyghted myndbruch [s] maie thee telle;
I'm Trouthe, that dyd deſcende fromm heaven were,
Goulers [t] and courtiers doe not kenne mee welle;
Thie inmoſte thoughtes, thie labrynge brayne I ſawe,
And from thie gentle dreeme will thee adawe [u].

Full manie champyons and menne of lore [w],
Payncters and carvellers have gaind good name,
But there's a Canynge, to encreaſe the ſtore,
A Canynge, who ſhall buie uppe all theyre fame.
Take thou mie power, and ſee yn chylde and manne
What troulie nobleneſſe yn Canynge ranne.

[q] *Appearance.* [r] *Diſplay.* [s] *Firmneſs.* [t] *Uſurers.* [u] *Awaken.* [w] *Learning.*

As

V. 69. The obſervation that

Trouthis wordes ys her myndes face,

is an improvement of that idea in Gower;

It needeth not to make it quaint,
For trouthe hys wordis will not paint. p. 9.

V. 80. The poet here alludes to the liſt of ſkilld Painctorrs and Carvellers already mentioned. The ſeveral references which are made to perſons and things mentioned by him in other poems, ſhews a connection of ideas, which is a ſtrong preſumptive evidence in favour of the authenticity of the whole.

As when a bordelier [w] onn ethie [x] bedde,
Tyr'd wyth the laboures maynt of ſweltrie daie,
Yn ſlepeis boſom laieth hys deft [y] headde,
So, ſenſes ſonke to reſte, mie boddie laie;
Eftſoons mie ſprighte, from erthlie bandes untyde,
Immengde [z] yn flanched [a] ayre wyth Trouthe aſyde.

Strayte was I carryd back to tymes of yore,
Whylſt Canynge ſwathed yet yn fleſhlie bedde,
And ſaw all actyons whych han been before,
And all the ſcroll of Fate unravelled;
And when the fate-mark'd babe acome to ſyghte,
I ſaw hym eager gaſpynge after lyghte.

[w] *Peaſant.* [x] *Eaſy.* [y] *Neat, cleanly.* [z] *Mingled.* [a] *The arched firmament.*

In

V. 91. Rowley was certainly well qualified to draw the character of Canning from his childhood, if (according to the unpubliſhed account of his life) their friendſhip commenced with their education at the White Fryars, or Carmelites, at Briſtol. The expreſſion of his *eating down learning with the waſtel-cake* may appear childiſh, and ſuggeſt the idea of a gingerbread horn-book; but is any objection made to a ſimilar phraſe, *to ſuck in wiſdom with the milk?* The gravity of Rowley's pen, and the nature of his ſubject, forbid us to ſuppoſe any ſarcaſm implied in the compariſon between Canning's wiſdom and that of the mayor and aldermen, though Canning himſelf has elſewhere made free with them.

With regard to Canning's family, the father, whoſe name was John, and the elder brother *Robert*, are characteriſed in this poem, as being attentive only to money. The unpubliſhed life of Canning, in Mr. Barrett's hands, ſeems to ſay that they did not long ſurvive each other, and that "the father loved not William "as he did Roberte, ſithence he bent not hys wholle rede to gette lucre:" But neither the poem nor theſe memorials mention any other brother except John. "Hys brodher Robert was than hym oulder, John yingere.—Brodher John is a "lacklande, beyinge left uponne mie goode wylle:" And in another letter of Canning, he tells Rowley, "that he ſhall goe to Londonne to ſettle his brodher "Johne;" agreeably to what is mentioned in the ſtanza from line 127. But John was not the brother——whom he put in ſuch a trade,

That he lorde mayor of Londonne towne was made;

In all hys ſhepen [b] gambols and chyldes plaie,
In everie merriemakeyng, fayre or wake,
I kenn'd a perpled [c] lyghte of Wyſdom's raie;
He eate downe learnynge wyth the waſtle cake [d]. 100
As wiſe as anie of the eldermenne,
He'd wytte enowe toe make a mayre at tenne.

[b] *Innocent, or ſimple.* [c] *Scattered.* [d] *The whiteſt bread.*

As

for the perſon who held that high office anno 1457, 36 Henry VIth, was called *Thomas*. This ſtanza, therefore, may allude to two different perſons; he might ſupply the wants of his brother John, and even ſettle him in London; but Thomas had probably an earlier eſtabliſhment in trade, by the ſucceſs of which, he was advanced to the higheſt city honours. Canning's ſon William died before him, leaving a ſon of the ſame name, to whom the grandfather bequeathed ſome tenements in Briſtol, together with the reverſion of another tenement, then poſſeſſed by Iſabella Pewett, who is ſtiled *nuper uxor Willelmi Cannyngs filii mei defuncti.*

It would be foreign to the preſent purpoſe, as well as anticipating a more perfect account of Canning's family (which we are to expect from Mr. Barrett) to enter more largely into his hiſtory. It may be ſufficient, therefore, to add the portraiture of him and his family, as it appears among Rowley's papers.

"Hee is talle and ſtatelie, his eyes and haire are jette blacke, hys aſpecte "ſweete, and ſkin ablaunche; Han he not ſoe moke ſwootineſſe, proude and diſ- "courteous inne look; hys lyppes are rudde, and hys lymbes, albeytte large, are "hung * ne lyk a ſtrong pole. Mayſtres Cannynges chyldrenn doe gree lyk "himſelfe." This portraiture cannot be more exactly verified, than by comparing it with the alabaſter figure on his monument, in Redcliff church, eſpecially that which repreſents him in his eccleſiaſtical habit (for there is another in his city dreſs) in which his length of ſtature, and the ſtrong lines of his features, are particularly marked out.

William Wirceſtre calls him "ditiſſimus & ſapientiſſimus mercator ville Briſ- "tolie," p. 83. We may judge of the extent of his traffic and wealth from the ſame author, who ſays, that he kept eight hundred ſailors employed for eight years, and maintained daily a hundred carpenters and maſons, and had ten ſhips in trade, conſiſting of above two thouſand nine hundred ton of ſhipping; and that he paid

* Either *ne* ſhould be omitted, or the word *unlyk* be ſubſtituted inſtead of *lyk*.

As the dulce [e] downie barbe beganne to gre,
So was the well thyghte [f] texture of hys lore [g];
Eche daie enhedeynge [h] mockler [i] for to bee,
Greete yn hys councel for the daies he bore.
All tongues, all carrols dyd unto hym ſynge,
Wondryng at one ſoe wyſe, and yet ſoe yinge [k].

Encreaſeynge yn the yeares of mortal lyfe,
And haſteynge to hys journie ynto heaven,
Hee thoughte ytt proper for to cheeſe [l] a wyfe,
And uſe the ſexes for the purpoſe gevene.
Hee then was yothe of comelie ſemelikeede [m],
And hee had made a mayden's herte to blede.

He had a fader, (Jeſus reſt hys ſoule!)
Who loved money, as hys charie joie;

[e] *Soft.* [f] *Conſolidated, connected.* [g] *Learning.* [h] *Being careful.* [i] *Stronger.* [k] *Young.* [l] *Chuſe.* [m] *Appearance.*

Hee

three thouſand marks to Edward the IVth, "pro pace habendâ." We muſt not omit giving him his due credit for his ſkill in poetry and painting: The former will appear in the pieces which cloſe this collection; and Rowley, ſpeaking of him in the Liſt of Paincterrs and Carvellers, ſays, "Mayſtre Cannynge ys ne foule "paynterr, ne bâd verſerr." As a proof of the former, he "dyd paynćte the "depyćture of the Kynges, the Vyrgyn, and odhere matters in the windowes of the "iſle of the Ladies table." Indeed the choice of his three friends, and their poetical merits, are a convincing proof of his taſte, and juſtify every thing that his panegyriſt has ſaid in his favour. How far he was concerned in rebuilding Redcliff church has been already mentioned. The menace of King Edward, to force a daughter of Woodville, Lord Rivers, upon him for a wife, and his ſhelter-ing himſelf under the protection of holy orders, is a fact eſtabliſhed by the moſt authentic records.

As to his poetical merit, *The Poem on Happineſs* is thought by many not inferior to thoſe of his friend Rowley.

Hee had a broder (happie manne be's dole!)
Yn mynde and boddie, hys owne fadre's boie;
What then could Canynge wiſſen [n] as a parte
To gyve to her whoe had made chop of hearte?

But landes and caſtle tenures, golde and bighes [o],
And hoardes of ſylver rouſted yn the ent [p],
Canynge and hys fayre ſweete dyd that deſpyſe,
To change of troulie love was theyr content;
Theie lyv'd togeder yn a houſe adygne [q],
Of goode ſendaument [r] commilie and fyne.

But ſoone hys broder and hys ſyre dyd die,
And lefte to Willyam ſtates and renteynge rolles,
And at hys wyll hys broder Johne ſupplie.
Hee gave a chauntrie to redeeme theyre ſoules;
And put hys broder ynto ſyke a trade,
That he lorde mayor of Londonne towne was made.

Eftſoons hys mornynge tournd to gloomie nyghte;
Hys dame, hys ſeconde ſelfe, gyve upp her brethe,
Seekeynge for eterne lyfe and endleſs lyghte,
And fleed good Canynge; ſad myſtake of dethe!
Soe have I ſeen a flower ynn Sommer tyme
Trodde downe and broke and widder ynn ytts pryme.

Next Radcleeve chyrche (oh worke of hande of heav'n,
Whare Canynge ſheweth as an inſtrumente,)

[n] *Wiſh.* [o] *Jewels.* [p] *Purſe.* [q] *Creditable.* [r] *Appearance.*

Was

Was to my biſmarde [s] eyne-ſyghte newlie giv'n;
'Tis paſt to blazonne ytt to good contente.
You that woulde faygn the fetyve [t] buyldynge ſee
Repayre to Radcleve, and contented bee.

I ſawe the myndbruch [u] of hys nobille ſoule
Whan Edwarde meniced a ſeconde wyfe;
I ſaw what Pheryons yn hys mynde dyd rolle;
Nowe fyx'd fromm ſeconde dames a preeſte for lyfe.
Thys ys the manne of menne, the viſion ſpoke;
Then belle for even-ſonge mie ſenſes woke.

[s] *Deluded.* [t] *Elegant.* [u] *Firmneſs.*

ON HAPPIENESSE,

BY WILLIAM CANYNGE.

MAIE Selyneſſe [a] on erthes boundes bee hadde?
Maie yt adyghte [b] yn human ſhape bee founde?

[a] *Happineſs.* [b] *Dreſſed, cloathed.*

Wote

Chatterton has written a poem on the ſame ſubject, which has alſo been printed. Whether this now before us was penned by Canning himſelf, or whether it was written by Rowley, (See Love and Madneſs, p. 155) whoſe ſtile it reſembles, and who might give his friend and patron the credit of the performance; in either view we cannot but obſerve the different ſtile, ſentiment, deſign, and manner in which the ſubject is treated in the two poems.

Wote yee, ytt was wyth Edin's bower beſtadde [c],
Or quite eraced from the ſcaunce-layd [d] grounde,
Whan from the ſecret fontes the waterres dyd abounde?
Does yt agroſed [e] ſhun the bodyed waulke,
Lyve to ytſelf and to yttes ecchoe taulke?

All hayle, Contente, thou mayde of turtle-eyne,
As thie behoulders thynke thou arte iwreene [f],
To ope the dore to Selyneſſe ys thyne,
And Chryſtis glorie doth upponne thee ſheene.
Doer of the foule thynge ne hath thee ſeene;
In caves, ynn wodes, ynn woe, and dole [g] diſtreſſe,
Whoere hath thee hath gotten Selyneſſe.

[c] *Fixed.* [d] *Uneven.* [e] *Frighted.* [f] *Diſplayed.* [g] *Sorrowful.*

Canning, in the ſpirit and meekneſs of Chriſtianity, places happineſs in a virtuous and religious contentment—Chatterton, on the other hand, after having in the groſſeſt manner inſulted revelation, and repreſented *education as entitled to the curſes of mankind*, reſolves happineſs into mere opinion, and concludes his poem with an aſſertion too falſe and profligate for his editor and apologiſt to give it to the public; nor ſhould it have a place here, if it were not to ſhew the contraſt between the ſpirit of Chatterton, and thoſe of Rowley and Canning:

The ſaint and ſinner, wiſe and fool, attain
An equal ſhare of eaſineſs and pain.

V. 3. *Beſtad* ſignifies ſtrictly a ſtate or ſituation, but it is very frequently joined with an adjective, implying uneaſineſs and diſtreſs. Thus we have in Iſaiah *hardly beſtad*; in Gower, *ſorrowfully beſtad*. In the preſent paſſage it ſeems merely to imply a fixed ſituation.

V. 4. The *ſcaunce-layd grounde*, alludes to the obliquity and unevenneſs in the ſurface of the earth, which is ſuppoſed to have been the effect of the deluge, and affords another inſtance of the ſenſe in which the word *ſcaunſe*, or *aſcaunces*, is applied by our poet.

V. 6. *Agroſed*, or *agriſed*, ſignifies *terrified*, and the word is thus explained by Mr. Tyrwhit in his Gloſſary.

ONN JOHNE A DALBENIE,

BY THE SAME.

JOHNE makes a jarre boute Lancaſter and Yorke;
Bee ſtille, gode manne, and learne to mynde thie worke.

This Diſtich furniſhes no other remark, but that the family is of ancient origin, and long continuance in Briſtol. Maiſter Gregory Dalbenie makes a principal figure in the ceremony of opening the new bridge, anno 1247. Sir Giles Dawbeny, amongſt other offices, was appointed conſtable of Briſtol caſtle, 1ſt Henry VIIth, Rot. Parl. p. 374; afterwards created Lord Dawbeny, 7 Hen. VIIth. This John Dalbenie was probably of the ſame family; and the Dawbenies ſtill ſubſiſt with good credit in Briſtol.

THE GOULER'S REQUIEM,

BY THE SAME.

MIE boolie [a] entes [b], adieu! ne moe the ſyghte
Of guilden merke ſhall mete mie joieous eyne,

[a] *Beloved.* [b] *Purſes.*

Ne

Goule, according to the Pr. Parv. means *uſury*. Skinner, who quotes the word from the ancient Engliſh Dictionary, as derived from *gula*, doubts both the exiſtence and etymology of the term: Where then could Chatterton meet with it, but in a Latin Gloſſariſt, whom he did not underſtand, and who did not believe the word to be ancient?

V. 2. Canning does not ſpeak of the *mark* and *noble* in the ſtrict language of

Ne moe the ſylver noble ſheenynge bryghte
Schall fyll mie honde with weight to ſpeke ytt fyne;
Ne moe, ne moe, alaſs! I call you myne:
Whydder muſt you, ah! whydder muſt I goe?
I kenn not either; oh mie emmers [c] dygne,
To parte wyth you wyll wurcke mee myckle woe;
I muſte be gonne, botte whare I dare ne telle;
O ſtorthe [d] unto mie mynde! I goe to helle.

Soone as the morne dyd dyghte [e] the roddie ſunne,
A ſhade of theves eche ſtreake of lyght dyd ſeeme;
Whann ynn the heavn full half hys courſe was runn,
Eche ſtirryng nayghbour dyd mie harte afleme [f];
Thye loſs, or quycke or ſlepe, was aie mie dreme;
For thee, O gould, I dyd the lawe ycraſe [g];
For thee I gotten or bie wiles or breme [h];
Ynn thee I all mie joie and good dyd place;

[c] *Coined money.* [d] *Death.* [e] *Dreſs, or prepare.* [f] *Terrify.* [g] *Break.* [h] *Violence.*

Botte

the mint: The former was a nummulary eſtimate, in value two-thirds of a pound: The latter, a gold coin, half the value of the mark; but they were the common names by which ſums were then computed. Our ancient records ſpeak of *golden marks*, which conſiſted of two-thirds of a pound in gold; and the memory of them is ſtill preſerved in the royal coronations, where the King makes two offerings, viz. one in *a pound*, the other *in a mark of gold*. The mark and the noble being conſidered here as money of account, rather than as ſpecies of coin, the larger denomination is given to the gold, and the ſmaller to the ſilver.

V. 7. They may be called *emmers*, either from the yellow colour of gold, reſembling *embers*, or live coals of fire, as Pindar calls gold

———— χρυσος αἰθόμενον πύρ. (Olymp. v. 2.)

or as the gold coin of the lower empire was ſtiled ὑπέρπυρον; or from their circular form, deriving *emmer*, like *aumere* and *emmertlyng*, from the A. S. prepoſition *ymb-her*, which ſignifies to *encircle* or *ſurround*.

Botte now to mee thie pleaſaunce ys ne moe,
I kenne notte botte for thee I to the quede [i] muſt goe. 20

[i] *The devil.*

V. 20. *Quad*, according to Skinner and the gloſſariſts, ſignifies *evil* or *wicked*; but Rowley uſes it, both here and in a paſſage of Ella, emphatically for the *devil*.

THE ACCOUNTE OF W. CANYNGES FEAST.

THOROWE the halle the belle han ſounde;
Byelecoyle [a] doe the Grave beſeeme [b];
The ealdermenne doe ſytte arounde,
Ande ſnoffelle oppe the cheorte [c] ſteeme.

[a] *Fair welcome.* [b] *Is becoming, or proper.* [c] *Chearful.*

Lyche

Mr. Warton has objected to the word *Accounte*, in the title of this laſt piece, as having been formerly uſed only in an arithmetical ſenſe; but the French words *conter*, and *raconter*, are at leaſt as ancient as Rowley's time, and have been always applicable in this ſenſe. Indeed it is ſo uſed by Gower,

Which for to *accompte* is but a jape,
As thing which thou might overſchape. P. 20. col. 2.

V. 2. *Bialacoil*, in modern French *Bel accueil*, *fair welcome*, or *good reception*, is perſonified by Chaucer, and uniformly explained by the Gloſſariſts; Spenſer alſo

Lyche aſſes wylde ynne deſarte waſte
Swotelye the morneynge ayre doe taſte.

Syke keene theie ate; the minſtrels plaie,
The dynne of angelles doe theie keepe;
Heie ſtylle the gueſtes ha ne to ſaie,
Butte nodde yer thankes ande falle aſlape.
Thus echone daie bee I to deene,
Gyf Rowley, Iſcamm, or Tyb. Gorges be ne ſeene.

uſes the expreſſion of *ſeeming Bel-accoil*, B. iv. C. 6. St. 25. The paſſage means, that the grave Aldermen deſerve a civil reception. The picture of them at table is humorous, but equally applicable to any other corporation-feaſt; and though the ſimile here introduced might not be meant as a compliment, yet it is copied from a very reſpectable original.

The prophet Jeremiah deſcribes *the wild aſs in the wilderneſs, as ſnuffing up the wind at his pleaſure.* Chap. ii. v. 24.

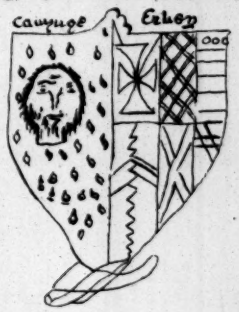
The *wild aſſes* did ſtand in the high places; they *ſnuffed up the wind like dragons.* Chap. xiv. 6.

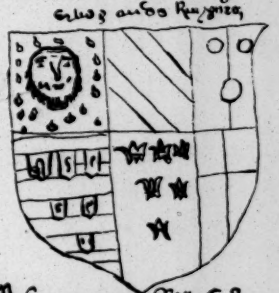
But the account of this feſtivity might relate principally to the public occaſional entertainments given by Canning, either as mayor, or as a wealthy merchant of the town.

THE END OF THE POEMS.

The Accesse of K. Canynges

Armes Antyanne tos mes Kings.





MS. Canynge-Rolls No. 63.

Robt. Canynge.

I. Strutt Sculp.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE.

THE ſeries of external and internal evidence contained in the preceding ſheets, unite in confuting every idea which would aſcribe theſe poems to Chatterton as their author. If the cauſe wanted further ſupport, it would receive the ſtrongeſt confirmation from the following letter, which was communicated too late to be added to the other external evidence contained in the Preliminary Diſſertation. Poſſibly it may be introduced with equal propriety in this place, where it may prove deciſive of the queſtion, and carry the moſt ſatisfactory conviction to the mind of every reader. The author, who is at preſent ſettled in a profeſſion in this metropolis, was a native of Briſtol, where his acquaintance with Chatterton commenced and terminated; and in conſequence of it, is enabled not only to bear teſtimony to the exiſtence of the ancient parchments, and to the tranſcripts made of them by Chatterton, but alſo to deſcribe, with great accuracy, the ſituation, circumſtances, genius, temper, purſuits, and amuſements of this extraordinary youth: A teſtimony which comes recommended by this circumſtance, that it correſponds with the accounts given of Chatterton by himſelf, his neareſt relations, and moſt intimate friends; but Mr. Thiſtlethwaite's account muſt be delivered in his own words.

"SIR,

" SIR,

" IN obedience to your requeſt, and my own promiſe, I ſit " down to give you the beſt account in my power, of the riſe, " progreſs, and termination of my acquaintance with the late " unfortunate Thomas Chatterton.

" In the ſummer of 1763, being then in the 12th year of my " age, I contracted an intimacy with one Thomas Phillips, who " was ſome time uſher or aſſiſtant maſter of a hoſpital, or charity-" ſchool, founded for the education and maintenance of youth at " Briſtol, by Edward Colſton, Eſquire. Phillips, notwithſtand-" ing the diſadvantage of a very confined education, poſſeſſed " a taſte for hiſtory and poetry; of the latter, the magazines, and " other periodicals of that time, furniſh no very contemptible " ſpecimen.

" Towards the latter end of that year, by means of my inti-" macy with Phillips, I formed a connection with Chatterton, " who was on the foundation of that ſchool, and about fourteen " months younger than myſelf. The poetical attempts of Phil-" lips had excited a kind of literary emulation amongſt the elder " claſſes of the ſcholars; the love of fame animated their boſoms, " and a variety of competitors appeared to diſpute the laurel with " him: Their endeavours however, in general, did not meet with " the ſucceſs which their zeal and aſſiduity deſerved; and Phil-" lips ſtill, to the mortification of his opponents, came off " victorious and unhurt.

" In all theſe trifling contentions, the fruits of which are " now, and have been long ſince deſervedly and entirely for-" gotten, Chatterton appeared merely as an idle ſpectator, no " ways intereſted in the buſineſs of the drama; ſimply content-" ing himſelf with the ſports and paſtimes more immediately " adapted to his age, he apparently poſſeſſed neither inclination " nor indeed ability for literary purſuits; nor do I believe (not-" withſtanding the evidence adduced to the contrary by the au-

" thor of Love and Madneſs) that he attempted the compo-
" ſition of a ſingle couplet, during the firſt three years of my
" acquaintance with him.

" Going down Horſe-ſtreet, near the ſchool, one day, during
" the ſummer of 1764, I accidentally met with Chatterton:
" Entering into converſation with him, the ſubject of which
" I do not now recollect, he informed me that he was in poſſeſ-
" ſion of certain old MSS, which had been found depoſited in
" a cheſt in Redcliffe church, and that he had lent ſome or one
" of them to Phillips. Within a day or two after this, I ſaw
" Phillips, and repeated to him the information I had received
" from Chatterton. Phillips produced a MS, on parchment or
" vellum, which I am confident was *Elenoure and Juga*, a kind
" of Paſtoral Eclogue, afterwards publiſhed in the Town and
" Country Magazine for May 1769. The parchment or vellum
" appeared to have been cloſely pared round the margin, for
" what purpoſe, or by what accident, I know not, but the words
" were evidently entire and unmutilated. As the writing was
" yellow and pale, manifeſtly (as I conceive) occaſioned by age,
" and conſequently difficult to decypher, Phillips had with his
" pen traced and gone over ſeveral of the lines (which, as far as
" my recollection ſerves, were written in the manner of proſe,
" and without any regard to punctuation) and by that means
" laboured to attain the object of his purſuit, an inveſtigation of
" their meaning. I endeavoured to aſſiſt him; but, from an almoſt
" total ignorance of the characters, manners, language, and ortho-
" graphy of the age in which the lines were written, all our
" efforts were unprofitably exerted; and although we arrived at
" an explanation of, and connected many of the words, ſtill the
" ſenſe was notoriouſly deficient.

" For my own part, having little or no taſte for ſuch ſtudies,
" I repined not at the diſappointment; Phillips, on the con-
" trary, was to all appearance mortified, indeed much more ſo

" than

" than at that time I thought the object deſerved, expreſſing his " ſorrow at his want of ſucceſs, and repeatedly declaring his " intention of reſuming the attempt at a future period. Whether " he kept his word or not, is a circumſtance I am entirely un- " acquainted with, nor do I conceive a determination thereof " any ways material at preſent.

" In the year 1765, I was put apprentice to a ſtationer at " Briſtol, at which period my acquaintance and correſpondence " with Chatterton and Phillips ſeem to have undergone a tempo- " rary diſſolution; however, towards the latter end of 1767, or " at the beginning of 1768, being ſent to the office of Mr. Lam- " bert, an attorney then reſident at Briſtol, for ſome books which " wanted binding, in the execution of that errand, I found Chat- " terton, who was an articled clerk to Mr. Lambert, and who, " as I collected from his own converſation, had been adventur- " ing in the fields of Parnaſſus, having produced ſeveral trifles, " both in proſe and verſe, which had then lately made their ap- " pearance in the public prints.

" In the courſe of the year 1768 and 1769, wherein I fre- " quently ſaw and converſed with Chatterton, the excentricity " of his mind, and the verſatility of his diſpoſition, ſeem to have " been ſingularly diſplayed. One day he might be found buſily " employed in the ſtudy of Heraldry and Engliſh Antiquities, " both of which are numbered amongſt the moſt favourite of his " purſuits; the next, diſcovered him deeply engaged, confounded, " and perplexed, amidſt the ſubtleties of metaphyſical diſquiſition, " or loſt and bewildered in the abſtruſe labyrinth of mathematical " reſearches; and theſe in an inſtant again neglected and thrown " aſide to make room for aſtronomy and muſic, of both which " ſciences his knowledge was entirely confined to theory. Even " phyſic was not without a charm to allure his imagination, and " he would talk of Galen, Hippocrates, and Paracelſus, with all " the confidence and familiarity of a modern empirick.

" To a genius ſo fickle and wavering, however comprehenſive " the mind may be, no real or ſolid attainment could reaſonably " be expected. True it is, that by not confining himſelf to one " ſcience only, he contracted an acquaintance with many, but " ſuch an acquaintance, as ſuperficial in itſelf, neither contri- " buted to his intereſt nor his credit.

" During the year 1768, at divers viſits I made him, I found " him employed in copying Rowley, from what I then conſidered, " and do ſtill conſider, as authentic and undoubted originals. " By the aſſiſtance he received from the gloſſary to Chaucer, he " was enabled to read, with great facility, even the moſt difficult " of them; and, unleſs my memory very much deceives me, " I once ſaw him conſulting the *Etymologicon Linguæ Anglicanæ* " of Skinner.

" Amongſt others, I perfectly remember to have read ſeveral " ſtanzas copied from the *Deathe of Syr Charles Bawdin*, the " original alſo of which then lay before him. The beautiful ſim- " plicity, animation, and pathos, that ſo abundantly prevail thro' " the courſe of that poem, made a laſting impreſſion on my " memory; I am nevertheleſs of opinion, that the language, as " I then ſaw it, was much more obſolete than it appears in the " edition publiſhed by Mr. Tyrwhitt; probably occaſioned by " certain interpolations of Chatterton, ignorantly made, with " an intention, as he thought, of improving them.

" Several pieces which afterwards made their appearance in " the Town and Country Magazine, (notwithſtanding their " more modern date) were written by him during this year, " 1768, particularly certain pretended tranſlations from the " Saxon and Ancient Britiſh; very humble, and in ſome in- " ſtances very unſucceſsful attempts at the manner and ſtile " of Oſſian. Chatterton, whenever aſked for the originals of " *theſe* pieces, heſitated not to confeſs, that they exiſted only " in his own imagination, and were merely the offspring and

" invention of fancy; on the contrary, his declaration, when-
" ever queſtioned as to the authenticity of the poems attributed
" to Rowley, was invariably and uniformly in ſupport of their
" antiquity, and the reputation of their author Rowley, inſtantly
" ſacrificing thereby all the credit he might, without a poſſibi-
" lity of detection, have taken to himſelf, by aſſuming a cha-
" racter to which he was conſcious he had no legal claim;
" a circumſtance which I am aſſured could not, in its effect,
" fail of operating upon a mind like his, prone to vanity, and
" eager of applauſe even to an extreme.

" With reſpect to the firſt poem of the *Battle of Haſtings*,
" it has been ſaid that Chatterton himſelf acknowledged it to be
" a forgery *of his own*; but let any unprejudiced perſon, of com-
" mon diſcernment, advert only for a moment to the ſituation in
" which Chatterton then ſtood, and the reaſon and neceſſity of
" ſuch a declaration will be apparent.

" The very contracted ſtate of his finances, aided by a vain
" deſire of appearing ſuperior to what his circumſtances afforded,
" induced him, from time to time, to diſpoſe of the poems in his
" poſſeſſion, to thoſe from whoſe generoſity and patronage he ex-
" pected to derive ſome conſiderable pecuniary advantages: I will
" not heſitate to aſſert (and I ſpeak from no leſs authority than
" Chatterton himſelf) that he was diſappointed in this expecta-
" tion, and thought himſelf not ſufficiently rewarded by his
" Briſtol patrons, in proportion to what he thought his commu-
" nications deſerved.

" From this circumſtance, it is eaſy to account for the anſwer
" given to Mr. Barrett, on his repeated ſolicitations for the
" original, viz. *that he himſelf wrote that poem for a friend*; think-
" ing, perhaps, that if he parted with the original poem, he
" might not be properly rewarded for the loſs of it.

" That vanity, and an inordinate thirſt after praiſe, eminently
" diſtinguiſhed Chatterton, all who knew him will readily ad-
" mit.—From a long and intimate acquaintance with him, I

" venture

" venture to aſſert, that from the date of his firſt poetical attempt, " until the final period of his departure from Briſtol, he never " wrote any piece, however trifling in its nature, and even un- " worthy of himſelf, but he firſt communicated it to every ac- " quaintance he met, indiſcriminately, as wiſhing to derive ap- " plauſe, from productions which I am aſſured, were he now " living, he would be heartily aſhamed of: from a full aſſurance " of the truth of which propoſition, I conceive myſelf at liberty " to draw the following inference—that, had Chatterton been the " author of the poems imputed to Rowley, ſo far from ſecreting " ſuch a circumſtance, he would have made it his firſt, his " greateſt pride; for to ſuppoſe him ignorant of the intrinſic " beauty of thoſe compoſitions, would be a moſt unpardonable " preſumption.

" Towards the ſpring of 1770, ſome differences having pre- " viouſly thereto ariſen between Chatterton and his maſter " Mr. Lambert, the former publickly expreſſed his intention of " quitting his ſituation, and repairing to the metropolis, which " he flattered himſelf would afford him a more enlarged field for " the ſucceſsful exerciſe and diſplay of his abilities; accordingly, " in April, he began making the neceſſary preparations for his " journey. Anxious for his welfare, I interrogated him as " to the object of his views and expectations, and what mode " of life he intended to purſue on his arrival at London. The " anſwer I received was a memorable one; 'My firſt attempt, ſaid " he, ſhall be in the literary way: The promiſes I have received " are ſufficient to diſpel doubt; but ſhould I, contrary to my ex- " pectations, find myſelf deceived, I will, in that caſe, turn " Methodiſt preacher: Credulity is as potent a deity as ever, and " a new ſect may eaſily be deviſed. But if that too ſhould fail me, " my laſt and final reſource is a piſtol.'

" That ſpirit of literary Quixotiſm which he poſſeſſed, and " which had the immediate aſcendency over every other conſide- " ration, had been much encreaſed by his correſpondence with

" divers bookſellers and printers; who finding him of advantage " to them in their publications, were by no means ſparing of " their praiſes and compliments; adding thereto, the moſt liberal " promiſes of aſſiſtance and employment, ſhould he chooſe to " make London the place of his reſidence.

" Theſe were the hopes upon which he relied: This it was " which induced him to quit the place of his nativity, and throw " himſelf for a precarious ſubſiſtence upon ſtrangers. It is un- " neceſſary to remark, how far his expectations were anſwered: " His unfortunate and untimely exit, deplorably ſhews the fallacy " of his hopes, and the extreme deficiency of his knowledge of " the world; who could for a moment idly ſuppoſe that the moſt " diſtinguiſhed talents, unpatronized, would meet with ſucceſs, " and lift him to that eminence which he flattered himſelf he " merited.

" Thus, Sir, I have attempted, in a haſty and curſory manner, " to preſent you with whatever comes within the limits of my " own obſervation and knowledge relative to this extraordinary " youth; in reſpect to whoſe memory, I beg leave to make one " further remark.

" It has been ſaid, that he was an unprincipled libertine, de- " praved in his mind, and profligate in his morals; whoſe abi- " lities were proſtituted to ſerve the cauſe of vice, and whoſe lei- " ſure hours were waſted in continued ſcenes of debauchery and " obſcenity.

" Mr. Warton tells us, that he was 'an hireling in the trade " of literature, unprincipled, and compelled to ſubſiſt by ex- " pedients.' (See his emendations to the ſecond volume of Hiſtory " of Poetry:) And another gentleman tells us, 'that his death " was of no great conſequence, ſince he could not long have " eſcaped hanging.' (See Love and Madneſs, p. 132.) Whether " any or all of theſe epithets are meant as arguments to prove " that Chatterton is the author of Rowley's Poems, abounding " as they do with piety and morality, and the moſt refined ſenti-

" ment,

" ment, I know not; but I cannot help obſerving, that ſuch ex-
" preſſions (unſupported, as they appear to be, by truth and
" reaſon) neither do credit to the heads or to the hearts of thoſe
" who ſo uncharitably beſtow them.

" I admit, that amongſt Chatterton's papers may be found many
" paſſages, not only immoral, but bordering upon a libertiniſm
" groſs and unpardonable. It is not my intention to attempt a
" vindication of thoſe paſſages, which, for the regard I bear his
" memory, I wiſh he had never written; but which I neverthe-
" leſs believe to have originated rather from a warmth of imagi-
" nation, aided by a vain affectation of ſingularity, than from any
" natural depravity, or from a heart vitiated by evil example.

" The opportunities a long acquaintance with him afforded
" me, juſtify me in ſaying, that whilſt he lived in Briſtol he was
" not the debauched character repreſented. Temperate in his
" living, moderate in his pleaſures, and regular in his exerciſes, he
" was undeſerving of the aſperſion.—What change London might
" have effected in him, I know not; but from the ſtrain of his
" letters to his mother and ſiſter, and his conduct towards them
" after he quitted Briſtol, and alſo from the teſtimony of thoſe
" with whom he lodged, I have no doubt but the intemperances
" and irregularities laid to his charge did either not exiſt at all,
" or, at the worſt, are conſiderably aggravated beyond what can-
" dour can approve.

" I am, Sir,
" with the utmoſt reſpect,
4th April, 1781. " your moſt humble ſervant,
" JAS. THISTLETHWAITE."

This letter may be illuſtrated by Chatterton's correſpondence with his mother and ſiſter, printed in a pamphlet entitled *Love and Madneſs*; in which it appears, that the turn of his thoughts, the objects of his purſuit, and the choice of his company, were directly

directly oppoſite to the principles profeſſed by the author of theſe poems.

In a letter written to his mother, May the 14th 1770, p. 175, he acknowledges that, "although, as an apprentice, no one had "greater liberties than himſelf, yet the thoughts of ſervitude "killed him." On his firſt arrival in London, he was happy to find himſelf in the company of printers and bookſellers: Mr. Edmonds, Mr. Fell, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Dodſley, were among his firſt acquaintance, and he plumed himſelf not a little on the encouragement he hoped to receive from them. (Letter April 26th 1770, p. 169.)—And yet his ambition, at that time, ſoared no higher than to be a writer in a Magazine, by which alone he boaſted that he could get four guineas a month; adding, in a ſtrain of exultation, "What a glorious proſpect!" (Letter May 6th, page 171.)—He was alſo to write occaſional eſſays for the daily papers, and to aſſiſt in compiling a Hiſtory of England. He flattered himſelf, that all deficiencies both of character and conduct would be made up by his pen.—"A character, ſays he, "(Letter May the 6th) is now unneceſſary; an author carries his "character in his pen;" and ſo highly did he rate the patronage of bookſellers, that, "without this neceſſary knowledge, he "thought the greateſt genius muſt ſtarve, and with it the greateſt "dunce live in ſplendor." This knowledge he thought he had pretty well dipped into; and obſerves in another letter, (May the 14th, p. 177) "that if Rowley had been a Londoner, inſtead of "a Briſtowyan, he might have lived by copying his works." What encouragement then might he not have expected, if he had really been the author of theſe poems; and how eaſy and pleaſant was his road to opulence and fame, if he could have continued to exerciſe his genius in the ſame ſtile of poetry? But he had not the leaſt idea of any ſuch reſource. In fact, his fund of ancient poetry was exhauſted, having been diſtributed among his friends at Briſtol; one piece only remained in his poſſeſſion, the Ballad

of

of Charity, which he had taken the trouble to explain by a copious gloſſary: but (if we judge by the letter that accompanied it) he was very little ſolicitous of reaping either honour or profit by the performance; for he ſent it to the printer of the Town and Country Magazine, not much more than a month before his death, under his uſual ſignature of D. B. but without eloge or recommendation. (See the Introd. Account).—As he could not compoſe other poems in this ſtile, and his vanity for his own compoſitions increaſed in proportion as his proſpects improved, he naturally indulged his pen on thoſe ſubjects which were moſt agreeable to his inclination, viz. Satire, Romance, and Love: and it cannot be ſuppoſed that a Hiſtory of England, or Eſſays in a Goſpel Magazine, (both which he tells his ſiſter he was engaged to write,) could flouriſh under the direction of ſo deſultory and licentious a genius. (See his letter, May the 6th, p. [redacted] and July 11th, p. 186).

But could the author of theſe poems thus debaſe his pen, at the time when he was moſt encouraged to dignify it? Could a mind, which had been habituated to ideas ſo delicate, ſo chaſte, and ſo lofty, condeſcend to ſink at once into a hackney writer, and ſubmit to pen political ſquibs for either party, declaring, "that he "was a poor author, who could not write on both ſides?" (Letter May the 30th, p. 179.)—Such a conduct, though totally irreconcileable with every idea that can be formed of the author of this poetry, is very conſiſtent with the character of Chatterton, as the tranſcriber of it.

Without repeating the arguments which every page of theſe poems has furniſhed in ſupport of their authenticity, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that they ſtand diſtinguiſhed by the following great and characteriſtical lineaments.

Firſt, A loftineſs of idea, dignity of ſentiment, luxuriancy of imagination, and uncommon powers of deſcription.

Secondly, A purity of language, uniformity of ſtile, accuracy

of metre, and harmony of numbers; nor is the author leſs to be admired for the chaſtity of his ideas, the integrity of his principles, the conſiſtence of his character, his knowledge of human nature, and his ſkill in conducting the paſſions.

Theſe characters, which mark a great poetical genius, as well as a learned, judicious, and experienced writer, are rarely united in one perſon; and though ſome of them might have been attainable by Chatterton, yet it is beyond credibility, that he ſhould have poſſeſſed them all, and that to this rare aſſemblage, ſhould be added ſuch a perfect knowledge of the language, idiom, and phraſeology of the fifteenth century, as to enable him to write it with the ſame eaſe and accuracy with which he penned the language of his own time.

To avoid the force of ſuch powerful evidence, the learned Editor has denied the laſt of theſe aſſertions, and publiſhed an Appendix to theſe poems, expreſsly endeavouring to prove, *that the language of them is not the language of the fifteenth century, and therefore that they were not written by any ancient author, but entirely by Thomas Chatterton.*

This aſſertion, both in its negative and poſitive part, will require all the ſupport which ſo able a pen can give it. The two propoſitions are diſtinct and unconnected; nor does the latter neceſſarily follow on the eſtabliſhment of the former. Whether the learned objector has proved either or both his aſſertions, muſt be determined by the candid reader; to whom the following remarks are offered, in defence of the antiquity and conſiſtency of the language of our poet.

The arguments drawn by the author of the Appendix, from this part of the internal evidence, againſt the authenticity of the poems, does not appear to *lay within a narrow compaſs*, nor to be *ſo deciſive of the queſtion* as the learned Editor ſeems to apprehend.

If, indeed, the language of the fifteenth century could be diſtinguiſhed by certain criteria from that of the preceding and following

following periods, the queſtion might be tried by the contemporary writers, though they are few in number, and inconſiderable in merit. But if the ſame words were uſed by writers from the beginning of the thirteenth, to the middle of the ſixteenth century, a very extenſive field will be opened for enquiry; the proſe writers, as well as poets, during that whole period, muſt then be produced as witneſſes to the *uſage*, *ſignification*, and *inflection* of words; and it does not ſeem to be within the compaſs of any man's induſtry or reading to convict theſe poems of forgery on this principle, or to prove a negative againſt Rowley from the works of the writers during thoſe three centuries.

The learned objector has indulged himſelf in all this latitude of proof; and, inſtead of adhering to the ſtandard which himſelf had eſtabliſhed, and trying the language of Rowley by that of his contemporaries, has uſually appealed to Chaucer, a writer of the preceding century, to whom he refers as almoſt the ſole touch-ſtone of truth and antiquity: (See the Appendix from page 315 to page 320, and pages 326 and 327.) He is well appriſed, however, that the writers of that period are not ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the words they make uſe of, as by their manner of putting them together. Some of our poets, who lived long after Chaucer, being more uncouth in their numbers, more antiquated and obſolete in their expreſſions, and in every reſpect more inferior to Chaucer, than Chaucer is to Rowley.

Mr. Warton, who conſiders Chaucer as *a genial day in an Engliſh ſpring*, (vol. ii. p. 51) acknowledges, "that moſt of the "poets who immediately ſucceeded him, ſeem rather relapſing "into barbariſm, than availing themſelves of thoſe ſtriking orna-"ments which his judgement and imagination had diſcloſed:" And in another paſſage, (page 188) he ſays, "that the verſification "of Bradſhaw (a poet who died in 1513) is infinitely inferior to "Lidgate's worſt manner."

But to proceed to the objections in the Appendix, which are made,

Firſt, to ſuch words as are not uſed by any other writer.

Secondly, to ſuch as are uſed by other writers, but in a different ſenſe. And

Thirdly, to ſuch as are inflected in a manner contrary to grammar and cuſtom.

Specimens under each head are produced, and by them let the queſtion be decided.

The firſt of theſe objections, if admitted, muſt affect the works of all our ancient poets; for each of them have ſome original words, and a phraſeology peculiar to themſelves. There are expreſſions in Gower, which do not occur in Occleve or Lidgate; and thoſe two poets make uſe of words which are not to be found in Chaucer. Would it then be unreaſonable to extend the argument ariſing from this fact, to the works of Rowley?

Our language, originally barren, has been enriched by ſucceſſive additions from the Saxon, Daniſh, and Norman tongues. Every denomination of writers, eſpecially the poets, have taken the liberty of adding and changing, of compounding and introducing words upon their own authority; not to mention their uſe of provincial expreſſions, which are confined to certain diſtricts, and of technical terms, which are arbitrary in their origin, confined in their uſe, and ſhort in their duration. Even the learned editor of Chaucer, who produces this objection, has taken notice of above fifty words in his author, which remain yet unexplained, and therefore, we may preſume, unauthenticated by other writers.

But it will not follow, from a want of ſuch authentication, that the words themſelves are modern, much leſs that they were choſen to give colour to a forgery. The preſent objection is an unanſwerable proof, that ſuch a conduct would defeat, inſtead of promoting that end.

In copying the language of antiquity, a writer would be ill adviſed, who ſhould either loſe ſight of his original, or attempt to write in a ſtile different from that of his own age, till he was furniſhed with a ſufficient number of authentic and eſtabliſhed words and phraſes, without being obliged to coin them from his own imagination, or to uſe thoſe of doubtful and diſputable origin. With regard to ſmaller inaccuracies of expreſſion, grammatical errors, and variation of orthography, our ancient poets are equally liable to cenſure, and differ as frequently from themſelves as they do from one another in that reſpect. By what rule then, of juſtice or criticiſm, ſhall the authenticity of theſe poems be queſtioned, on a point which has never yet been urged in objection to any other ancient writer?

The force of the objection will depend upon the extent of it. If by *words not uſed by any other writer*, it is meant that *every word* and *phraſe* in theſe poems ſhould be authenticated by preceding or contemporary writers, in a ſtrictneſs of ſignification and orthography, the rule of criticiſm will be found too ſtrict for the language of that age, which was liable to great variation, inaccuracy, and uncertainty; and if any latitude be allowed to the words taken notice of by the learned editor, they will no longer be the objects of his cenſure; ſome of them differing in the addition of the A. S. prefix, others varying only in their orthography, either on account of rime or meaſure, or from the uncertainty that then prevailed in the manner of ſpelling. There are, again, others arbitrarily compounded, contracted, or altered, at the fancy of the authors who uſe them; a liberty at all times taken, eſpecially by the poets, without the leaſt impeachment to the authenticity of their works. Some technical words, or terms of art, may alſo be found in theſe poems, which do not occur in other authors: Inſtances of all theſe will appear in the ſpecimen of objectionable words, and therefore the authority for each muſt be ſeparately conſidered.

1. ABESSIE. This word, with its various ſynonyms of *Abaſe*, *Abeſſe*, *Abaiſſer*, *Abaſſare*, and *Abaxare*, in the Engliſh, French, Italian, and Spaniſh languages, is eſtabliſhed beyond contradiction, in point of etymology and antiquity: Lye and Skinner explain it by *deficere* and *deprimere*. But it may be more to the purpoſe to obſerve, that Gower uſes the expreſſion "To *Abeſſe* his royalty," (page 19. col. a:) *Abeſſie dyghte*, correſponds exactly with the Scripture phraſe, to be *cloathed with humility*, 1 Peter v. 5. *Abeſſie* is here put adverbially, and joined with a participle: So Spenſer has the expreſſion of *warlike-dight*, (B. v. c. 4. ſt. 21.)

2. ABORNE, like many other words in theſe poems, has the A.S. prefix, which Rowley, and all our ancient poets, inſert or omit at their pleaſure; for there ſeems to be no certain rule to determine the proper or improper uſe of it. This obſervation may ſerve as an anſwer to the objection made in the Appendix, p. 351, *That Chatterton uſes the prefix, without any regard to cuſtom or propriety.*

Burne, *Burned*, *Bourne*, and *Ybourned*, are frequently uſed by our ancient poets in the ſenſe here affixed to them. Gower deſcribes a Coppe,

Which ſtood upon a foote on highte,
Of *borned* gold. (Page 22, col. a.)

and of a ſuit of armour,

Which *burned* was as ſilver. (Page 100, col. c.)

Lidgate mentions the wayne of Apollo, as

Of gold *ybourned* bright and fair:

And Chaucer ſpeaks of armour

Wrought all of *burnid* ſteele.

Aborne or *Yborne* is here uſed as a participle, with the final *d* omitted; a liberty frequently taken by Chaucer and other poets.

3. ABREDYNGE, *Upbraiding*. Both the orthography and meaning of this word are juſtified by Speght and Skinner: Gower ſpeaks of a Roman conſul, who put an end to his life, for having committed an offence which himſelf had made capital, ſaying,

That

That Rome ſhould never *abrayde*
His heires, whan he were of dawe,
That hir anceſtres broke the lawe. (P. 157. col. d.)

The word *upbraid*, which has the ſame etymology, is more frequently uſed by our ancient writers, and is ſometimes ſpelt *Obraid*, as in the ballad of Gill Morrice.

Obraid me not, my Lord Barnard,
Obraid me not, for ſhame. See Percy.

The Saxon participle *Abraid* admits great variety of ſignifications; it means, according to Speght and Skinner, *aroſe, recovered, broken off, upſtart*; but *Abrede*, and *Upbraid*, ſeem rather to have their origin from the A. S. word Reban, to *counſel* or *adviſe*.

4. Acroole, with the prefix,

Did ſpeak *Acroole* with languiſhment of eyne,

expreſſes ſtrongly the meaning affixed to it by Skinner, *To ſpeak in a murmuring voice*. Hence comes our modern word *growl*; and nearly allied to it is the word *crowde*, uſed by Gawin Douglas for the noiſe made by doves. (P. 404. v. 29.)

So pricking hir green courage for to *crowde*.

The ſame author expreſſes the noiſe of cranes by *crowping*:

Of crannies *crowping* fleing in the aire.
(P. 326. v. 32.)

and his gloſſariſt has alſo, to *crune*, or *croyne*, ſignifying *mugire*, to *low*, fortè ab A. S. *Runnian, ſuſurrare*. See Ray in Gloſſ. Northumb. p. 140. Bailey has alſo "to *croo* or *crookell*, or to make "a noiſe like a dove."

5. Adave is the paſt tenſe of *Addaw*, a word of eſtabliſhed antiquity and ſignification, uſed by our ancient poets to ſignify either the awaking from ſleep, the riſing of the ſun, or the dawning of the day: So Gower ſays,

The day *beddaweth*; (P. 94. col. c.)

Chaucer, in his Prologue to the Legend of Good Women,

That *daweth* me no day;

and

and Lidgate, in his Life of our Lady, compares her to a ſtar,

That down from Heavyn *addaweth* all our ſorrowe.

Warton, vol. ii. p. 58.

Mr. Warton has explained this word by two others of very different import, viz. *Affright* and *Remove*; both equally diſtant from the true meaning of this paſſage; which ſignifies *to ſhine upon, to brighten*, or *to gild our ſorrow*. So Kenewalche was "the fyneſt dame the ſun or moon *adave*," i. e. *aroſe* or *ſhone upon*. If an objection be made to the irregularity of the tenſe, it may be juſtified by many ſimilar inſtances in our ancient writers, who form *gaff* from *give*, *droff* from *drive*, *groff* from *grafen*, *thohte* from *thinchan*, with various other irregular paſt tenſes mentioned in Manning's Saxon Grammar, prefixed to Lye's Gloſſary.

6. ADENT, with the prefix, admits of two different origins and ſignifications. *Dent* ſignifies in Chaucer a *ſtroke*, or a *bruiſe*, and is derived from the A. S. word Dint. In this ſenſe we may underſtand the *adented* or *bruiſed* ſhield of Hurra, (Æ. 490) and the *dentful* bruiſe made by Alſwold's bill, (B. H. N° 2. v. 673:) But the two paſſages referred to in the Appendix, viz.

Unto thie veſte the rodde ſonne ys *adente*; (Æ. 395.)

and

Adented proweſs to the gite of wite; (G. 32.)

with a third,

Adented to a load of peyne; (Æ. 263.)

muſt be rendered *fixed* or *faſtened*, from the French word *Adenter*; which ſignifies, according to Cotgrave, "to join by a mortaiſe, "or to enchaſe one thing within another." The idea is borrowed from the *teeth* of a ſaw, or from the union of the upper or lower jaw. In reference to this, the lance and fighting ſpear are called, (B. H. N° 1. ver. 196, 257) *Dented*, i. e. *ſharp* and *pointed*; and *the denting of briers*, in the Roundelai of Ælla, (v. 885) is croſſing them in an *indented form*, as ſtill practiſed in our church-yards.

7. ADRAMES.

7. ADRAMES. *Dolt Adrames*, may ſignify either *ſtupid dreamers*, or *dreaming churls*. We have the authority of Shakeſpeare for this word, and for the ſenſe in which it is uſed.

Hamlet, in his ſoliloquy upon the actors, thus expreſſes his own inattention, and abſence of thought:

Like *John a Dreames*, impregnant of my cauſe,
I can ſay nothing——— Act ii. ſcene laſt.

A word ſomewhat ſimilar occurs in the Exmoor Courtſhip, (which contains a ſpecimen of the dialect ſpoken in that part of Devonſhire) where, to *tell Doil*, and *Dildrames*, means "the "deliriums of a ſick man, or old wives fables." Douglas uſes the word *Dram* for *ſorrowful*; and in this ſenſe it might be ſaid of Vevyan's Tales, and of his audience, that they were at once very ſerious and very abſurd. This may be put in the liſt of provincial words.

8. ALATCHE, admits of various explanations. It may be equivalent to *alledge* or *declare*, from the A. S. verb Ālecgan. So Gower ſays,

And many other cauſe *alleyde*. (P. 73.)

In this ſenſe, the threat muſt be thus underſtood, "*Leave me, or* "*I will accuſe you*;" or it may be the ſame with Chaucer's word *Lachen*, which ſignifies, according to Mr. Tyrwhit, to *blame*, or *find fault*. *Lacken*, alſo, according to Skinner, ſignifies to *deſpiſe* or *condemn*; or the word may mean the oppoſite to *ylached*, i. e. *encloſed, ſhut up*; (See B. H. N° 2. v. 436;) or laſtly, it may be deduced from the French word *Lacher*, to *looſe*, or *to let go*; *Lacher le pied*, to *run away*; and *Latch*, in old Engliſh, ſignifies to *leave:* as if ſhe had ſaid "*Let me alone, or I will run away from you.*"

9. ALMER, called alſo *Almes-craver*, and more than once *Pilgrim:* And why may not this word be applied to the *receiver* as well as to the *giver* of alms; as *Treaſurer* is derived from *treaſure*, and *Priſoner* from *priſon?* At leaſt, ſuch an application of the word in Latin is juſtified by Canning's will, who leaves legacies to the almſmen

almſmen of Weſtbury College, under the title of *Eleemoſynarii* or *Almers*. This inaccuracy (if it is one) might be eaſily corrected, by changing *Almer* into *Palmer*; but the meaning of the words is too much alike to make any alteration neceſſary. See the diſtinction between *Palmer* and *Pilgrim* in Speght's Gloſſary.

10. ALUST, and 12. ALYSE, may be conſidered as the ſame word. If *Aluſtan* is not to be found amongſt the A. S. verbs, at leaſt the participle *Alyſed*, or *Aluſte*, may be formed from Alyſan; and it is not uncommon with our ancient poets to uſe the participle inſtead of the infinitive mood; we have two inſtances of it in the Tragedy of Ella. Magnus ſays,

So did I in the air my javelin *toſte*, (or *toſs*.) V. 458.

And in a preceding line, the participle is ſubſtituted inſtead of a ſubſtantive,

Magnus preſſynge wroghte his foemen *loaſte*, (for *loſs*.)

So Gower, V. 455.

As thou haſt heard me *ſaide*. (P. 92. col. B.)

And Occleve,

To *hope* him, (inſtead of to *help* him.)

Warton, vol. ii. p. 42.

If the inſertion of the *t* be conſidered either as a grammatical error; or as a blunder in the original MS, or tranſcript, we ſhall have the word *Alyſe* perfectly correſpondent in meaning with the ſeveral paſſages where it occurs. According to Lye, it bears the double ſignification of *liberare* and *ſolvere*, implying both *deliverance* and *payment*, and he brings many quotations from Saxon authors to confirm it. As *Redimere* terram, i. e. tributum pendere, *ſolvere jejunium*, Alyſde *exſolvebam*: So Verſtegan explains *Aliſe* to *releaſe*, *Aliſedneſs*, *releaſe*, *ranſom*, and *redemption*. Alured could not *Aluſte*, i. e. *Alyſe* or *free himſelf* from his falling horſe. (B. H. N° 1. v. 88.) So alſo Celmond wiſhes to upriſe Ella's witt from marvel,

And the warrior to *alyſe*. (Æ 277.)

i. e. to *deliver* or *free* his warlike ſpirit from the attachment of his

his love to Birtha. Thus again, in his ſoliloquy on the proſpect of ſucceſs in his treachery againſt Birtha (v. 407) he ſays,

Blake ſtandeth future doom, and joie doth me *alyſe*.

i. e. my future ſucceſs is evident, and joy *frees* me from all doubt and anxiety. In the other ſenſe of the word, as it may imply *delivery*, *payment*, or *allowance*, we may underſtand thoſe paſſages in Godwin,

Whilſt Edwarde to thie ſonnes wylle nete *alyſe*. (V. 36.)
Fulle twentie manca's I wylle thee *aliſe*. (V. 180.)

i. e. " whilſt Edwarde will *pay* no regard, or *make* no *allowance*, to " Engliſhmen." And nearly in the ſame ſenſe may be underſtood that paſſage in the letter to Canning,

Some drybblette ſhare you ſhoulde to yatte *alyſe*. (V. 29.)

i. e. you ſhould *pay ſome regard* to it; or, as Horace expreſſes it,

Verum age, et his qui ſe lectori credere malunt,
Curam redde brevem.

There ſeems to be no foundation, therefore, for the conjecture, that Chatterton borrowed this word from Skinner, miſtaking it for Ælyſed. The three firſt of theſe paſſages being left without a gloſs, and the three laſt being explained by *Allow*, ſhew that he only gueſſed at the meaning of the word, and therefore could not be the author of thoſe paſſages where it occurs. Inſtead of being accuſed of plagiariſm, he may more juſtly be charged with miſtake and miſapprehenſion.

11. ALYNE, with ſome ſmall variation in the ſpelling and ſignification, occurs very frequently in theſe poems, viz. *Alyne*, *Alleyn*, *Alleyne*, and *Aleine*; ſometimes it is put adverbially for *only*, (Æ. v. 276, 370, 487, 545, 822, 1185;) at other times it is uſed as an adjective for *alone*, (Ecl. 1. v. 56. Æ. 174, 191, 243, and 297. G. v. 183;) and in other places it emphatically ſignifies *ſingle* and *ſeparate*; (T. v. 19. Æ. v. 340, and 425.) In this laſt ſenſe Burton is ſaid to have jouſted *Alleine*, (T. v. 158) i. e. *ſingly* and *ſeparately*.

So Ælla ſays, (v. 289)

Ne ſchall the wynde uponne us blowe *alleyne*.

In the paſſage referred to in the Appendix, T. 79. Duke William, after he had finiſhed his ſport, ſlung his bow over his ſhoulders *Alyne*, i. e. *ſingle* and *ſeparated* from the concomitant quiver. So likewiſe (Ecl. 1. v. 52)

Mie ſonne *alleyn* yſtorven ys;

which expreſſion, if it does not imply his *only ſon*, may ſignify that his ſon died *ſeparated* and at a diſtance from his father.

There will be no difficulty, however, in defending this expreſſion from the objection in the Appendix, viz, "that no "ſuch phraſe was ever uſed by any ancient writer;" for there will be found more harſh and unnatural tranſpoſitions than this, in our ancient poets, Chaucer himſelf not excepted: What ſhall we ſay, for inſtance, to the following expreſſions:—*To broken ben the ſtatutes*, inſtead of *The ſtatutes to be broken?* or to *The Greeks horſe Sinon*, inſtead of *The horſe of Sinon the Greek?* (See his Ballad of the Village without Painting, and the Squire's Tale). Mr. Tyrwhit, (vol. iv. p. 291) acknowledges the latter to be an *aukward expreſſion*. And if ſuch tranſpoſitions had not been then common, Gaſcoigne would not have given this caution, in his rules for Engliſh verſe; "Not to follow the Latin idiom, "in putting the adjective after the ſubſtantive, as ſome who "write thus,

"Now let us go to *temple ours*.
"I will go viſit *mother mine*."

And yet, notwithſtanding this cenſure, we find him frequently uſing the like tranſpoſition; as for inſtance—O *father mine*. p. 118.—O worthy *mother mine*. Jocaſta, p. 91. b.—Dear *daughter mine*. p. 94.—O lovely *lady mine*. Fable of Geronimo, p. 277.—This *country mine*. p. 138. Even Shakeſpeare himſelf is guilty of the ſame tranſpoſition—O *miſtreſs mine*. Twelfth Night, Act ii. ſc. 3. To abate the ſeverity of criticiſm againſt

againſt theſe liberties taken with our language, as well as to remove ſome of the objections made to the words uſed by our poet, the following quaint obſervation of Gaſcoigne may be applied. "This poetical licence is a ſhrewd fellow, and com-"mitteth many faults in a verſe; it maketh words longer, "ſhorter, mo ſyllables, or fewer, newer, older, truer, falſer; "and to conclude, it turneth all things at pleaſure: for example, "*ydone* for *done*, *adowne* for *down*, *orecome* for *overcome*, *tane* for "*taken*, &c."

As to the authority of the word itſelf, Gower uſes *Allonly*, as Douglas does *Allane*, for *alone*, and *myne Allane* for *myſelf alone*; *Alanerly* and *Anerly* for *only* or *particularly*. *Alleine* (as it is ſpelt in theſe poems) is properly ſpeaking a German word, explained by Ludwig, who gives it two ſignifications, very correſpondent to the ſenſe in which it is here applied.

1ſt, *Alone*, *All alone*, *By yourſelf*, *Single*.

2dly, *Only*, *But*.—And thus alſo Skinner explains it, *Solus*, *ſolum*, *prorſus unus*, *nullis aliis conjunctus ad conficiendum numerum*.

13. ANERE, for *another*. Contractions of this kind are to be found in Gower, Lidgate, Chaucer, Skelton, and Spenſer, not only in the intermediate, but alſo in the initial and final ſyllables of words. See Upton's notes, and Warton's obſervations on Spenſer. But Mr. Tyrwhit himſelf has anſwered this objection, by quoting a word from Chaucer, very analogous in ſound, though not in ſenſe.

"Nere," ſays he, "is a contraction for *nerre*, and that for "*nerere* (nigher) the comparative of *near*;" and in his Gloſſary, we find *n'ere*, and *n'ere it*, as contractions for *were not*, and *were it not*. See alſo his note upon *Ferre*, (vol. iv. p. 191.) "*Ferre*, "i. e. *Ferer*, the comparative of *Fer*, *(Far)*: So Chaucer uſes "*Derre* for *Derer*, the comparative of *Dere (Dear)*." Robert of Glouceſter has alſo *Nadde*, *Nas*, *Naſt*, and *Nille*, for *had not*,

art not, has not, will not. Had either of theſe poets more authority than Rowley for making ſuch contractions?

14. ANETE, is the old Engliſh word *Nete* or *nought*, with the A. S. prefix; *Nete* is ſtill in vulgar uſe, to which correſponds the old French verb *Aneantiſed, (Anihilated)* which is uſed by Chaucer.

15. APPLYNS. Enough has been ſaid on this word, in the obſervations on the firſt Eclogue; to which may be added, that Chaucer has juſtified this diminutive (if it be one) by uſing the word *Setling* for *a graft*, from *ſetteles*. (Teſt of Love, p. 515 a. p. 518 b.)

16. ARROW-LEDE, may be a miſ-ſpelling for *arrow-hede*; for it is ſaid of Duke William,

An arrow with a *ſilver hede* drewe he.

B. H. N° 1. v. 102.

And in Evans's Collection of Ancient Ballads, vol. i. p. 227, mention is made of

An arrow with a *golden hede*,
And ſhafte of *ſilver white*:

And if arrows were headed with gold and ſilver, might they not alſo be with lead? But the orthography or meaning of ſuch terms of art can be of little weight in deciding the queſtion of authenticity, any more than the word *Aſenglave*, next mentioned in the Appendix, which has been already fully explained. (See p. 86).

18. ASLEE, here ſignifies, *to ſlink away like a coward*; as Creſeid is deſcribed in Troilus, "tender-hearted *ſliding* of "courage;" or, according to Speght, *faint*. Ray, amongſt his north-country words, has *to ſlive, humi trahere, a ſleverly fellow*, a name given in Lincolnſhire to a *ſloven, an idle*, or *lazy fellow*. The word is probably derived from the A. S. Slapian, *Piger eſſe*. See Lye's Gloſſary. Hence the modern words *ſloth, ſlouch*, and *ſlawney*, ſignifying, an *indolent* or *idle man*.

19. ASSWAIE.

19. ASSWAIE. Ella's departure from Birtha, made him *experience*, or *ſuffer the trial* of moſt torturing pains: What is this but the French word *eſſayer*, and in Engliſh *aſſay*, *trial?* So Gower,

I fall in ſuch *aſſaie*. (P. 51.)

But Spenſer comes nearer to the word,

Didſt *ſway* ſo ſharp a battle. (B. v. c. 3. ſt. 22.)

20. ASTEND, i. e. *Aſtound*, is probably ſpelt in this manner on account of the rime, ſuch liberties being frequent with our ancient poets. So Chaucer uſes *ſare* for *ſore*, and *ſa* for *ſo*, and it would be endleſs to quote ſimilar inſtances from other poets.

Upon examining, therefore, the twenty words which compoſe the firſt liſt in the Appendix, we find all of them, except three or four, uſed by ancient writers, ſome with, others without the A. S. prefix; others varying only in their orthography; and as to the few words where ſuch authority is wanting, it may be ſupplied by their being deducible in ſignification, and according to the ſtrict rules of etymology, from words of eſtabliſhed antiquity and uſage.

If the criterion laid down in the Appendix is inſufficient to determine the queſtion of authenticity, as to the *uſage* of words, it is ſtill leſs admiſſible with regard to their *ſignification*; for it cannot be ſuppoſed that the meaning of an ancient word is to be determined by the authority of a ſingle writer, or confined to the ſenſe of the author who firſt uſes it. Inſtances occur in the courſe of theſe remarks, of the ſame word being uſed in different ſenſes, remote and unconnected with each other, and many of our Anglo-Saxon verbs admit a great variety of ſignifications. The objections made in the Appendix, to words under this head, relate either to a difference in orthography, to the application of nouns in an improper number, to their being uſed as verbs, or to their being applied in a different meaning from that which Chaucer has affixed to them. The difference in all theſe caſes

is

is ſo immaterial, that it might be thought unneceſſary to juſtify them by a circumſtantial proof; but, as the words in this liſt may be authenticated upon the beſt authority; juſtice to the poet, and reſpect to the learned objector, require that each of them ſhould be ſeparately conſidered.

1. ABOUNDE. His creſted beaver did him ſmall *abounde*. This word is queſtioned, becauſe not applied in its moſt uſual ſenſe; but, in fact, it has two different ſignifications and etymologies. *To abound*, as it implies *plenty*, is derived from *Unda* and *Undare*, alluding to the overflowing of water; (See Voſſius's Etymol. in voce *onda*;) but *Abounde*, in the ſenſe to which it is here applied, is derived from *Bonum*, and is equivalent to *bonum facere* in Latin, to *abbonir* in French, and *abbonare* in Italian: It might be deduced alſo from the Engliſh word *Boon* or *favour*; i. e. his creſted beaver did not *favour* or *protect* him: But our ancient poets do not confine themſelves to the moſt generally received ſignification of Latin words. Thus, though the word *invent* uſually implies an exertion of the mind and imagination, yet Spenſer uſes it in that ſenſe of *invenire*, which ſignifies *to find by ſeeking*: So Florimel forſook the court,

Till Marinel alive or dead ſhe did *invent*.

B. iii. c. 5. ſt. 10.

It is to be obſerved alſo, that the ſame word frequently bears two different and very remote ſignifications; *Coyſtrel*, for inſtance, is uſed by Chaucer for a *drinking-cup*; but in the language of other writers, it means a *ſerving lad*. See the note on this word, p. 106. So likewiſe *Dole* ſignifies *grief*; but it means alſo a *part* or *ſhare* of any thing.

2. ALLEGE, and ALLEGEANCE, ſignify in Chaucer *relief*, and *alleviation*: But are not the verb *leggen*, (M. v. 92) and the participle *leggende*, (ibid. v. 32) applied in the ſame ſenſe? and will not even the preſent paſſage admit of that conſtruction? i. e.

Let not your anger ceaſe, nor ſtand *compoſed* (or *relieved*)

If

If we are to deduce this word from an Anglo-Saxon origin, we ſhall find in Junius Ælezan coarctatus, and Ælezd exterritus, both equally applicable to this paſſage, and to the ſituation of the perſons deſcribed in it.

3. ALABOON. The *phraſe* only, and not the meaning of the words, is objected to in the Appendix; but Speght and Skinner both conſider it as a *phraſe*; the former gives it an Engliſh origin, and explains *bade alaboon, he made requeſt*; Skinner interprets it *preces, ſupplicatio, petitio viro principi adhibita*; and Chatterton calls it a *manner of aſking a favor*. Thus *Benvenu* is uſed by Gower, and *Bialacoil, Belaccoil*, and *Byelecoyle*, by Chaucer, Spenſer, and Rowley, as a *ſalutation* or *welcome*. The explanation of the Gloſſariſts, and the objections made to them in the Appendix, are founded on the following paſſage in Chaucer's Merchants Tale:

And alder firſt he bade them *allabone*,
That non of hem non argumentes make.

Mr. Tyrwhit, inſtead of conſidering the three words collectively as one phraſe, applies the word *all* to the perſons then preſent; but is not the ſenſe of the paſſage at leaſt as perfect, in admitting it as a phraſe, agreeably to the explanation of the Gloſſariſts? According to the idiom of the Engliſh language, *all* is ſometimes uſed as an expletive, ſometimes intenſive, and ſometimes incluſive. Thus in Sir Thopaz,

His good ſteed he *al* beſtrode; (v. 1383)

and in the Monk's Tale,

Al were it ſo,—and *Al* ſo ſoon,—and *Al* were this Odenate.

In theſe poems, it ſeems to be uſed only as an expletive. In the Challenge to Lidgate, *All a boone* ſignifies ſimply *favor*, unleſs *all* is coupled with *only*, meaning the *only* and *all* the favor he craved. In the Addreſs to the Prieſt, (Eclogue 3d) it is a ſupplicatory ſalutation, and the repetition of it is very conformable to the language of our ancient poets. In Queen Eleanor's Confeſſion (Percy, vol. ii. p. 147)

Aboone, Aboone, quoth Earl Marſhal,
And fell on his bended knee:

And in the ſame ballad the Queen is thus addreſſed,

Aboon, Aboon, our gracious Queen,
That you ſent ſo haſtily.

See alſo Evans's Collection of Old Ballads, vol. i. p. 140.

4. ALLEYN. This word having fully explained under N° 11 of the firſt liſt, it is unneceſſary to add any thing more in this place.

5. ASCAUNCES, and ASKAUNCE, ſeem to be applied by Chaucer and Gaſcoigne in two different ſenſes, both conveying an idea of obliquity: The former is explained by Speght, *as who ſhould ſay, as though, as if, and aſide*; agreeably to the meaning affixed to it by Mr. Tyrwhit, who makes it equivalent to *quaſi diceſſe* in Italian; but does not even this imply a ſpeech ſuppoſed to be ſpoken or delivered privately or *aſide*, which the perſons preſent were not to hear? and though ſome of the paſſages in Chaucer, quoted by Mr. Tyrwhit, may convey that meaning, yet the two following inſtances ſeem to mark an obliquity even in the look: The ſtop in the latter of theſe paſſages is placed immediately after *aſcaunſes*, as if to point out the particular direction of the countenance:

And with that word he gan caſt up the brow,
Aſcaunſes lo, is this not well iſpoken?
Troil. B. i. v. 205.

And again, verſe 292,

Her look a little aſide ſhe let fall in ſuch mannere,
Aſcaunſes, what may I not ſtand here?

But the meaning of the word is more preciſely determined by the following paſſage in *La belle Dame ſans merci:*

When they full ſore begin to ſigh *aſkaunce*.
P. 242. col. a.

i. e. they

i. e. they uttered their ſighs *aſide*, or in private, that they might not be heard.

It is ſaid in the Appendix, that Gaſcoigne uſes *Aſcaunſe* in the ſenſe adopted by Mr. Tyrwhit, alluding, probably, to the two following paſſages in that poet:

Aſkaunſes loe now I could kill your corſe,
And yet my life is unto thee reſynde.

and, (Dan. Bart. p. 78.)

Therewith he raiſde his heavy head alighte,
Aſkaunces, ha indeed! and thinks thou ſo?
(Ibid. p. 101.)

But in another paſſage of the ſame poet, it ſignifies *obliquely*, or *ſideways*:

I lookt of late, and ſawe thee loke *aſkance*
Upon my doore, to ſee if I ſat there.
(Flowers, p. 16.)

So Lidgate deſcribes Fortune,

Looking *aſcoyne*, as ſhe had had diſdain.

And of the ſame import and etymology is the word *aſkie*, uſed by Gower,

And with that word all ſuddenly
She paſſes as it were *aſkie*,
Al clene out of the ladies ſight. (P. 71 a. col. 1.)

So Spenſer,

Scornfully aſkew. (B. i. c. 10. ſt. 29.)

So that the words *aſkaunce*, *aſcoyne*, *aſkie*, and *aſkew*, are not derived (as Mr. Tyrwhit ſuppoſes) from the modern Italian adverb *a Schiancio*, but from the ancient A. S. verb Ascunian, *evitare, declinare, to ſhun*. So likewiſe the word *ſquint, tranſverſe tueri*, is derived, according to Skinner, from the German word *Schewen, vitare*, to *look ſhy, diſdainfully*, or *obliquely*, becauſe diſdain is conveyed in that obliquity of look: Indeed the Gloſſaries confine the word to

that ſenſe, nor does it admit any other ſignification in theſe poems. So *Aſcaunce*, (Ecl. 3. v. 52, and Le. v. 17,) *Aſkaunted* (Le. v. 19,) *Aſkaunte* (B. H. N° 2. v. 143, and 507,) *Scaunſing* (St. of Can. v. 56,) and *Scaunſe-layd*, (Can. on Hap. v. 4.)

6. ASTERT. The meaning of this word is doubted in the Appendix; but Chatterton's explanation is founded on the authority of Speght, who renders it *let paſs, eſcaped, paſſed*; and of Skinner, who explains it *elapſus, qui præteriit*; and is alſo juſtified by many paſſages in our ancient poets. In Gower and Chaucer, it frequently ſignifies *to ſtart from*, or *eſcape*:

Whoſe eye may nothing *aſtarte*. (Gower, p. 23 b.)
That he ſhould nete *aſtert*. (p. 25 b.)

So Occleve ſays of Chaucer, in his Prologue;

——— His hie worthe *aſtartith*,
Unſlayn by death———

And, in a ſenſe more ſimilar to that uſed by our poet, it ſignifies *to decline*, or *relinquiſh*:

He might not the place *aſtert*. (p. 26 b.)

And in the following paſſage of Lidgate;

When he wiſt he might not *aſtert*,
Of his fate the diſpoſition. (p. 267 a. col. 2.)

So Gawen Douglas,

If deathe this way be to me ſchape,
Now may I not *aſtert*, nor it *eſchape*; (p. 508. v. 41)

where a difference ſeems to be made between *aſtert* and *eſchape*; but his Gloſſariſt explains the word "*Aſtert, to eſcape, run, leap.*" All theſe ideas are derived from the A. S. word Ꭺꞇꞇɨꝑꝑian; *movere, to ſtir*, and *ſtart*, which is perfectly correſpondent with the behaviour of King Edward to his Engliſh ſubjects, *he eſcaped from, avoided, declined*, and ſuffered their merit *to eſcape* his notice.

7. AUMERE. Rowley's application of this word is eſtabliſhed on the ſtrongeſt proofs in the three different paſſages where it occurs.

occurs. *The gelten aumeres* of Dame Agnes (Ecl. 3. v. 25) are properly explained by Chatterton, *borders of gold and ſilver*; they might be bracelets (for they are ſaid to be ſtrung) or any other ornament that *ſurrounded* a part of the body; like Jupiter's dreſs, in the Teſtament of Creſeis:

His garment and his gite full gaie of grene,
With *golden liſtes gilt* on every geare. (V. 78.)

The earth's *Defte Aumere*, in the Ballad of Charity, (v. 7) is no leſs properly called "a looſe robe or mantle" *ſurrounding* it; and the *wide Aumere*, or garment of Hope, (Ælla, v. 397) is equally applicable in either ſenſe. The word does not occur in any of our ancient poets, except in Chaucer's R. R. v. 2271:

Weare ſtreight gloves with *Aumere*
Of ſilk, and always with good chere;
Thou geve, &c.

on which Skinner has the following explanation: "*Aumere* ex "contextu videtur eſſe *Fimbria* vel Inſtita, neſcio an a Teut *Umbher* "circum, circa, q. d. circuitus vel ambitus." So likewiſe Junius: *Aumere*; *Limbus*, *Fimbria*: *Amaervy*, *Amaerwy*, in Cornu-Britiſh.

There are, in Lye's Saxon Dictionary, five or ſix pages full of words compounded with the Saxon prepoſition *Ymb*, denoting things *circular* in their form, or *circumambient* in their nature. Thus Biſhop Douglas uſes *umbeſit*, and *umbeſegit*, for *beſet* and *beſieged round about*, both being compounded of the ſame prepoſition. So the *Emmertlyng* ſky, (M. v. 72) which Chatterton explains *glittering*, rather means the *circumambient* ſky; and the *Emmers* (as the gold coins are called in the Gouler's Requiem) may be ſo denominated from their *circular* form: But Mr. Tyrwhit objects to the application of this word, becauſe he ſuppoſes it to correſpond with the *bourſe de ſoye*, in the following paſſage of the French original:

Des gans, & de bourſe de ſoye,
Et de SAINCTURE te cointoye:

The *Sainƈture*, or girdle, has eſcaped the notice of the learned Editor, though, as a principal ornament in ancient dreſs, it was more likely to be mentioned by the poet than the purſe. It was generally of *ſilk*: So Gower ſays of Phillis,

A *Seynte of ſilke* ſhe had. (P. 676. col. 2.)

and in the Child of Elle;

And here ſhe ſends thee a *ſilken ſcarfe*.

(Percy, vol. i. p. 109.)

Chaucer's Plowman ſpeaks of the *golden girdles* grete and ſmall, which were the ornaments of the Pope's dreſs. His Serjeant at Law was

Girt with a *Seint of Silk*, with barres ſmall.

So the Carpenter's wife, in the Miller's Tale,

A *Seynte* ſhe weared, barred all with *ſilke*. (v. 49.)

But her purſe was of leather;

And by her girdle hung a purſe of leather,
Taſſed with ſilk, and perled with latoun.

The Haberdaſher, Carpenter, &c. "had their *Girdeles* and *Pouches*, "(i. e. *purſes*) ychaped with ſilver." The Abbot of St. Godwin, in the Ballad of Charity, had a *painted girdle*, and the purſe which hung at it, was conſidered only as an appendage; hence the claſſical word *Zona*, originally ſignifying a girdle, was applied to the purſe likewiſe.

Mr. Tyrwhit ſuppoſes *Aumere* to be a contraction of the French *Aumener* (or Alms purſe) which is uſed by Chaucer in another paſſage of this poem;

Then from his *Aumener* he drough
A little key fetiſe enough: (v. 2087.)

But the original does not call it either *Aumener* or *Aumere*, but *bourſe*:

Adonc de ſa *bourſe* il traiƈt,
Un petit clef bien fait.

So that *Aumener*, from which Chaucer is ſuppoſed to borrow *Aumere*,

Aumere, not being uſed by the French poet in either of theſe paſſages, his authority cannot be quoted for it. In fact, we ſhall conſult the French Dictionaries in vain for this word, which is only to be found in the Britiſh Etymologiſts, and applied ſolely in the ſenſe affixed to it by theſe poems. Though Chatterton might be acquainted with Chaucer, yet he muſt have been a ſtranger to the French original: How then could he have given ſo juſt an explanation of Le Meuns *Saincture*, which had entirely eſcaped the notice of Mr. Tyrwhit?

8. BARBED HALL. If there is no objection to the *Barbed Horſe* in Shakeſpeare's Richard the Second, there can be none to that in Ælla;

Whann from the *barbed horſe* in fyghte did viewe; (v. 27)

nor probably to

The javelin *barbed* with death'is wynges.

(B. H. N° 2. v. 261.)

Much leſs can that paſſage be objected to in Shakeſpeare, where Coriolanus expreſſes a reluctance to appear before the ſenate of Rome as a ſupplicant, with his head *bare* and *unarmed*, which had been uſually covered with a helmet:

Muſt I go ſhew them my *unbarbed* ſconce? (Act iii.)

Not his *unſhaven* head, as Dr. Johnſon has explained the word; for that would have been no unuſual appearance for a Roman, in the days of Coriolanus; but (as Sir Thomas Hanmer juſtly calls it) *unarmed*. Can there be any impropriety, then, in applying this expreſſion to the hall in a gentleman's country ſeat, which, according to the cuſtom of that age, was hung round with all the variety of armour then in uſe, and is very well deſcribed in the Ballad of the Old Courtier?

With an old hall hung round with pikes, guns, and bows;
With old ſwords, and bucklers that had born many hard blows.

9. BLAKE, has two different ſignifications in the two paſſages quoted in the Appendix, (Ælla 178, and 406.) *Blake Autumn*, means

means *yellow* autumn; which is very properly connected with the idea of *ſun-burnt* (as it is there called.) Autumn is alſo ſaid to have a *ſallow hand*, (B. H. N°. 2. v. 551.) This ſenſe of *Blake* is well known in the northern and weſtern parts of England, where a *yellow-hammer* is called a *Blakelyng*. But *Blake* ſignifies alſo *pale, ſallow, black*; Chaucer uſes the word in almoſt all theſe ſenſes; and Bailey explains it by *Bleak*, i. e. *open, expoſed*, and therefore *cold*; and obſerves, that *Blakefield*, in German, ſignifies *an open field*, a *plain*, or *flat*. In the two following paſſages of Rowley we are to underſtand *Blake* in this ſenſe;

Blake ſtondethe future doome. (Æ. v. 406.)

i. e. my future fate is *open* and expoſed to my view. So

The *Blakied* forme of kinde, (Ecl 3. v. 4.)

ſignifies the *naked* and *undiſguiſed* manners of men. Similar to this is the paſſage in the Complaint of Creſeid, which unites the ideas of *cold* and *nakedneſs*, ſo often mentioned together by writers,

Of all blithneſs now thou are *Blake* and *bare*. (v. 4.)

If Chatterton had underſtood the meaning of this word, he would not have given the true ſenſe of it in two inſtances, and omitted the explanation of it in another paſſage, where it carried a different meaning.

10. BODYKYN, i. e. *Corpuſculum*, a diminutive of *body*, and undoubtedly of the ſame etymology with *bodkin*, though not applied in Chaucer's ſenſe. It comes, however, much nearer in ſignification to the original Latin word, and Shakeſpeare has applied it in that ſenſe to the *Body* of Chriſt, in the ſacramental bread or wafer, uſing it as an oath or exclamation; "*God's Bodikins*, man," ſays Hamlet. The oath is ſtill in uſe amongſt the common people in Hampſhire, and perhaps in other counties.

11. SWARTHE, SWARTHLESS, and SWARTHING, ſignify the *ſpirit, ghoſt, vital principle*, or *departing ſoul* of man. *Swarthe* is here oppoſed to *body*.—"And for a *Bodykin* a *Swarthe* obtain."—"The *Swarthleſs* bodies on the plain," (B.H. N°. 2. v. 563) and—

"With

"With *Swarthleſs* corſe beſprent," (B. H. N° 2. v. 700) were bodies from which the *ſoul* was *departed:* And—"Ynne tydes of "teares my *Swarthyng ſpryte* will drayne," (Æ. v. 294) means "my *departing ſpirit.*" Though this word is not to be found in the common gloſſaries, yet Ray gives it as a Cumberland expreſſion, ſignifying the *ghoſt* of a dead man. Biſhop Douglas uſes *Wraythis*, or *Wrethis*, a word ſomewhat ſimilar, for *ghoſts, apparitions, phantoms.*

Nor zit nane vane *wrethis* nor *gaiſtis* queint. (p. 339. v. 15.)
Aut vanæ vertere ex hoſtibus umbræ. (Æn. x. v. 593.)

And again,

Thiddir went this *wrayth* or *ſchado* of Enee. (p. 442. v. 21.)
Huc ſeſe trepida Æneæ fugientis imago,
Conjicit in latebras. (Æn. x. v. 656.)

12. BORDEL. A diminutive from the A. S. word *Bord*, which ſignifies a cottage inhabited by poor people, ſuch as are called in the Domeſday Survey *Bordarii*; and though *Bordel*, or *Brothel*, afterwards bore a more diſreputable ſignification in French, yet in an old poem of the fourteenth century, quoted by Proſper Marchand, "Un *borde* portable," is rendered "une maiſon cam-"peſtre portative;" and by the Latin tranſlation, "Hic *caſa* fixa "fuit portabilis." It would be difficult indeed to aſcertain any preciſe time, when the meaning of this word was ſo entirely changed, as to exclude all ſubſequent application of it in the original ſenſe which it bears in theſe poems; for though Celmond joins the *Bordelier* with the *Robber*, as equally inſenſible to the calls of honour, yet this inſenſibility proceeded, in the former, merely from an ignorance of its principles, in the latter, from a violation of its laws. Our poet, as an Engliſhman, gives the word its Saxon import; Chaucer, more converſant with, and imitative of the French, adopts their perverted meaning. It may not be impertinent to remark, that στέγος and τέγος ſignified originally a *Shed*, but afterwards a *Brothel*. Even after ſuch perverſions

perverſions have taken place, words are frequently uſed in their firſt and proper ſenſe, and retain their meaning in a derivative language, after they have loſt it in the primitive tongue. But although it ſhould have become obſolete in both languages, by what law of criticiſm was Rowley forbidden to revive it?

Obſcurata diu populo bonus eruet, atque
Proferet in lucem ſpecioſa vocabula rerum;
Quæ priſcis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
Nunc ſitis informis premit, & deſerta vetuſtas.

Hor. De Arte Poet.

13. BISMARE (M. 950) *Biſmarde*, (St. of Can. v. 141) and *Biſmarlie*, (Le. 26) and wherever elſe the word occurs in theſe poems, it ſignifies *capricious*, *fanciful*, *deluſive*; in which ſenſe it is explained by our Gloſſariſts. Speght, who makes it the ſame as *bizarre*, interprets it *fantaſtical ſtrangeneſs*; and Skinner calls it *curioſity*, deriving it from the A. S. word Bırmeȝıan, *illudere*, *deridere*. Chatterton's explanation, *bewildered*, *curious*, ſeems to be borrowed rather from the former than the latter author. Hearne's Gloſſary to Robert Glouceſter gives it a more extenſive ſignification, viz. *ſcorn*, *deriſion*, *curioſity*, *vanity*. According to Lye, it ſignifies *blaſphemy*, *mockery* or *deriſion*. In the latter of theſe ſenſes, the A. S. tranſlators of the Bible uſe it in the complaint made by Potiphar's wife againſt Joſeph, that he *mocked* her; and in Pſal. ii. 4. "The Lord ſhall have them in *deriſion*:" So alſo the deriding ſpeech of the *mockers*, Pſal. lxxiii. v. 11. "How "ſhould God perceive it?" They uſe the ſame word for the *mockery* of the Jews againſt our Saviour, Matt. xxvii. v. 29. *Biſmare* may therefore ſignify *mockery* and *deriſion*, whether it be of a ſerious or pleaſant kind. In the former ſenſe we may explain the paſſage in P. Pl. (p. 108 b.) quoted by the learned Editor in his Gloſſary:

Bold and abiding *biſmeres* to ſuffer.

In the latter ſenſe, as a pleaſing deluſion, we may underſtand the

mokynge brooklett, mentioned in B. H. N° 2. v. 584, which correſponds with the *courſe Biſmare* of the Severn, M. 95. Agreeably to this idea of *deluſion*, the word is applied by Douglas to a *Bawd.* (Prol. Æn. iv. p. 97-1) and (in Prol. to Æn. viii. p. 238, b. 27) to a *whore*, both on account of their *deceitful* and *deluſive* behaviour. But the education and character of the Miller's Wife, in Chaucer's Reves Tale (the only paſſage where the word occurs in that poet) will ſcarcely admit Mr. Tyrwhit's explanation, *abuſive language*; for ſhe was the daughter of the parſon, and bred in a convent; in conſequence of which

There durſt ne wight clepen her but Dame.
* * * * * * *
She was ſo full of *hoker*, and of *biſmare*,
As though that a ladie ſhould her ſpare;
What for her kinred and her norterly,
That ſhe had learned in the nonnery.

Mr. Tyrwhit acknowledges ſome part of her character to be obſcure; but if *abuſive language* was her fault, was it not expreſſed under the name of *Hokir*; for Junius explains Þocoppyndbe, *contumeliæ?* (See the Addenda to his Gloſſary.) It is much more conſiſtent with her character, to ſay that ſhe was proud, and full of *frowardneſs* and *deriſion* or *caprice*.

13. 14. It is objected to CHAMPYON, and CONTEKE, that there is no inſtance of their being uſed as *verbs* by any writer much earlier than Shakeſpeare, and that the latter word is uſed by Chaucer as a *noun*. It is a ſufficient anſwer, to quote Robert Glouceſter for the word *Conteked*; which his Gloſſariſt explains *conteſted*, or *contended*. *Champyon* occurs in theſe poems, not only as a *verb*, (P.G. v. 12, T. 108, 148) and *ſubſtantive*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 630, 690, &c.) but as an *adjective* alſo; as for inſtance, The *Champyon crown*, (Æ. v. 631) *Champyonne blood*, (T. v. 134) *Champyonne warr*, (E. ii. v. 56) and *Champyon array*, (B. H. N° 1. v. 24.)—*Gauntlette* is alſo uſed as a ſubſtantive and verb, (T. v. 88

and 116) and as an adjective, *Gauntlette* penne, (Chall. to Lidgate v. 7.) That liberties of this kind are taken by our ancient poets, the following inſtances may ſerve as examples.—Gower applies the word *unkinde* both as an *adjective* and *ſubſtantive*, in the ſame line;

And thus *unkynde*, *unkynde* fond. (P. 174 b.)

and Gaſcoigne makes the ſame word ſtand both for a *noun* and a *verb*, in two lines immediately following each other:

And tho' we made a brave *retire* in field,
Yet who *retires*, does always loſe his place. (P. 152.)

So again,

This vain *avayle*. (P. 130)
At this *depart*. (P. 82)
dole decay, (P. ciii) for doleful decay.

An old poet, quoted in Hicks's Gram. A. S. p. 71, converts an *interjection* into a *noun ſubſtantive:*

" Till *welleway* him teacheth,"—(i. e. till he is taught by diſtreſs.)——Mr. Tyrwhit's gloſſary contains ſeveral inſtances of words applied both as *nouns* and *verbs*; as *Accord*, *Affray*, *Diſport*, *Dull*, *Dede*, *Fere*, *Hard*, *Happe*, *Plain*, &c.; and many others might be collected from ancient writers. Gower uſes the words *New*, *Green*, and *Noiſe*, as *verbs*; on the other hand, Spenſer turns the verbs *Adorne*, *Deſame*, *Entertaine*, and *Upbraid*, into nouns. This poetical liberty cannot be cenſured by the learned Editor of Chaucer, without taking notice that his own poet has converted the noun *Fellowſhip*, into the aukward verb *Fellowſhippeth*, even in writing proſe. (See his tranſlation of Boethius, B. iv. p. 217 a. col. 2. Speght's edition, 1602.)

15. Derne, or Dernie. Three of the four paſſages wherein this word is quoted by the Appendix, may be interpreted *ſecret*, in the ſenſe to which the learned Editor would confine this word; as *Dernie tale*, (Ecl. i. v. 19) *Dernie plainte*, (Ecl. iv. v. 8) and Drearie *Dernie* payne, (M. 106); but Actions *Derne*, (Æ. 581)

Dernie dede, (Æ. 683) and Force *Aderne*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 262) muſt ſignify *cruel*, agreeably to the explanation given by Speght and Skinner, viz. *Dirus, crudelis*, from the A. S. word Deꝑian, *lædere*, and Deꝑe, *damnum*. Agreeably to the idea of *ſecret*, *Derne* may ſignify *ſolitary* or *melancholy*; as the *Derne hawthorns*, (B. H. N° 2. v. 522) which are ſaid to grow on barren and fruitleſs heaths; and the *Derne Autumn* (an epithet twice given in the ſame poem, v. 359 and 551) may well deſerve that title, when it is ſaid in the following verſe, to

Tare the green mantle from the lymed trees.

So the Gloſſariſt on Robert of Glouceſter explains *Derne*, by *diſmal, ſad*; and Ray has *Dearn* amongſt his north-country words, for *lonely, ſolitary, far from neighbours*. In this ſenſe Spenſer ſeems to have uſed this word in the following paſſages:

They heard an ruefull voice, that *dearnly* cryd,
With piercing ſhrieks and many a doleful lay.
(F. Q. B. ii. c. 1. ſt. 35.)

for the cry could not be *ſecret*, which was uttered with piercing ſhrieks.—So again:

——Had not the Lady
dearnly to him called. (B. iii. c. 12. ſt. 34.)

and it appears by the context that the call was *loud, woeful*, and *earneſt*.

16. Droorie, has a more extenſive and liberal ſignification than is aſſigned to it in the Appendix. *Droorie*, (Ep. 47) ſignifies *modeſty*, and *Drooried* (Æ. 127) means *courted*; but is not the language of courtſhip the language of modeſty? *Tru*, the original word in Teutonick, ſignifies *Fidelis*, from which are derived our Engliſh words *True* and *Truth*. *Druhte*, ſignifies an eſpouſed virgin, *Dru, amica*; and in an old French poem, quoted by Proſper Marchand, written at the cloſe of the fourteenth century, and deſcribing the pleaſures of a country life, the peaſant and his wife, at their table, are called *Le Dru*, and *La Drue*,

rendered by Clemangis *Beatæ convivæ*; and by Marchand, *Le Gaillard*, and *La Gaillarde*. Menage obſerves, that in the language of the moſt ancient writers, this word bears a chaſte and honourable meaning, but that modern authors have applied it to unchaſte love; not ſo our A. S. Gloſſariſts, for Speght explains it *modeſty, ſobriety, chearfulneſs*; Skinner, *fidelitas, veracitas*; and Junius ſays, *Drurie Chauceri denotat amicitiam, amorem.*

——————Certainly no ſuch beaſt,
To be loved is not worthy,
Or bear the name of *Drury*. (V. 5064, Urry.)

So Gower,

————That for no *Druerie*,
He wol not leave his ſluggerdie. (P. 78 a. col. 1.)

Druriage, in Biſhop Douglas, ſignifies a *marriage portion*. *Luf Drouryis-monumentum et pignus amoris; gifts, or love preſents:* and the word is always uſed by that author in a modeſt ſenſe. In a romance written in the time of Henry VIth, and quoted by Mr. Warton, (vol. iii. p. 132,)

She was al dight with *Drewries* dere.

he explains the word *Drewries* by *gallanteries*, or *jewels*. In a poem of Adam Davie, deſcribing Alexander's battles, it is ſaid that many a lady loſt her *Drewery*; and that Athens "was the "*Drywery* of the world." (See Mr. Warton's note on the paſſage.) In P. Plowman's Crede, Truth is ſaid to be as dere-worth a *Drury* as God himſelf. (P. 17 b.) In a metrical verſion of the Goſpels for the year, which ſeems to be of the fourteenth century, (the property of the Reverend Mr. Moore, Canon of Exeter) the word is applied to the human ſoul, as the object of our Saviour's love.

Bot be we tender of that *Drury*,
Yat Chriſt ſo dere on rode wolde by. (P. 341.)

It is applied in the like religious ſenſe, in an inſcription engraven in Gothic letters round the Staff of Office belonging to the Mayor

Mayor of Ilcheſter: Dr. Stukeley has printed it in his Itinerar. Curioſ. p. 147, but without explaining the language, or meaning of the inſcription:

Jeſu de Druerie,
Ne me Dunetmie.

Which probably may be thus rendered:

Jeſu, of thy *love* (or *faithfulneſs*) forſake me not.

17. Fonnes. When the learned Editor of Chaucer objected to this word, probably he did not recollect that his own poet had uſed it in the ſame ſenſe; for he has not explained it in his Gloſſary:

Ne in deſire none other *Fownes* bred,
But arguments to his concluſion. (Troil. B. i. v. 466.)

But Rowley, with a more accurate orthography (becauſe nearer to the original ſubſtantive *Fon*, and to the verb *Fonden*) calls them *Fonnes*. Indeed the word is ſo ſpelt in the editions of Speght's Gloſſary, 1602 and 1687, but in that of 1598 it is written *Fownes*. It would be no wonder, however, if Chatterton had miſ-ſpelt this word, who ſo frequently confounded the *n* and *w*. Speght explains *Fownes*, *devices*; and Junius, referring to this paſſage, ſays, *Fownes*, Chaucero videntur eſſe, *devices*, *imaginations*, and *conceits*. In this ſenſe we may underſtand that paſſage in Ælla:

One of the *Fonnis* whych the church have made,
Menne wydoute ſprytes and wommen for to fleme. (v. 420.)

So in Ecl. ii. v. 14, the oars of the veſſel which carried King Richard are ſaid to be

Decorn with *Fonnis* rare;

i. e. decorated with *fancied* ornaments.—The verb *Fonden*, formed from the ſubſtantive *Fon*, is uſed by our ancient writers in a great variety of ſignifications; as, to *find*, *invent*, *contrive*, *fancy*, or *ſport with the imagination*. Thus Gower,

Liggend alone than I *fonde*,
To dream a merry ſweven e'r daie.

Fownes expreſſed likewiſe any irregular or violent exertion of the imagination or affections, which was either ſtrained into madneſs, or degenerated into dotage and folly. Thus Chaucer,

——— when age approaches on,
The luſt is laid, and all the fire is queint;
So freſhly then thou ſhallt begin to *fonne*,
And dote in love, and all her image paint.
(Court of Love, v. 456.)

And the reproof in the Reves Tale is ſimilar in its meaning, and jocularly ſpoken: "Thou is a *fonne*—i. e. Thou art a fool;" both paſſages implying rather a *miſapplication* than a *want of underſtanding*. So likewiſe Spenſer, in the Speech of Deſpair, means by *fond* an improper exertion of the fancy:

Moſt envious man, that grieveſt at neighbours good,
And *fond* that joyeſt in the woe thou haſt.
(B. i. c. 9. ſt. 39.)

And in his deſcription of immodeſt mirth, *fondly* ſignifies *fanciſully*, and *fantaſtically*:

And other whiles vaine toyes ſhe would devyze,
As her fantaſticke wit did moſt delight:
Sometimes her head ſhe *fondly* would aguize
With gawdy girlonds——— (B. ii. c. 6. ſt. 7.)

Dr. Johnſon had no reaſon, therefore, to call *Fun* "a low cant "word;" it being of great antiquity, and eſtabliſhed ſignification, as well as the verb *Fonden*, which is formed from it.

18. *Knopped.* The words *Knop*, *Knob*, or *Knott*, ſignify the knot of a tree, or indeed any other knot: Chaucer uſes it for a *roſe-bud*, and a *button*, both implying *concentred ſubſtances*, and both expreſſed by *bouton* in the French tongue. But why ſhould the ſignification of the word be confined to this ſingle

idea, and the alluſion be charged with impropriety, as if the poet had ſaid,

Theyre myghte ys *buttoned* ynne the froſte of fere?
(Metam. v. 14.)

For the animal ſpirits might be driven to, and concentred in the vital parts of the body, by the froſt of fear (agreeably to the juſt and beautiful alluſion of our poet) in the ſame manner as the ſpirit in liquor is driven to, and confined by froſt and cold in the center of the liquid.

19. THE LECTURN of Rowley, and the *Lectorn* of Chaucer, though derived from the ſame Latin word *Lectura*, bear different ſignifications; the former being applied to the *lecture* itſelf, and the latter to the place where the *lecture* is read. The verb *Lecture* occurs in more than one paſſage of theſe poems, (See Ecl. iv. v. 28. and St. of Can. v. 68); and the noun *Lecturn*. (Le. 46) But *Lecturnys*, or *Lecturings*, (Æ. 109) may be a participle, formed in the ſame manner as Chaucer uſes *commandings* for *commands*: And the reader may obſerve, in a preceding remark on the word *Abounde*, that it is not uncommon for the ſame word to bear two very different ſignifications.

20. LITHIE. The exiſtence and etymology of this word, although doubted in the Appendix, are eſtabliſhed by the Gloſſariſts. It is acknowledged that the word *Luther* ſignifies *wicked, idle, ſlovenly, wanton*; but *Lethy*, or *Lithe*, in the language of Chaucer, ſignifies *ſoft*,

So oft falleth the *Lethy* water on the hard rock.
(Teſt. of Love, B. iii.)

And again,

To maken *Lithe* that erſt was hard.
(Book of Fame, B. i. v. 119.)

In his preface to the Aſtrolabie, he ſpeaks of *Lith* Engliſh, by which he means *plain* Engliſh. Spenſer, in his Calendar for February, has the expreſſion "*Lithe* as a laſs in Kent." Robert of Glouceſter uſes

uſes *Lithlyche* for *eaſy*. Shakeſpeare, by the word *Lither* means *yielding* or *pliant*.

Two winged Talbots through the *lither* ſky.

And Milton, ſpeaking of the elephant, ſays,

He writh'd his *Lithe* proboſcis. (Par. Loſt, B. iv.)

According to Speght, Skinner, and Junius, *Lithe* ſignifies *ſoft, mild, light, gentle, quiet, placid*; and the epithet is certainly very applicable to a monk, who by his profeſſion, and the rules of his order, was to be *mild, gentle,* and *pliable*; a character here properly oppoſed to the ſtiffneſs and pride of an Engliſh Baron.

We are now to conſider the words objected to under the third head, as *inflected contrary to Grammar and Cuſtom*. But neither the rules of grammar, nor the law of cuſtom, were ſo well eſtabliſhed, or ſo generally obſerved, in the fifteenth century, as to furniſh a criterion for aſcertaining the preciſe æra when a poem was written; and if ſuch a criterion could be eſtabliſhed, it is apprehended that the words objected to in the Appendix would not come within the reach of its cenſure.

If the authenticity of an ancient poem was to be determined by the ſtrict rules of grammar, what ſhall we ſay to the Father of our Engliſh Poetry; who, though more correct in his language than his contemporaries, and even than many ſucceeding writers, yet ſtands charged by his learned Editor with the following grammatical errors and inaccuracies?

" 1. In making a diſagreement between the nominative caſe " and the verb, by that ungrammatical phraſeology—*I is a Miller* " —*Thou is a ſon.* (vol. iv. p. 251.)

" 2. In putting the nominative inſtead of the accuſative caſe, " as—*we* for *us*. (Ibid. p. 296.)

" 3. In uſing the pronouns redundantly. (vol. iv. p. 233.)

" 4. It is too frequent a practice with him to omit the " governing pronoun before his verbs, both perſonal and rela- " tive. (vol. iv. p. 216 and 277.)

" 5. He

" 5. He frequently abbreviates the third perſon ſingular of " the preſent tenſe; as *bid, rid,* for *biddeth* and *rideth*; ſo that " they may eaſily be miſtaken for the paſt tenſe. (vol. iv. p. 199.)

" 6. He puts the participle of the paſt tenſe improperly for " the infinitive mood. (Ibid. p. 222.)

" 7. He ſometimes forms the participle of the preſent tenſe " in *en,* even in thoſe verbs of which he alſo uſes the participle " in *ed*; as *waſhen, faren,* for *waſhed, fared.*" (vol. iii. p. 317.)

Other grammatical errors might be pointed out, which are not mentioned by his Editor; and it would be a tedious and unneceſſary taſk, to ſelect the numberleſs errors of Gower, Occleve, Lidgate, and our ancient poets preceding Spenſer, who is not to be acquitted entirely of this charge.

With regard to cuſtom, independent of grammar, it will be difficult to eſtabliſh any preciſe rules (at leaſt in orthography) upon the authority and conſent either of our ancient poets or proſe-writers; nothing being more various and uncertain than the ſpelling of the ſame word by different, or even by the ſame authors. Here likewiſe the teſtimony of the learned Editor may be called in defence of our poet.

" Quadrio (ſays he) has a long chapter upon the licences taken " by the Italian poets, for the ſake of the rhime, and as long a " chapter might be filled with the irregularities which the old " French poets committed for the ſame reaſon. It ſhould ſeem, " that whilſt orthography was ſo variable in all the living Euro- " pean languages, before the invention of printing, the poets " thought it generally adviſable to ſacrifice propriety of ſpelling " to exactneſs of rhiming. Of the former offence, there were " but few judges, the latter was obvious to the eye of every " reader." (vol. iv. p. 280.)

Mr. Warton alſo has taken notice of Spenſer's ellipſes, his confuſed conſtruction, his tautology, and ſelf-contradiction; obſerving, " that he often new ſpells a word, to make it rime more

" perfectly, and that this was a liberty which Chaucer, Gower, " and Lydgate frequently made uſe of." He gives likewiſe the following ſentiments of a critic in Queen Elizabeth's days upon this ſubject.

" The author of the Art of Engliſh Poeſie ſays; There cannot " be in a maker a fouler fault, than to falſify his accent, to ſerve " his cadence, or by untrue orthography to help his rhyme; " for it is a ſign that ſuch a maker is not copious in his own " language.—However, he ſeems afterwards to allow the devia- " tion from the true ſpelling in ſome meaſure, for he adds,—It " is ſomewhat more tolerable to help the rhyme by falſe ortho- " graphy, than to leave an unpleaſant diſſonance to the ear, by " keeping trewe orthographie, and loſing the rhyme; as for " example, it is better to rhime *dore* with *reſtore*, than in its true " orthographie, which is *door*: Such men were in effect the " moſt part of all your old rhymers, and eſpecially *Gower*, who, to " make up his rhyme, would for the moſt part write his termi- " nant ſyllable with falſe orthographie, and many times not ſtick " to put a plain French word for an Engliſh; and ſo, by your " leave, do many of your common rhymers to this day."

(Warton's Obſervations upon Spenſer, vol. i. p. 118.)

Theſe liberties have been alſo frequently taken with words independent of rime: Thus *ony* is written for *any*, *ſaft* for *ſoft*, *bald* for *bold*, *go* for *gone*, *neye* for *eye*, *obove*, *obrode*, *ogrant*, and *ogriſe*, for *above*, *abroad*, *grant*, *agriſe*, &c. That the reader may judge how far this liberty was extended by one of our moſt conſiderable poets, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the following, amongſt other general rules, are given by the Editor of Biſhop Douglas's tranſlation of Virgil, for the better underſtanding that poet's language.

1. The way of ſpelling is far from being uniform; a general fault of this, and of former times, among them who wrote in the Saxon, old Scot, and Engliſh dialects.

2. Our author, and other writers of thoſe times, both for the verſe ſake, and otherwiſe, uſe ſome words which are now ſuperfluous: On the other hand, ſeveral are omitted or underſtood.

3. Words and ſentences are tranſpoſed from their natural order.

4. The plural of nouns is frequently uſed for the ſingular, and ſometimes, though very rarely, vice verſâ.

5. Participles are put metri gratiâ for verbs, which is alſo uſual with the Anglo Saxon poets: On the other hand, verbs are more frequently uſed for participles, and ſometimes for verbals; as *blaw* for *blawin*, and *performe* for *performed:* On the other hand, he uſes *ſulden* for *ſuld*, *warren* for *were*, *daren* for *dare*.

6. A great liberty is taken in the perſons and number of verbs, the terminations being often uſed promiſcuouſly.

7. The author has a great number of preterits of verbs, moſt of which continue among the vulgar of Scotland to this day, ſuch as *ran*, *lap*, *ſwang*, *ſwate*, &c. inſtead of *did run*, *leap*, *ſwing*, and *ſweat*; and he omits the final *d* in participles, putting *ſeparate*, *conſtitute*, and *contribute*, for *ſeparated*, *conſtituted*, and *contributed*.

8. The laſt ſyllable is often changed, to make crambe or rime, as *ſaw* for *ſave*, *be* for *bene*, *ſayne* for *ſay*, &c.

9. Many words of Latin original, in our author's time, are taken from the preſent tenſe, which are now brought from the ſupine, as *extreme*, *poſſede*, *propone*, &c.

10. Two words now ſeparated are joined into one, and ſometimes words now joined were then ſeparated, and ſometimes joined and ſometimes ſeparated.

11. Sometimes a letter is added to, or towards the end of a word, ſometimes to the beginning; as *aback*, *adown*, &c. and ſometimes taken away.

12. The initial *Be*, in compoſition, very often adds little or nothing to the ſignification; as *bekend*, *begrave*, *beknitt*; and ſometimes *By* is written for *Be*.

Many other obſervations are made with regard to the poets uſe and application of each letter in the alphabet; but thoſe already ſelected, are ſufficient to juſtify the few liberties taken by our poet. In fact, the anomalies of Rowley being very few, his language is more ſuſpected for its correctneſs and elegance, than for its deviation from grammar and cuſtom.

From theſe general obſervations, we proceed to juſtify the particular words objected to on this account.

Clevis occurs twice in theſe poems, (B. H. N° 2. v. 46 and 510) and in both paſſages in the ſingular number. The Appendix ſays, that Chaucer uſes it in the plural; but the only inſtance where the word occurs in that poet, might be applied to either:

Roming on the *Clevis* by the ſe.

(Leg. of Hyſip. v. 103.)

The Gloſſariſt of Biſhop Douglas calls *Clewchis*, or *Clewis*, a *rock* or *hill*, a *cliff* or *clift*. But the *Clevis* mentioned in theſe poems, is not ſo properly the *rock* or *cliff* in general, as the *cleft*, or *torn part* of the rock:

Fierce as a *Clevis* from the rocke *ytorne*.

(B. H. N° 2. v. 46.)

And again,

The thunder ſhafts in a *torn Clevis* flie.

(B. H. N° 2. v. 510.)

This word ſeems to be formed from the old French verb *Cliver*, which, according to Cotgrave, ſignifies to *lean, bow*, or *hang outward, as the cliff, or ſteep ſide of a hill*; an idea which exactly correſponds with the meaning of both theſe paſſages: Not that this authority is neceſſary for the poet's juſtification; it would be ſufficient to ſay, that the meaſure of his verſe required the word to be lengthened into a diſſyllable.

Eyne. Our poet was not ignorant that *Eyne* was a contraction of *Eyen*, the plural of *Eye*; for he has very frequently applied both

words with great propriety in theſe poems; eſpecially in thoſe two lines where he deſcribes Kenewalche's

——— featly ſparklyng *eye*;
Thoſe *eyne* that did oft mickle pleaſed look.
(B. H. N° 2. v. 418.)

There are above twenty paſſages in theſe poems where *eyne* muſt be underſtood in the plural number, and only three produced in the Appendix, where it is uſed as a noun ſingular. In the two following inſtances,

In everych *eyne* aredynge nete of wyere;
(Ecl. ii. v. 79.)

and,

In everie *eyne* I kenne the lowe of myghte. (Æ. 680.)

everie eyne may be underſtood collectively, as equivalent to *all eyes:* So in the other paſſage, viz.

Wythe ſyke *an eyne* ſhe ſwotelie hymm didd view. (T. v. 169.)

ſyke an eyne may ſignify *ſuch eyes*; or we might read it *ſyken eyne*, in the plural number. In another inſtance, not mentioned in the Appendix;

Where *ne one eyne* mote theyre diſporte engage. (M. 54.)

ne one eyne is the ſame as *no eyes*. The word *eye*, though ſingular, having frequently a plural ſignification, implying *both eyes*, or a *pair of eyes*. Inſtances, however, are not wanting in our ancient poets, to countenance ſuch a miſtake, (if this be one) for Gower uſes the word *Eie* as a noun plural;

And whan the Egyptiens ſie
The feldes before *her eie*:—i. e. *their eyes*.

We may ſuppoſe, indeed, that this word was made ſubſervient to the rime; but not ſo in the following paſſage of the ſame poet;

But yet *hem* liketh not to ſtere—i. e. *them*.
Her ghoſtly *eie* for to ſee.—i. e. *their ghoſtly eyes*.

So likewiſe in the Teſtament of Creſeis, the word *eien* is uſed with a verb ſingular:

All cryſtal *was* his *eien*. (p. 181 b. col. 2.)

As

As to the pronoun HEIE, Mr. Tyrwhit only *conjectures* that it was obſolete in the time of Rowley; but conjecture ought not to have the force of proof. *Hii* is uſed for *they* by Robert of Glouceſter; and Verſtegan has *Hi* or *Hihe* for the ſame pronoun. Adam Davie uſes *Thii*, and Rowley ſometimes *Heie*, and ſometimes *Theie*. The omitting the initial *T*, can be no material objection, nor is it probable that the nominative *Heïe* ſhould be quite obſolete, whilſt the accuſative *Hem* continued in common uſe.

The learned Editor cannot believe that the word THYSSEN was ever in uſe as the plural of *This*; but in his Diſſertation on the language of Chaucer, (page 37) he obſerves from Dr. Wallis's Grammar, that the pronouns poſſeſſive, *His, Hers, Ours, Yours*, are frequently pronounced by the common people, *Hiſn, Hern, Ourn, Yourn*; and why not, by parity of reaſon, the pronouns demonſtrative, *Thiſn, Theſen*, and *Thoſen*, for *this, theſe*, and *thoſe*. In fact, we ſtill find theſe words ſo pronounced by the vulgar in many parts of England; but we have better authority for this word, both in the Anglo-Saxon and German languages. It is obſerved by Lye, in his Saxon Grammar prefixed to Junius's Etymologicon, that the dative and accuſative caſes plural of the Saxon pronoun Ðeꝛ, *Hic*, are Ðiꝛum and poetice Ðiꝛon; and that Ðiꝛne is the accuſative ſingular of the pronoun Ðiꝛ, *iſtic*. The pronoun *Dieſer, This*, in German, makes *Dieſen* in the dative ſingular, and in the genitive, dative, and ablative plural; as *Dieſen abend*, this night; *Von Dieſen ſachem*, of theſe things; *Dieſen mannen*, to theſe men. (See Ludwig's German Dictionary.)

It is poſſible, indeed, that the termination in *en* might be added for the ſake of the rime; additions or abbreviations of this kind being occaſionally uſed by our ancient poets; but there is no reaſon to think, with the learned Editor, that it was owing to the author's ignorance concerning the propriety of ſuch additions.

We

We are now to juſtify what is cenſured in the Appendix "as "a capital blunder which runs through all theſe poems, viz. the "termination of verbs in the ſingular number in *n*, and eſpecially "the frequent uſe of the word *Han* in the ſame number, which, "as an abbreviation of *Haven*, is ſaid never to be uſed by any "ancient writer except in the preſent tenſe *plural*, and in the "infinitive mood.

No doubt, this termination is more generally applied to thoſe tenſes; but ſeveral inſtances may be given from ancient authors, to juſtify our poet for uſing it in the ſingular number.

Thus Adam Davie ſays in his Alexander:

Olympias, that fair wife,
Wold*en* make a rich feſt.

So Gower, (Warton, vol. i. p. 22.)

Thou wilt*en*. (p. 73 b.)

And again,

The harm that fall*en*. (p. 67 b.)

And in another place,

That with the help of his brocage,
That mak*en* ſeme where is nought.
(P. 73 b. v. 32.)

We may find in Chaucer ſeveral inſtances of the ſame kind, without recurring to Urry's edition, which abounds with them; that author having frequently added this termination to words merely to make up the deficiency of metre, without any authority from ancient manuſcripts.

The following inſtances are ſelected from Speght's edition of Chaucer, 1602; which probably may furniſh many others:

From him that fel*en* no ſore nor ſickneſſe.
(La Belle Dame, p. 242 a. col. 1.)

I tell*in* you him had. (Sir Thopas, v. 47.)

Though

Though a prieſt, lye with his lemman all night,
And tell*en* his fellowe.
(Plowman's Tale, p. 90 a. col. 2.)
Forth flew the gentle nightingale,
And beſought*en* hem, &c.
(Cuckow and Night. p. 317 b. col. 2.)
——— your dreme,
Cometh of the grete ſuperfluitie
Of red colour that is in you parde,
Which cauſ*en* folks to drede in her dreames.
(Nonnes Prieſt's Tale, p. 81 b. col. 1.)
Aſkaunce that he would*en* for 'em pray.
(Sompner's Tale, p. 39 a. col. 1.)
That any heart could*en* gueſs.
(B. of Fame 3d, p. 270 a. col. 1.)
We old men I dread*en*. (Prol. to Reves Tale, p. 14 a.)
And haſtily this ſoudon ſent his ſond,
And praid*en* hem, &c.
(Man of Lawe's Tale, p. 18 b. col. 2.)
I wretch that weep and wail*en* thus.
(Knights Tale, p. 1 b. col. 1.)
——— for ſuch a luſtie life,
She ſhould*en* lede with this luſtie knight.
(Leg. of Hyſypile, p. 191 b. col. 2.)

See alſo, in the Court of Love, Thou Serv*en*, (v. 290) Thou muſt*en*, (v. 389) I keep*in*, (v. 685) If this matter ſpring*en*, (v. 725) If I do*en* again, (v. 927) If I greiv*en* you, (v. 928) She gav*en*, (v. 1209) On high*en* caſt. (H. of Fame, verſus finem.)

If it ſhould be ſaid that theſe terminations are added on account of the rime; the following inſtances may be quoted from his proſe works;—" Soch writing *exciten* men." (Prol. to Teſt. of Love, Speght, p. 272 a.) And towards the end of the ſame Prologue, " Their paſſing ſtudy *han* refreſhed our wits, our " underſtanding

" underſtanding *han* excited."—And in the Teſt. of Love—" Till " aſſay of the people *han* proved it." Again, " The ſight of the " better colours *geven* to them more joie." (Teſt. of Love, B. i.) " Altho' the virtue of deedes of mercie ſtretch*en*." (Ibid. Speght, p. 273 b. col. 1.) " And albeit that Mercurius often " with whole underſtanding know*en* ſuch perilous matters." (Teſt. of Love, p. 292 b. col. 1.) " The firſt ſpecies of philo- " ſophy is nature, which in kindly things treat*in* and ſheweth:" (Ibid. p. 293 a. col. 2.)—" Ne ceſſed*en* thee never to compare." (Boeth. B. iii.)

In fact, the ancient authors appear to have made an arbitrary uſe of the *en* final, annexing it to almoſt every ſpecies of words into which ſpeech has been or can be diſtinguiſhed: To ſubſtantives ſingular as well as plural; as for inſtance, " *Greecen* for " Greece, *Jolen* for Jole, *Soleyn* for Sole; *Himſelven*, *hirſelven*, " and *theirſelven*, in almoſt every page of Gower and Chaucer:" To imperatives ſingular, as underſtand*en*, (p. 284 b. col. 1.) —geve*n*,—approach*in*,—go aſk*in*: To adjectives, as both*in*, ſam*yn*: To adverbs, prepoſitions, and conjunctions, as out*in*, above*n*, about*en*, afore*yne*, atwix*en*, beſid*en*, ſith*en*: And though it is more frequently applied to participles, infinitives, and to nouns and verbs plural, yet it is no characteriſtical mark of any of theſe—Many of them have it not; and the ſame word, in the ſame mood, tenſe, number and perſon, ſhall be written with it in one ſentence, and without it in the next; ſo that the criticiſm which would entirely exclude this termination from verbs ſingular, is not ſupported by fact, and therefore cannot be made a ſufficient criterion of antiquity.

If then verbs ſingular of the paſt or preſent tenſe may terminate in *en*; and *Han* is an abbreviation of *haven*, the uſe of it may be juſtified by the learned Editor's own conceſſion: But in fact *han* is uſed in theſe poems as a contraction of the paſt tenſe *had*, and not of the preſent tenſe *haven*, as will appear by

referring to the ſeveral quotations in the Appendix. Chaucer ſeems thus to have uſed it in the Romaunt of the Roſe:

The birdes that *han* left their ſong,
While they *han* ſuffred cold ſo ſtrong. (V. 71.)

The word *enthoughteyng* is particularly objected to "becauſe the "initial ſyllable is added to lengthen the verſe, and a participle "of the preſent tenſe is formed from a fictitious paſt time." But this initial ſyllable is very frequently prefixed to Engliſh verbs, and generally gives an additional energy to them; as to *enchain*, *encircle*, *encumber*, *endanger*, *enfeeble*, *enforce*, &c.; and we meet with the verb *enſtrengthen* in another ancient author *. There is no neceſſity to ſuppoſe this participle to be derived from a verb of the paſt time; for it may be formed from the ſubſtantive *thought*, as well as from the paſt tenſe of the verb *think*; in the ſame manner as *draughting* is derived from the ſubſtantive *draught*, though *draughted* is alſo a participle of the paſt tenſe. So the verbs *enlighten* and *enliven*, are formed from the ſubſtantives *light* and *life*; and Chaucer has created the verb *fellowſhippeth* from the ſubſtantive *fellowſhip*.

We proceed next to that objection which ſuppoſes Chatterton to have borrowed moſt of his ancient words, together with the explanations of them, from Skinner's Etymologicon, either copying his blunders, or miſtaking and miſapprehending his meaning. This charge is eaſily refuted by the following fact, communicated to me by Mr. Barrett:—Chatterton calling on him one day, ſaw Skinner's Etymologicon laying on his table, and having aſked what the book was, Mr. Barrett offered to lend it to him, which he accepted, but returned the book in two days, ſaying that it was of no uſe to him, as he did not underſtand Latin. Indeed he could have gained very little information from it within ſo ſhort a time, eſpecially as his ignorance of Latin muſt

* See an Exhortation by R. Morriſon, printed for Berthelett, 1549.

have

have rendered Skinner's explanations very difficult, if not unintelligible to him. But the Gloſſary to which he was principally indebted, (for there is a tranſcript of it in his own hand) was that of Speght, prefixed to his edition of Chaucer 1598, as appears by their perfect agreement in the explanation of words; confirmed by this circumſtance, that Chatterton borrowed this edition of Chaucer from Mr. Green, a bookſeller of Briſtol; it was afterwards purchaſed by Mr. George Catcot, and is now the property of Dr. Glynn. A remark on one of the words in that Gloſſary, in Chatterton's own hand, is a ſure proof that he had made ſome uſe of it. It was the tranſcript of this Gloſſary which Chatterton deſired his ſiſter to ſend to him in London, for he had left it behind him at Briſtol. (See his letter in Love and Madneſs, p. 175, and 179;) Mr. Barrett copied it, and that tranſcript is ſtill in his poſſeſſion.

When we conſider that Skinner publiſhed his Gloſſary above ſeventy years after Speght, and copied his explanations of the words which occur in Chaucer, we ſhall find that Chatterton's interpretation of thoſe words was taken from Speght, and not from Skinner; and therefore, where he ſeems to be miſtaken in the interpretation, the blunder muſt be imputed to the former, and not to the latter author; but it remains yet to be decided, whether the explanations given by thoſe authors are *juſtly* objected to in the Appendix; ſuch of the words, indeed, as are not uſed by Chaucer, could not be explained by Speght; and for thoſe Chatterton might be indebted to Skinner; he might even copy his miſtakes: But the queſtion is not ſo much concerning the true meaning of the words, as concerning the authority upon which his interpretations are founded.

The Appendix ſtates ſome inſtances of blunders ſuppoſed to be copied from Skinner; of theſe, *A la boon*, and *Aumeres*, have been already explained; and as to the word *Bawſin*, *large*, it has certainly eſcaped the notice of the learned Editor, that it occurs in one of

Chaucer's Ballads, and is explained by Speght in the ſame manner as by Chatterton: There is therefore *older and better authority than Skinner's for the interpretation.* In that ſevere ballad againſt a female, printed in Chaucer's works, (Speght, p. 325 b. col. 2.) which begins "O moſſy quince," he calls her "*Bawſin-*" buttocked, bellied like a Tunne." The reader will judge, whether the application of the word in this paſſage, does not juſtify Speght's interpretation, and the uſe made of it in theſe poems.

BRONDEOUS, BRONDEYNGE, and BRONDED, i. e. *furious*; ſo interpreted by Chatterton from Speght, who explains *Bronde* by *fury, fire*; to which the ſenſe of the word in theſe poems is perfectly applicable. Thus "England's *Brondeous* ſons," (Ecl. ii. v. 24) "The "*Brondeynge* foe," (Æ. 703) and "The *Bronded* flood," (B. H. N° 2. v. 558.) But it is not likely that Chatterton ſhould borrow Skinner's Latin explanations of *Furia, Titio, Torris.* If he had been indebted to him for this word, would he not have followed him alſo in the explanation of *Burly-Brand,* (G. v. 7.) i. e. *Magnus enſis?* but he adheres to Speght's idea, and improperly renders that term by *Fury, Anger, Rage.* Though *Brond* originally ſignified a *torch* or *firebrand,* yet it was applied alſo to a ſword, on account of its flaming and fiery appearance. "*Brando* enſis ſic dictus a flammeâ "ſpecie et igneo ſpendore." (Hicks's Gramat. Theotiſc. p. 93). He obſerves alſo, (Gram. A. S. p. 192, note) that "*Brand, Glad,* "and *Glod,* i. e. *gladius, torris,* and *pruna ignita,* are ſynonymous "terms, becauſe the luſtre of ſwords reſembles fire; Odin's Hall "is therefore ſaid to be enlightened only by drawn ſwords, and "hence the Engliſh term of *brandiſhing* a ſword is derived." But authority more ancient than the Teſtament of Creſeis may be quoted for the application of this word, and for the term *Burly-Brand.* The poetical romance of Richard the Firſt, written before the year 1400, (See Warton, vol. i. p. 160) ſpeaks of

Helme, hauberke, and *brondes* bright.

Blind

Blind Harry, who wrote the Hiſtory of Sir William Wallace, in 1361, (Warton, vol. i. p. 323) thus deſcribes his armour:

His good girdle, and ſyne his *buirly brand*;
A ſtaff of ſteele he gripped in his hand.

And in another paſſage,

His burniſht *brand* braithly in hand he bare.

It is unneceſſary to add, that the poets ſubſequent to Rowley, eſpecially Spenſer, generally uſe *brand* for a ſword, as fatal *brand*, heart-thrilling *brand*, *bronde-iron*, and ſteely *brand*. And,

A ſword that flames like burning *brand*.
(F. Q. B. ii. c. 3. ſt. 18.)

When Campynon is ſaid

To dree his ſwerde in *Burlie Brande*,
(B. H. N° 2. v. 664)

it may be literally rendered "that he drew it in *armed fury*."

BURLED, *armed*. So explained on Speght's authority, and juſtified by the ſeveral paſſages in the poems where that word occurs; as The *Burled* Dacyanns, (Æ. v. 707) A *Burled* Trojan, (M. v. 20) Fitzhughs *Burled* hide, (B. H. N° 2. v. 37) and, The ſhepſters *Burled* croke, (B. H. N° 2. v. 86): Skinner agrees in the ſame explanation, but both he and Chatterton borrowed it from Speght. The ſame may be ſaid of the word *Biſmare*, which has already been conſidered.

CALKED, *caſt out, ejected*. This explanation of Chatterton, ſeems to be taken from Speght's rendering it by the general word *caſt*: Had he conſulted Skinner, that author's remark could hardly have eſcaped him, "*Credo, caſt up*." In the paſſage of Godwin where that word occurs, *Calke awaie the hours*, may be eaſily ſuppoſed a miſtake for *Caſte away the hours*; and if the paſſage, (Ecl. i. v. 49) *Calked from everie joie*, will not bear the ſame interpretation, we may change it for the word *Cachit*, uſed by Biſhop Douglas to ſignify *driven*, and which the Pr. Parv. explains by *abigo*.

Theſe

Theſe are inſtances of words ſuppoſed in the Appendix to *have been borrowed from Skinner, and applied in the fanciful ſignifications which that author has aſcribed to them:* Their meaning, however, ſeems to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by antiquity; and if it was not, yet the explanations of Chatterton appear to be borrowed from Speght, and not from Skinner.

We are in the next place to conſider ſome inſtances of words and interpretations founded (as the Appendix ſuggeſts) on a miſapprehenſion of paſſages in Skinner.

ALYSE is ſuppoſed to be a miſtake for Alyſed, *allowed*; but the former of theſe words has been already ſo well defined, and its meaning ſo fully eſtabliſhed, as to leave no room for ſuch an imputation.

BESTOIKER is ſuppoſed to originate from a like miſapprehenſion of Skinner, becauſe his gloſſary has the word *Beſwike* in the ſame ſenſe; but Chatterton might have miſ-ſpelt an ancient word, without even ſeeing it in Skinner: It is more probably a miſtake for a German word of the ſame ſignification, and which comes nearer to it in orthography, requiring the change only of a ſingle letter; *Beſtrikan*, according to Ludwig, ſignifying to *decoy*, *entice*, *enſnare*, &c.

BLAKE has been already explained, with its concomitant, meaning of *naked*; but not borrowed from Skinner, for it is unlikely that he ſhould have taken his idea from the Latin word *nuda*, which he did not underſtand: Would he not rather have adopted Skinner's Engliſh interpretation of *Bleak* and *Bare?*

HANCELED, *cut off*. So explained by Speght and Skinner; the latter indeed ſays, that the primary or more proper ſenſe of the word is, *to cut off by way of ſpecimen or ſample*; but if the word really imports the fact, the poet's uſe of it may be juſtified, though he applies it in a different manner.

He uſes alſo *Halceld* in the ſame ſenſe, (M. v. 37); and Chaucer has the word *Hameled*, to which Speght has given the like interpretation:

pretation: This idea ſeems to be conveyed in the word *Hancelines*, or breeches worn in Chaucer's time, which he calls *cutted ſlops*. (See Parſons Tale, p. 184. Tyr. and Speght, p. 97 b. col. 2.)

SHAP is objected to only becauſe it is uſed as a noun; for the verb *ſhapen*, with its participles *ſhopen*, *iſhope*, and *iſhape*, occur very frequently in our ancient writers, in a meaning exactly correſponding to the uſe of the word in theſe poems. *Shapen* ſignifies not only to *create*, *form*, *model*, or *ſhape*, but alſo to *allot*, *appoint*, and *fix by a ſuperior power* and *unalterable decree*; of which the following paſſages, amongſt many others, are proofs.

Gower ſays——

But if thyn happe thereto be *Shape*. (P. 56 a.)
Me *Shapen* no ſuch *deſtiny*. (P. 78 a.)
That I am *Shapen* all to ſtrife. (P. 82 a.)
So that the ſpede of everie love
Is *ſhape* there as it befal.

So Chaucer, in the Knight's Tale:

And if ſo be our *deſtine* be *Shape*. (Tyr. p. 44. v. 1110.)
There is thee *Shopen* of thine woe an ende.
(P. 55. v. 1394.)
Were it by aventure or *deſtinee*,
For where a thing is *ſhapen* it ſhall be. (P. 58. v. 1467.)
That each of you ſhall have his *deſtinee*
As him is *ſhape* (P. 73. v. 1844.)
Or if my *deſtinee* be *ſhapen* ſo. (P. 91. v. 2325.)
Wherefore to *ſhapen* that they ſhall not die.
(P. 100. v. 2543.)

And in Queen Annelida, (Speght, p. 244 b. col. 2.)

My *deſtinee* hath *ſhaped* ſo full yore.
Thus with care, ſorrow, and tene am I *ſhapt*
Myne end with death to make.
(Teſt. of Love, B. i. Speght, p. 273 a. col. 1.)

And

And in the lines quoted in the Appendix:

Now is me *ſhape* eternally to dwell,
Not only in purgatory, but in hell.

Biſhop Douglas thus tranſlates that line in Virgil, (Æn. vi. v. 466.)

Quem fugis? extremum *fato* quod te alloquor hoc eſt.
Quham fleis thou? this is the latter day,
By *werdis ſchap* that with thee ſpeek I may. (P. 180. v. 12.)

Werdis ſchap, means *parcarum fato*, whom Douglas in other places calls the *weird ſiſteris*. Uuƿdi ȝirċapu occurs alſo in the Harmonia Evangelica Franco-Theotiſc. quoted by Hicks in his Gram. A. S. p. 112, and is there rendered *parcarum decreto*. But the meaning of the word may be eſtabliſhed upon more certain authority. Verelius, in his Scandic Lexicon, has *Skap, fortuna*, and *Skæpna, fatum*. So Junius (in voce Werd) referring to the word *Iſhape* in the Knight's Tale, ſays, "Poeta priſci quo-"que ſermonis indubium veſtigium exhibuit in verbo *Iſhape*, "ſiquidem *Skeffne* Danis eſt *Fatum*; antiquoribus ad hæc Cimbris "parcæ olim dictæ ᛋᚴᛅᛒ *Skop* & ᛋᚴᛅᛒᚢᚱ *Skopur Creatio*, "quod parcæ proſpera ſimul atque adverſa hominibus decernere "& veluti concreare ſoleant."

It remains only to obſerve on the words collected, p. 331 of the Appendix, and ſuppoſed by their agreement with Skinner to have been borrowed from him, that the five laſt are explained in the ſame manner by Speght; and if the other ſeven are not to be found in his Gloſſary, it is becauſe they do not occur in Chaucer. Two of thoſe words, viz. *Abounde* and *Aluſte*, are not even explained by Chatterton; but the meaning and antiquity of them all has been eſtabliſhed by the preceding obſervations. If the words are well defined, their being explained by Skinner can be no objection to their authenticity; but it is on every account unlikely that Chatterton ſhould have depended on that author for his words and explanations, which being conveyed in Latin, muſt have been exceeding difficult for him to underſtand.

It

It is aſſerted alſo in the Appendix, (p. 331) " that Chatterton " has applied the prefix A, to words of all ſorts, without any " regard to cuſtom or propriety;" but one of the words in his liſt, viz. *Agrame*, or *Agreme*, occurs in the Plowman's Tale of Chaucer, v. 2283;

Then woll the officers be *agramed:*

And as to the general charge, Chaucer applies this prefix to verbs in the preſent tenſe, as *Arreaſoneth*, *Accloyth*, *Atyde*, and *Afyle*; to paſt tenſes, as *Aſtranglit*, *Agathered*, *Aforced*, &c.; to nouns, as *Aviſion*, *Avow*, &c.; to adjectives, as *Avoid*, *Acroke*, &c.; to adverbs, as *Abacke*, *Anye*, *Anow*, &c.; and the obſervations relating to this prefix, both in Urry's and Mr. Tyrwhit's Gloſſaries, will juſtify the uſe of it in theſe poems. It muſt not be unnoticed, however, that the words referred to in the Appendix on this occaſion, are ſometimes uſed by our poet without the prefix, as *boune*, *come*, *derne*, *dygne*, *leſt*, &c.

The reader having been detained ſo long in a ſeries of verbal criticiſm, it may be neceſſary to recal his attention to thoſe points, on which the authenticity of the Poems is defended againſt the objections of the Appendix.

It is contended, that the criterion of antiquity therein laid down cannot be admitted, with regard either to the *uſe*, *ſignification*, or *inflection* of words; and that, if any ſuch criterion was eſtabliſhed, the words objected to in the Appendix would not come within that deſcription, being authoriſed, both in their *uſe* and *ſignification*, by ancient writers and gloſſariſts; and the liberty taken in their inflection, with reſpect to grammar and cuſtom, juſtified by the examples of other poets.

In anſwer to the ſuggeſtion, that Chatterton borrowed many of his ancient words and explanations from Skinner; it has been proved, that he had no knowledge of the exiſtence of ſuch a Gloſſary, till he had produced ſeveral of theſe poems to Mr. Barrett; that he then borrowed the book, and returned it at the

end of two days, declaring it could be of no uſe to him, becauſe he did not underſtand Latin; but that he had read and copied Speght's Gloſſary for his own uſe (as Skinner had done before): And the explanations of Speght, conſiſting, for the moſt part, of a ſingle word in Engliſh, were eaſy and intelligible to Chatterton; whereas thoſe in Skinner being more diffuſe, and in Latin, could not be underſtood by him. That his *adoption* of the errors of Speght and Skinner, of which he is accuſed in the Appendix, ſhews at leaſt that he was not the *maker* of the Gloſſary; and his frequent miſinterpretation of words, affords a proof equally convincing that he did not always underſtand the language of the poems, and therefore could not have been the author of them.

It muſt be obſerved, that our modern imitators of ancient poetry are very liberal in their uſe of unmeaning expletives and adverbs, in order to give an air of antiquity to their compoſitions, without being able to add force and energy to their expreſſion: But the ſtile of this poetry is very different; the words are all alike ancient, the language equally nervous; no word appears to be borrowed or forced, to expreſs the poet's ideas, or to fill up the meaſure of his verſe. Many of theſe words are explained by Chatterton, upon the authority of Speght and other common gloſſaries: But there are others, which are only to be found in old French Dictionaries, in Lye's Junius, in his Saxon Gloſſary, in the Medulla Grammatices, and the Promptuarium Parvulorum. Some of theſe he has left unexplained, to others he has attempted to affix a meaning; but the Gloſſaries in which alone they exiſted were not in his hands, nor was it within his ability to underſtand them if they had been before him. He was therefore to ſupply the meaning by his own ingenuity; and though in ſome inſtances he has fixed a probable ſenſe to them, yet that ſenſe ſtands unſupported by any authority, and is not the ſame with that given by the ancient Gloſſaries above mentioned to theſe words: Thus, for inſtance, the epithet of *Berten neders* (T. v. 58) is explained by

Chatterton

Chatterton *venomous*; not knowing that the Pr. Par. had explained that word by *darting* or *leaping*: The *Lordynge* Toad he thought was ſo called from the dignity of his poſture, ſitting on his hinder legs; not being aware that the word *Lourdin* expreſſed the heavy and ſluggiſh nature of the animal. *Houton*, or *Hautain*, is explained in the Pr. Par. by the word *exalto*, which ſenſe agrees very well with the paſſages where that word occurs; but Chatterton renders it *hollow*, without the leaſt authority or propriety of interpretation. Other inſtances might be produced, but theſe are ſufficient. The inference from this fact is deciſive, "That the "paſſages in which theſe, or any ſuch words occur, could not be "the compoſition of Thomas Chatterton."

The reader may have obſerved, that the poems and proſe compoſitions which paſs under the name of Rowley, contain ſeveral hiſtorical particulars, which tend to eſtabliſh the authenticity of theſe MSS, becauſe they could not have been known to Chatterton.

But there are other circumſtances and anecdotes, eſpecially in the unpubliſhed proſe works, which ſeem to be contradicted by true hiſtory; as theſe muſt be imputed either to Rowley or Chatterton, it ought to be conſidered which of the two perſons was moſt capable, and which the moſt likely to practiſe this deceit.

It will be admitted, I preſume, that a perſon anſwering the character of Rowley, might have exiſted in the 15th century: A prieſt learned in his profeſſion, and great in his poetical abilities. He might alſo be poſſeſſed of a fertile and ſportive imagination, be fond of embelliſhing his compoſitions with anecdotes of early times, the produce of his own invention, either to add importance to his narration, or to amuſe his friend and patron; whoſe genius, confeſſedly ſimilar to his own, diſdained the plain recital of ſimple facts, and delighted *to ſoar above the truth of hiſtory*. (See his Letter to Canynge, v. 33.)

This turn of mind is not without example in the annals of

literature. The 15th century produced a contemporary author with Rowley, of the ſame character and diſpoſition. Annius of Viterbo, an eminent divine, well ſkilled in the learned and oriental languages, and maſter of the Pope's palace, forged hiſtories and antiquities under the names of Beroſus, Manetho, and other ancient authors; of which a catalogue may be ſeen in Voſſius and Bayle. Agoſtini alſo ſays (Dialogue 11th) that he fabricated inſcriptions, and cauſed them to be buried in a vineyard near Viterbo, where he knew they would ſoon be dug up; and on their diſcovery, carried them in triumph to the magiſtrates, to convince them, upon the authority of theſe inſcriptions, that their city was 2000 years more ancient than Rome. The poſt which this monk held in the Pope's palace, and the honour done to his memory by his native city, in repairing his epitaph in 1618*, ſhew that he was held in high eſteem by his countrymen for his literary abilities.

This ſpecies of forgery was not uncommon with the Italian antiquaries. Agoſtini mentions the names of four perſons who fabricated inſcriptions and medals, either to do honour to their town and country, or to eſtabliſh ſome favourite point of antiquity.

Not to mention a collection of inſcriptions, in different languages and characters, diſcovered at Grenada, and ſuppoſed to be a forgery of the 16th century, which Juan Flores, Prebendary of Grenada, engraved, but without explanation, in 67 copper-plates, (a copy of which is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries at London) Mr. Swinburn, in his Travels through Spain, p. 155, ſpeaks of one Medina Conti, at Grenada, *a learned and ingenious man, profoundly ſkilled in the antiquities of his country*, who, to favour ſome pretenſions of the church, in a great law-ſuit, forged deeds and inſcriptions in an unuſual character, which he

* See his life in Bayle.

cauſed to be buried where he was ſure they would be dug up; and on their being diſcovered, publiſhed engravings and explanations of them, in ſupport of the claims for which they were forged: But the fraud being detected, and proved upon him, he was committed to priſon, where, Mr. Swinburn ſays, he was likely to continue. It is very material, in the preſent queſtion, to obſerve that theſe forgeries took their riſe from the learning and abilities of the antiquaries who practiſed them, and who were enabled, by giving an appearance of probability to their fictions, more eaſily to impoſe on mankind.

The caſe of Rowley's MSS. is exactly ſimilar. His notes, or, as he calls them, *Emendals*, on a hiſtory of Briſtol, aſcribed by him to Turgot, but probably written by himſelf — His hiſtory of coinage, contained in the yellow roll—His drawings and deſcriptions of ancient coins and inſcribed ſtones, ſaid by him to have been dug up in the city and neighbourhood of Briſtol, and calculated to do honour to the place, (though no ſuch genuine coins or inſcriptions could have exiſted) contain ſuch a mixture of probable and improbable facts, ſuch a foundation of truth and ſuperſtructure of fable, as ſhew the author to have been well acquainted with the antiquities of this kingdom, and capable of miſleading the generality of readers; who, in that illiterate age, were very incompetent judges of hiſtorical truth*.

The tendency therefore of his natural inclination, coinciding with that of his friend and patron, and ſupported with abilities for carrying on his plan, might engage him in this ſyſtem of deceit, and furniſh us with a rational ſolution for this extraordinary conduct.

But no motive of this kind could preſent itſelf to Chatterton. Had he been author of the poems aſcribed to Rowley, his great

* All theſe will make part of Mr. Barrett's hiſtory, from which the public will be better enabled to judge of the learning and ingenuity contained in theſe anecdotes.

object would have been to give them credit, and the appearance of authenticity; but he could have no inducement to aſſume unneceſſarily the characters of an hiſtorian and antiquary. The forging anecdotes concerning Briſtol, could do no honour to his poetic character, and would rather encreaſe than remove ſuſpicions concerning the authenticity of the poems. He had neither diſpoſition nor literary abilities to qualify him for ſuch an undertaking. His youth, his ignorance of the learned languages, and his total want of hiſtorical information, muſt have rendered every attempt of this kind ridiculouſly abſurd, void of all probability, and unſatisfactory to the reader.

I ſhall not enter into the arguments which ariſe from the proſe compoſitions which ſtill remain unpubliſhed in Mr. Barrett's hands; and are confeſſedly a part of the ſame ancient treaſure, diſcovered at the ſame time, ſupported by the ſame evidence, referring to the ſame æra, treating of the ſame ſubjects, and mutually confirming and eſtabliſhing each other: Theſe materials being chiefly local, and relating to Briſtol, come more properly under Mr. Barrett's cognizance, who will do ample juſtice to the ſubject, whenever he ſhall favour the world with his Hiſtory of Briſtol, which he has purſued with very conſtant attention, and will complete to the great ſatisfaction of the public. It would be unjuſt to anticipate him in this uſeful undertaking: I ſhall therefore conclude theſe remarks, by ſelecting a ſingle inſtance from thoſe papers, containing an unanſwerable proof, that thoſe documents, and conſequently the poems that accompany them, were written at the time to which they more immediately refer, viz. the middle of the fifteenth century.

The MS. Liſt of Skilld Paincterrs and Carvellers, which has been quoted more than once in the courſe of theſe obſervations, concludes with the following words:

" Now havynge gyvenn accounte of thoſe Skyllde Paynçterrs " and Carvellers, I wyll ſaie of John a Milvertone, a great

" Carmelyte Fryer in this citie, whoſe tongue wyll goe neer toe
" make hymme rue therefore, & knowen unyeere."

Unyeere, with a ſmall variation in the ſpelling, is the ſame with *unweere,* a word frequently uſed in theſe poems for *Storm* or *Tempeſt.* (See Æ. v. 519, 965, 1188; and E. iii. v. 87.) *To knowen unyeere* may therefore ſignify, to *experience the ſtorms* of oppoſition which were raiſed againſt Milverton on account of his opinions and doctrine; and the hiſtory of this remarkable Frier, will fully juſtify the account here given of him, and point out the conſequences which attended the freedom of Milverton's tongue. He was contemporary with, and poſſibly a ſchool-fellow of Rowley; for he received the rudiments of his education at the Carmelites or White-Friers in Briſtol, where Rowley alſo is ſaid to have been bred: He compleated his ſtudies at Oxford, where he was made Doctor and Profeſſor in Divinity. In 1456 he was appointed Provincial of the Carmelites within the three kingdoms, and became afterwards an eminent preacher in London, but followed the doctrines of Henry Parker and Thomas Holding, monks of the ſame order, and others, in preaching up the poverty of Chriſt, and thence taking occaſion to inveigh againſt the pride, luxury, and riches of the Biſhops and ſuperior clergy. It is to this doctrine, and to this period, that the opinion of Rowley applies. And it was fully juſtified in its conſequences; for Milverton, being excommunicated by the Biſhop of London, fled to Rome; where Pope Paul the Second, on a complaint preferred againſt him by the Biſhops, kept him confined three years in the caſtle of St. Angelo; during which time he addreſſed letters to the Pope, to ſome of the Cardinals, and to the Nobles of Italy. He was at laſt honourably acquitted, by the judgment of ſeven Cardinals, not only with the liberty of returning to the ſee of St. David's, to which he had been elected (though not conſecrated) but alſo with the additional offer of a Cardinal's hat; both which

(as

(as Leland obſerves) he modeſtly declined: He died at the Carmelite Convent of the White-Friers in London, in 1476, and was buried in the middle of their choir.—This account, which is given by Leland * and Pitts †, will aſcertain, within a certain number of years, the time when Rowley gave him this character: It muſt have been ſubſequent to his being made Provincial, in 1456; and prior to his excommunication and departure for Rome, in the Papacy of Paul the Second, whoſe Pontificate extended from 1464 to 1470. It is needleſs to add, that this conſiſtent account of Milverton muſt have been penned by one who was either his contemporary, or was well acquainted with his hiſtory and character.

Here then let the evidence be cloſed; and if there yet remain in the mind of the candid reader, any doubts which prevent him from ſubſcribing to the authenticity of this poetry, as the genuine compoſitions of Rowley, and the production of the fifteenth century, let him conſider the almoſt inſurmountable difficulties which are oppoſed to the affected claim in behalf of Chatterton. The keen and harſh ſpirit of criticiſm has indeed attempted to deſtroy this fair fabrick, and in ſtripping it of the venerable form of antiquity, hath endeavoured to caſt a ſhade over the intrinſic merit of the compoſition. It has been the endeavour of the preceding ſheets to place the evidence in a clear and impartial view, and to remove that cloud which overſhadowed the beauties of the poetry, though it could not deſtroy them. Between theſe two claims the public muſt decide; for as to any intermediate author, or period of the poems, the improbability will be greater, and the difficulties attending ſuch an hypotheſis inſurmountable.

* De Scriptoribus Britannicis. See alſo Tanner's Bibliotheca Britan.
† De illuſtribus Angliæ Scriptoribus.

P. S. SINCE

P. S. SINCE the foregoing ſheets were printed, I have been favoured with the account of two imperfect and unſucceſsful attempts by Chatterton's dramatic muſe; the only efforts he is known to have made in that ſtyle of poetry. They are both communicated by Chatterton's friends, and one of them authenticated under his own hand, for which I am obliged to Mr. Ruddall of Briſtol. It contains, in a ſingle ſheet of paper, the two firſt ſcenes of a ballad opera, under the title of *Amphytrion, a Burletta*, evidently borrowed from Dryden's play of the ſame name; but whether he made any further progreſs in it, does not appear. From his choice of the ſubject, which has been conſidered as a characteriſtical diſtinction between Rowley's and Chatterton's poetry, and from his adopting the ideas and language of Dryden, no delicacy can be expected in the performance; nor indeed has he ſhewn any; for the language is coarſe, and even indecent, the airs are without ſentiment, ſpirit, or wit, almoſt unfit to be preſented to the reader, and therefore not poſſibly to be aſcribed to that poet, who wrote the minſtrels ſongs in Ella.

But that the reader may form ſome judgement of this poetry, the following reply of Nox to the commands of Jupiter, brought by Mercury, may ſerve as a ſpecimen.

How now! would you make me a bawd?
Muſt I too aſſiſt him to whore?
If Jove will be prowling abroad,
Muſt heroes and gods hold the door?

A bawd is a name I deteſt;
A whore, I confeſs, is no ſcorn.
Why ſhould he chooſe me from the reſt,
To aid him in grafting the horn?

Mercury. Why, where's the mighty ſcandal in the poſt?
On earth pimps and procurers rule the roaſt.

This ſhort ſpecimen alſo ſhews how little he was acquainted with Latin; for he marks Jupiter and Mercury quitting the ſcene together by the following reference, "*Exit Both.*"

Mr. Thiſtlethwaite ſpeaks of another unſucceſsful attempt of Chatterton in the dramatic ſtyle, which he communicated to him a few weeks before he left Briſtol; it conſiſted of two or three acts of a comedy, or farce, which was political in its plan, and wherein the characters of very reſpectable perſonages were ſatyrized with great indecency. As far as Mr. Thiſtlethwaite can recollect at this diſtance of time, he thought it greatly inferior to Chatterton's other productions, and unworthy of his pen. How unlike then muſt it have been to the poems aſcribed to Rowley! and how juſtly does Mr. Thiſtlethwaite conclude, that the "Author of the "poems aſcribed to Rowley, and Thomas Chatterton, were two "diſtinct beings, furniſhed with different ideas, endued with "different abilities, poſſeſſed of different morals, and living in "different centuries!"

In addition to what is ſaid of Sir Baldwyn Fulford, p. 325, it may be remarked, that he was an unſucceſsful, if not an indiſcreet, friend to the Lancaſtrian cauſe; for Campbell, in his Lives of the Britiſh Admirals, vol. I. p. 217, ſays "that he undertook "to burn the Earl of Warwick's fleet in the haven of Calais; "which quickly appeared to be but a vain enterpriſe."

A GLOSSARY

A GLOSSARY OF UNCOMMON WORDS IN THIS VOLUME.

THE advertiſement prefixed to this Gloſſary in the former editions obſerves, "That Chatterton's explanations at the bottom of the ſeveral pages were "therein drawn together and digeſted alphabetically, with the letter *C.* after each "of them; but that theſe explanations were not to be admitted without great cau-"tion, a conſiderable number of them being (as far as the learned Editor could "judge) unſupported by authority, or analogy; and that the explanations of ſome "other words, omitted by Chatterton, were added by the Editor, where the mean-"ing of the writer was ſufficiently clear, and the word itſelf did not recede too "far from the eſtabliſhed uſage."

The Gloſſary, in its preſent form, is enlarged with the explanation of many words which were left unnoticed by Chatterton; who has given no gloſs on the Battle of Haſtings, nor on the poems which follow in that volume, and only a very ſparing one on the Tragedy of Ella.

Where the interpretations of Chatterton appear to be of doubtful authority, or to be contradicted by other writers, an alteration, or correction, is ſubjoined in *Italics*, by which all the additions of the preſent Editor may be diſtinguiſhed.

The meaning of the words was determined, in the former Gloſſary, on the authority of a ſingle paſſage; but, as our Poet has frequently uſed the ſame word in a variety of ſignifications, it is a ſatisfaction due to the reader, to refer him to the ſeveral paſſages where thoſe words occur; that he may determine the propriety of their application, and admit the authenticity of the poems, from the command of language ſo viſible in them. Theſe additional references are extended alſo to other ancient words, which, although they occur frequently, are uſed only in one determinate ſenſe.

It has been neceſſary to correct the miſtaken references in the former Gloſſary, which aroſe from miſnumbering the lines in ſome of the poems. Thoſe in Ella, from v. 380, being anticipated by one line; and thoſe in the ſecond poem on the Battle of Haſtings, from v. 150, by ten lines. The latter error was corrected in the poem by the ſubſequent editions; but the Gloſſary formed on the firſt edition continuing unaltered, produced a diſagreement of ten lines between the notes of reference in the Gloſſary and the lines as they ſtood in the poem. The miſtake in Ella continued through all the editions; but both are now corrected, and the references are made to correſpond with the text, except in a few inſtances, which, having eſcaped the attention of the Editor, are noticed in the Errata.

The additional explanations of this Gloſſary, which are not directly ſupported by authority, are, for that reaſon, marked with a *qu.*

For want of *Italic* figures, it has been neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the numerals, in the additional references of this Gloſſary, by prefixing to them the following mark, [.

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P. Pa.	—	Promptuarium Parvulorum.	
P. Pl.	—	Pierce Plowman's Crede.	

A GLOSSARY.

A GLOSSARY.

ABESSIE, E. III. 89. humility, C. *humbly*
Aborde, Ch. 89. *went on*
Aborne, T. 45. burniſhed, C. *See Borne*
Abounde, v. H. 1. 55. *do ſervice or benefit*
Aboune, v. G. 53. make ready, C. *See Boune*
Abredynge, Æ. 334. upbraiding, C.
Abrewe, St. C. 60. as brew
Abrodden, E. I. 6. abruptly, C. *abroad*
Acale, G. 191. freeze, C. *P. Pa.*
Accaie, Æ. 356. aſſwage, C.
Achevments, Æ. 65. ſervices, C.
Achments, T. 153. atchievements, C. *See Hatched, and Hatchments*
Acheke, G. 47. choke, C.
Acome, St. C. 95. as come
Acrool, E. IV. 6. faintly, C. *or, in a murmuring voice*
Addawe, v. St. C. 78. awake,
Addawd, H. 2. 110. [*Æ.* 398. *awakened*
Adave, H. 2. 392. *dawned upon*
Adeene, Æ. 488. *worthily. See Adigne*
Adente, and Adented, G. 32. faſtened, annexed, C. [*Æ.* 263. 395.
Adented, Æ. 490. *indented, bruiſed. See Dente, Dented, Dentfull*
Aderne, H. 2. 262. cruel, fierce. See Derne, Dernie
Adigne, and Adygne, Le. 46. nervous, worthy of praiſe, [*H.* 2. 7. 154. 387. *St. C.* 125. *good. See Deene*
Adoe, without adoe, H. 1. 202. *immediately*
Adradde, H. 2. 86. *P.* 180. *afraid*
Adrames, Ep. 27. churls, C.
Adrew, H. 2. 546. *for drew*
Adventaile, T. 13. armour, C. [*H.* 2. 327. 671. 676. *Æ.* 468. *G.* 62.
Adyghte, C. H. 2. *cloathed*
Adygne. See Adigne
Affere, v. Æ. 1068, *to affright, or terrify, P. Pa.*
Affraie, n. Æ. 755. 794. *E. II.* 53. *fright, or terror*
——— *v. T.* 85. 108. *to fight, or engage in a fray. See Fraie*
——— *v. Æ.* 794. 1005. *E. I.* 7. 18. *to terrify*
Affryghte, n. E. III. 88. *fear, or fright*
Affynd, H. 1. 132. related by marriage, *P. Pa.*
Afleme, G. R. 14. as fleme, to drive away, to affright
Ageſted, Clodde-ageſted, St. C. 9. *lying on the clod, or earth*
Agleeme, H. 2. 602. *to ſhine upon. See Gleme*
Agrame, G. 5. 93. } greivance, torture, C.
Agreme, Æ. 356. }
Agroſed, C. H. 6. as agriſed, terrified
Agroted, Æ. 348. ſwollen. See Groted, [*Æ.* 382. 944. *P. Pa.*
Agrutche, P. 190. *grudge, P. Pa.*
Agylted, Æ. 334. [436.] offended, C.
Aidens, Æ. 222. aidance, *aid*
Aiglintine, T. 166. *ſweet-brier*
Ake, E. II. 8. oak, C.
Alans, H. 2. 124. hounds
Allaie, H. 2. 228. *was allayed, or ſtopped. Allaie uſed as a verb neuter*
Alatche, v. Æ. 117. *accuſe, blame, leave, qu.*
Aledge, G. 5. idly, C. *eaſed, relieved, P. Pa.*
Alenge, E. II. 19. *along*
Aleſtake, Æ. 168. *a may-pole*
Aleſt, Æ. 50. leſt
Alyghte, H. 2. 705. *to light upon*
Allaboon, E. III. 41. S. E. 4. a manner of aſking a favour, C.

Alleyn,

Alleyn, E. I. 52. only, C. [*Æ.* 276. 289. 298. 340. 1159. *T.* 19. 56. *alone, ſingly. Æ.* 370. 425. 487. 545. 822. *only. Æ.* 465. *nevertheleſs*

Almer, Ch. 20. beggar, C.

Aloſe, H. 1. 202. *aloſt*

Aluſte, H. 1. 88. *free, or deliver*

Alyſe, Le. 29. allow, C. [*G.* 36. 180. *pay, or allow. Æ.* 277. 407. *to free, or deliver.*

Alyche, E. II. 10. *Like*

Alyne, T. 79. acroſs his ſhoulders, C. *ſingly, alone*

Amaine, H. 1. 274. *myghte amayne, H.* 1. 52. 162. 172. 332. *with all his force*

Amate, *Æ.* 58. deſtroy, C. [*Æ.* 1036. *quench. See Emmate*

Amayld, E. II. 49. enamelled, C.

Amede, n. Æ. 1243, *a reward*

Ameded part, *Æ.* 54. rewarded

Amenged, St. C. 6. mixed, [*S. E.* 37. *mingled. See Menged*

Amenuſed, E. II. 5. diminiſhed, C. [*Le.* 28.

Ametten, M. 46. *met with*

Amield, T. 5. ornamented, enamelled, C.

Aminge, Ch. 27. *among*

Anenſte, Æ. 1081. 1216. *T.* 37. *againſt*

Anente, *Æ.* 474. againſt, C. [*Æ.* 496, *T.* 27. 95. *St. C.* 1.

Anere, *Æ.* 15. another, C. [*Ep.* 48.

Anete, St. C. 64, *annihilate*

Anethe, T. 143. beneath, *P. Pa.*

Anie, St. C. 59. as nie, nigh

Anie, H. 2. 120. *annoy, or nigh, qu.*

Anlace, G. 57. an ancient ſword, C. [*H.* 2. 449. 601. *Æ.* 642. 660. 726. 766. 1074. 1082. *G.* 73. *a ſword*

Antecedent, *Æ.* 233. going before

Applings, E. I. 33. grafted trees, C. *apples, or apple trees*

Arace, G. 156. diveſt, C. *See Erace*

Arblaſter, Arcublaſter, H. 2. 52. 303. *a croſs-bow*

Arcublaſtries, H. 2. 163. *croſs-bow-men*

Ardurous, S. E. 40. *burning*

Areding, E. II. 79. *thinking, conſidering*

Argent horſe, G. 33. *the armorial enſign of Kent*

Ariſt, Ch. 10. aroſe, C. [*E. III.* 51. *ariſen*

Armlace, H. 2. 97. *accoutrement for the arms*

Armourbrace, Æ. 338. *St. C.* 20. *a ſuit of armour*

Arrow hede, H. 1. 74. *arrow head, or arrow mounted with lead, qu.*

Aſcaunſe, E. III. 52. diſdainfully, C. [*Le.* 17. *obliquely*

Aſkaunte, H. 2. 143. 507. *obliquely*

Aſkaunted, Le. 19. *glaunced, looked obliquely*

Aſlaunte, H. 2. 716. *ſlaunting*

Aſenglave, H. 1. 117. [483. *H.* 2. 166. *a launce, H.* 1. 423. *the ſteely point of a launce*

Aſlee, *Æ.* 503. *ſlide, or creep*

Aſſaie, v. H. 2. 285. *make an attempt, P. Pa.*

Aſſayle, v. H. 2. 325. *to attack.*

Aſſeled, E. III. 14. anſwered, C.

Aſhrewed, Ch. 14. accurſed, unfortunate, C.

Aſſwaie, v. *Æ.* 352. *to aſſay, experience*

Aſtarte, H. 2. 485. *ſtarted from, afraid of*

Aſterte, G. 137. neglected, C.

Aſtedde, E. II. 11. ſeated, C.

Aſtoun, and Aſtounded, part. E. II. 5. aſtoniſhed, C. [*H.* 2. 75. *St. C.* 55.

Aſtounde, v. M. 83. aſtoniſh, C. [*Æ.* 730

Aſyde, St. C. 90. perhaps aſtyde, aſcended, *by his ſide*

Athorowe, H. 2. 718. *through*

Athur, H. 2. 466. as thurgh, through, *athwart, acroſs*

Attend, H. 1. 467. *aſſiſt, or was not with him, qu.*

Attenes, *Æ.* 18. at once, C. [*Æ.* 140. 317. *G.* 109. *Ch.* 13. 42.

Attoure,

Attoure, v. T. 115. turn, C.
Attourne, v. E. III. 47. *Æ.* 582. *to turn*
Attoure, adv. Æ. 322. around
Ave, H. 2. 636. for Eau, Fr. water, *or for Avon, a river*
Aumere, Ch. 7. a looſe robe, or mantle, C. *or girdle, Æ.* 397.
———, E. III. 25. borders of gold or ſilver, C. *or bracelets*
Aunture, H. 2. 133. as aventure, adventure, *P. Pa.*
Auntrous, P. 184. *adventurous*
Aure, Le. 14. *Or, the colour of gold in heraldry*
Autremete, Ch. 52. a looſe white robe worn by prieſts, C. *rather a cowl*
Awhape, awhaped, Æ. 399. aſtoniſh, aſtoniſhed, C. [*H.* 2. 643, 658.
Aye, E. I. 30. *R. C.* 7. *ever, always*
Ayenwarde, Ch. 47. backwards, C. *P. Pa.*

B

Balefull, E. I. 20. *woeful*
Bane, v. Æ. 916. *curſe*
——, *n. Æ.* 320. *hurt, damage, Ent.* 2. *ruin*
Baned, Bante, Benned, Æ. 207. 512. 521. 1184, *curſed*
Bankes, T. 3. benches
Barbe, St. C. 103. *beard*
Barbd hall, Æ. 219. *hall hung round with armour*
Barbed horſe, Æ. 27. horſe covered with armour
Barbed javelines, armed with death, H. 2. 261.
Baren, Æ. 879. for barren
Barganette, E. III. 49. a ſong or ballad, C. [*T.* 41.
Bataunt, B. T. 276. 292. *a ſtringed inſtrument played on by beating, qu. See Strunge*
Battayles, Æ. 706. boats, ſhips, Fr. [*Æ.* 620.
Batten, G. 3. fatten, C.
Battent, T. 52. loudly, C. *rather furious*
Battently, G. 50. loud roaring, C. [*Æ.* 825. *rather, furious, violent*
Battone, H. 1. 520. beat with ſticks, Fr. *P. Pa.*
Baubels, Ent. 7. jewels, C.
Bawſyn, Æ. 57. large, C. [*H.* 2. 690. *M.* 101.
Bayre, E. II. 76. brow, C.
Beave, H. 2. 336. } *beaver*
Beaver, H. 1. 55. 111. }
Beveredd, T. 115. *covered with a beaver*
Beheſte, v. G. 60. command, C. [*T.* 33. *P. Pa.*
Beheſting, T. 46. *commanding*
Behight, v. H. 2. 355. *name*
Behylte, v. Æ. 938. promiſed, C. *withholden, Æ.* 1101. *forbidden*
Behyltren, Æ. 359. *hidden. See Hilte, Hiltren*
Belent, H. 2. 121. *ſtopped, at a ſtand*
Beme, Æ. 562. trumpet, [*Æ.* 562.
Bemente, v. E. I. 45. lament, C. [*E. III.* 40.
Bementynge, E. IV. 3. *lamenting*
Benned. See Baned
Benymmes, v. Æ. 904. *deprives, takes away*
Benymmynge, P. G. 3. bereaving, C. *depriving*
Bercie, St. C. 8. *Birchy, qu.*
Berne, Æ. 579. child. C.
Berten, T. 58. venomous, C. *darting, leaping, P. Pa.*
Beſeies, Beſeeme, T. 124. becomes, C. [*G.* 42. *T.* 124. *C. F.* 2. *P. Pa.*
Beſped, H. 1. 172. 402. *P.* 434. *diſpatched*
Beſprenge, v. H. 2. 363. *S. E.* 22. *ſcatter, ſpread*
Beſprengynge, H. 2. 553. *Æ.* 78. 1002. *ſpreading*
Beſprente, and Beſprenged, H. 2. 367. 496. 553. 613. 700. *Æ.* 699. *T.* 132. 154. *ſcattered, ſpread. See Sprenge*
Beſtadde, C. H. 3. *ſituated, diſtreſſed, P. Pa.*

Beſtanne,

Beſtanne, Æ. 410. *withſtood, oppoſed, loſt, qu. if the ſame with Beſtadde*
Beſted, H. 2. 140. *contended for, engaged in, P. Pa.*
Beſtoiker, Æ. 91. deceiver, C. [*Æ.* 1068.
Beſtreints, H. 2. 634. *ſprinkles*
Betreinted, H. 2. 697. *ſprinkled*
Bete, G. 85. bid, C.
Bethoghte, H. 1. 444. *thinking. See Enthoghte*
Betraſſed, and Betraſte, G. 7. Æ. 1030. betrayed, deceived, impoſed upon, C.
Bevyle, E. II. 57. break. A Herald term, ſignifying a ſpear broken in tilting, C. *bend to*
Bewopen, H. 2. 665. *ſtupified.*
Bewrate, n. H. 2. 127. *treachery, betraying*
Rewrecke, v. G. 101. to revenge, C.
Bewrecke, n. H. 2. 318. *revenge*
Bewreckynge, Æ. 976. *revenging*
Bewreen, Bewryen, Bewryne. Le. 42. Æ. 6. G. 72. C. [*H.* 2. 647. *Æ.* 485. 1018. 1074. 1112. 1227. *expreſs, declare, diſplay, P. Pa.*
Bewrynning, Brynning, T. 128. declaring, C. [*Æ.* 679. 992. *See Wryn, and Ywreene*
Beyinde, Ep. 31. *beyond*
Bighes, Æ. 371. jewels, C. [*H.* 2. 182. *St. C.* 121.
Birlette, E. III. 24. a hood or covering for the back part of the head, C. *a cap*
Biſmare, M. 95. bewildered, curious, C. *capricious*
Biſmarelie, Le. 26. curiouſly, C. *capriciouſly*
Biſmarde, St. C. 141. C. [*H.* 2. 715. *deluded*
Blaeke, P. 434. } *yellow*
Blake, Æ. 178. }
Blake, Æ. 407. naked, C.
Blakied, E. III. 4. naked, original, C.
Blanche, Æ. 369 white, pure, [*G.* 96.
Blaunchie, E. II. 50. white, C.
Blataunte, H. 2. 554. *St. C.* 11. *noiſy*
Blatauntlie, Æ. 108. loudly, C.
Blazours, H. 2. 441. *praiſers*
Blede, E. I. 49. *for belive, abide, P. Pa.*
Blente, E. III. 39. ceaſed, dead, C. *rather mingled. See Yblente, P. Pa.*
Blents, H. 2. 638. *mixes, oppoſes, ſtops, qu.*
Blethe, T. 98. bleed, C. [*Æ.* 816. *G.* 35.
Blodde-red, E. II. 53.
Blyn, and Blynge, Æ. 334. E. II. 40. ceaſe, ſtand ſtill, C. [*Æ.* 552. *G.* 558. *P. Pa.*
Boddeynge, Æ. 160 *M.* 62. *budding*
Boddekin, Æ. 265. body, ſubſtance, C. [*St. C.* 51, *a diminutive of body*
Boleynge, M. 17. ſwelling, C. *See Embollen, P. Pa.*
Bollengers, E. II. 33. a kind of boat, C. *or barge*
Boolie, E. I. 46. beloved, C. [*G. R.* 1.
Boon, Æ. 316. *favour*
Bootleſs, H. 1. 118. *uſeleſs.*
Bordel, E. III. 2. cottage, C. [*Æ.* 147.
Bordelier, Æ. 409. cottager, [*H.* 2. 633. *Æ.* 1007. *St. C.* 85.
Borne, Æ. 740. T. 13. burniſh, C. [*H.* 2. 289. *qu.*
Borne, H. 2. 48. *brook*
Boun, v. E. II. 40. make ready, C.
Boune, Bounde, adj. T. 32. ready, C. [*Æ.* 589. *T.* 148.
Bourne, part. Æ. 482. *bounded, limited*
Bourne, n. H. 2. 198. *boundary, promontory*
Boute ytte, G. 84. *to go about it*
Bouting matche, S. E. 2. *conteſt*
Bowke, T. 19. Bowkie, G. 133. body, C. [*Æ.* 770.
Braſteth, G. 123. burſteth, C. [*Æ.* 293. 614. *H.* 2. 194. 515. *Ch.* 42.
Braſteyng, Æ. 417. 678. 997. *S. E.* 16. *burſting*
Braunce, G. 89. *braunch*
Brayd G. 77. diſplayed, C. *or proclaimed*
Brayde, Æ. 1009. *embroider*

Brede,

Brede, G. 63. 95. *E. II.* 4. *broad*
Breme, n. G. 12. ſtrength, C. [*G.* 69. *G. R.* 17. *fury*
——-, adj. E. II. 6. ſtrong, C. [*H.* 2. 604. *Æ.* 424. 629. *furious*
Bremie, *H.* 2. 695. *P.* 434. *furious*
Brende, v. G. 50. burn, conſume, C.
Brendeynge, *Æ.* 1036. *G.* 200. *burning*
Bretful, Ch. 19. filled with, C.
Broched, H. 2. 335. pointed, [*H.* 2. 593. *P. Pa. See Ybroched*
Brigandine, *H.* 2. 645. *G.* 62. *body armour*
Bronde, *H.* 2. 302. 651. *fury, or ſword, qu.*
Bronded, *H.* 2. 558. *furious*
Brondeynge, *Æ.* 703. *furious*
Brondeous, E. II. 24. furious, C. [*Æ.* 760. 1087. 1188. *G.* 68.
Burlie Bronde, G. 7. fury, anger, C. *great ſword*, *H.* 2. 664. *armed fury*
Brooklette, *H.* 2. 410. *St. C.* 1. *little brook*
Browded, G. 130. embroidered, C. [*St. C.* 43.
Brued, *H.* 1. 10. *embrued*
Brutylle, *Æ.* 69. *brittle, frail, P. Pa.*
Brynning. See Bewryne
Burled, M. 20. armed, C. [*H.* 2. 37. 86. *Æ.* 707. 1216. *G.* 194. 210.
Burn, *Æ.* 584. *probably a miſtake for turn*
Bylecoyle, C. F. 2. belacueil, Fr. the name of a perſonage in the Roman de la Roſe, which Chaucer has rendered, Fair welcoming
Byker, n. *Æ.* 546. battle, [402. 942. *H.* 2. 644.
Byker, *v. Æ.* 566. *to fight, or engage*
Bykrous, M. 37. warring, C.
Byſmare, and Byſmarelie. See Biſmare, and Biſmarelie

C.

Cale, *Æ.* 853. cold, [*H.* 2. 632. *Ch.* 26.
Calke, G. 25. caſt, C. *caſt away*
Calked, E. I. 49. caſt out, C. *driven*
Caltyſning, G. 67. forbidding, *confining*
Caytiſned, *Æ.* 32. binding, enforcing, C. [*Æ.* 1103. *confined, captive*
Carnes, *Æ.* 1242, rocks, ſtones, Brit. *monumental heaps of ſtones*
Caſtle-ſtede, G. 100. a caſtle, C. [*Ent.* 8. *St. C.* 17. *E. I.* 50.
Caſtle Steers, *Æ.* 565. *S. E.* 40. *the hold of the caſtle*
Caties, H. 2. 67. cates
Celneſs, *Æ.* 881. *coldneſs*
Chafe, adj. *Æ.* 191. hot, C. *P. Pa.*
Chefe, n. G. 11. heat, raſhneſs. C.
Chaftes, G. 101, beats, ſtamps, C. *rubs*
Champyon, *n. H.* 2. 630. 690. *Æ.* 590. *T.* 89. 93. *E. IV.* 38.
———-, *adj. H.* 1. 24. *Æ.* 631. *T.* 134. *E. II.* 56.
Champyon, v. R. G. 12. challenge, C. [*T.* 108. 148.
Chaper, E. III. 48. dry, ſun-burnt, C. [*G.* 123.
Chapournette, Ch. 45. a ſmall round hat, C.
Charie, *St. C.* 116. *dear*
Chaſe, *H.* 2. 82. *E. I.* 12. *to chace, drive away, or fly from, qu.*
Cheeſe, *Æ.* 43. *chuſe*
Chelandree, *Æ.* 105. goldfinch, C. [*Ch.* 5.
Cheorte, C. F. 4. *cheery, chearful*
Cheriſaunce, Ent. 1. comfort, C. [*Æ.* 214.
Cheriſaunced, *Æ.* 838. *comfortable*
Cheves, Ch. 37. moves, C. *ſhivers, trembles*
Chevyſed, Ent. 2. preſerved, C. *or, redeemed, P. Pa.*
Chirckynge, M. 23. a confuſed noiſe, C. *or, diſagreeable ſound*
Choughen, *Æ.* 151. 570. *choughs, jack-daws*
Church-glebe, *E. IV.* 27. *church-yard*
Church-glebe-houſe, Ch. 24. grave, C.
Cierge, *P.* 185. *a wax-taper*
Clangs, *v. Ch.* 38. *ſounds loud*
Cleyne, *v. Æ.* 1101, *to ſound, or make a noiſe, as clang*

Clarions, H. 1. 49. *trumpets*
Cleembe, n. H. 2. 605. 693. *noiſe, ſound*
Cleme, n. E. II. 9. ſound, C.
Clymmynge, Ch. 37. *noiſy*
Clepde, St. C. 11. *named. See Ycleped*
Clergyon, P. G. 8. clerk, or clergyman, C.
Clergyond, Ent. 13. taught, C. *inſtructed*
Clevis, H. 2. 46. [510. *the cleft of a rock*
Clinie, H. 1. 431. *declination of the body. See Declinie, P. Pa.*
Cloude ageſted. *See Ageſted*
Coiſtrell, H. 2. 88. *a ſerving-lad*
Comfreie plant, E. I. 36. *cumfrey*
Compheeres, M. 21. companions, C. [*Æ.* 51. 774. 1217. *G.* 14.
Congeon, E. III. 89. dwarf, C. *P. Pa.*
Contake, and Conteke, v. T. 87. to diſpute, confuſe, or contend with, C. [*E. II.* 10.
Contekes, n. G. 45. *contentions*
Contekions, Æ. 552. contentions, C.
Conteins, H. 1. 223. for contents
Cope, Ch. 50. a cloak, C.
Corven, See Ycorven. *formed, ſhaped, or repreſented, P. Pa.*
Cotte, E. II. 24. cut
Cottes, E. II. 33. See Bollengers. *ſmall boats, ſtill called cotts*
Coupe, E. II. 7. cut, C.
Couraciers, T. 74. horſe-courſers, C. [*Æ.* 922. horſemen
Courſer, H. 1. 154. *horſe, P. Pa.*
Coyen, Æ. 125. coy, qu. *coy, modeſt, P. Pa.*
Craſed, Le. 35. *broken*
Cravent, n. E. III. 39. coward, C. [*Æ.* 365.
Cravent, adj. Æ. 714. *cowardly*
Creand, Æ. 580. as recreand, *cowardly*
Crine, Æ. 850. hair, C.
Croche, v. G. 26. to croſs, C.
Croched, H. 2. 511. perhaps for broched
Crokyde, H. 2. 413. *crooked*
Crokynge, Æ. 119. bending, *crooking, twining*
Croſs-ſtone, Æ. 1121. monument, C.
Crouchee, St. C. 63. *crucifix*
Crouched, G. 110. *croſſed*
Croucheynge, Æ. 751. *crooked, winding*
Cuarr, St. C. 53. quarry, qu.
Cuiſhes, H. 2. 230. 256. 328. *armour for the thigh*
Cullis yatte, E. I. 50. portcullis gate, C.
Curdell, Æ. 221. *to card*
Curriedowe, G. 176. flatterer, C. [*P.* 184.
Cuyen kine, E. I. 35. tender cows, C. *rather, cow cattle, P. Pl.*

D.

Dacya, Dacyannes, Dacya's ſons, Dacyanne, Æ. 319. 630. 707. 722. 1085. 1089. 1092. *S. E.* 25. *P.* 435. *Denmark, Danes, Daniſh*
Daie brent, E. III. 54. *ſun-burnt*
Daiſe-eyd, E. IV. 15. *daiſied*
Daygnous, Æ. 50. *diſdainful*
Danke, Æ. 97. *damp*
Dareygne, G. 26. attempt, endeavour, C.
Darklinge, Æ. 1126. *dark*
Declynie, H. 1. 161. declination, qu. *ſtooping*
Decorn, E. II. 14. carved, C. *or, decorated, qu.*
Deene, E. II. 69. glorious, worthy, C.
Deere, n. Ep. 5. hurt, damage, C. *P. Pa.*
——— adj. E. III. 88. dire, C. [*Æ.* 583.
Defayte, G. 52, decay, C. *to be defeated, a verb neuter*
Deſs, M. 9. vapours, meteors, C. *or, ſpectres, fairies, qu.*
Defte, Ch. 7. neat, ornamental, C. [*Æ.* 859. *St. C.* 87. *Agreſtis, P. Pa.*
Deſtlie, Ep. 6. *Æ.* 947. *P.* 183. *properly*
Deigned, E. III. 53. diſdained, C.
Delievretie, T. 44. activity, C. *P. Pa.*
Demaſing, H. 1. 276. *muſing*
Dente, v. Æ. 885. *weave, indent*

Dented,

Dented, Æ. 263. [*H.* 1. 196. 257. *ſharp, pointed. See Adente, P. Pa.*
Dentfull, H. 2. 673. *indented, full of dents*
Denwere, G. 141. doubt, C. M. 13. tremour, C. [*G.* 170.
Depeyncte, v. G. 8. *to paint*
Depeycte, Æ. 397. *painted*
Depyctures, T. 7. drawings, paintings [*P.* 445. *pictures, repreſentations*
Dequace, G. 56. mangle, deſtroy, C. *pull down*
Dequaced, St. C. 38. *ſunk, quaſhed*
Dere. See Deere
Derkynnes, Æ. 229. young deer, qu.
Derne, Æ. 581. cruel, C. *or, ſecret*
Derne, H. 2. 522. 551. *melancholy*
Dernie, E. I. 19. woeful, lamentable, C. [*Æ.* 683. *M.* 106. *ſecret*
Deſlavate, H. 2. 333. *diſloyal, unfaithful*
Deſlavatie, Æ. 1046. letchery, C. *rather, undutifulneſs, unfaithfulneſs*
Detratours, H. 2. 78. *traitors, or diſgraceful perſons*
Deyſde, Æ. 46. ſituated on a deis, *P. Pa.*
Dheie, they
Dhere, Æ. 292. there
Dhereof, thereof, [*E. II.* 29.
Difficile, Æ. 358. difficult, C.
Dighte, v. Dyghte, Dighted, Dyghted, Ch. 7. dreſt, arrayed, C. [*H.* 2. 661. *Æ.* 2. 162. 300. 338. 606. 749. 812. *prepare, prepared*
Dightyng, Dyghtynge, H. 2. 537. *Æ.* 1131. *preparing, dreſſing*
Diſpande, L. C. 2. 14. perhaps for diſponed, *expanded*
Diſpended, Ch. 38. *exhauſted, P. Pa.*
Dyſpendynge, Æ. 715. *expending*
Dyſpenſe, G. 150. *expence*
Diſpente, G. 151. *expended, P. Pa.*
Diſponed, St. C. 27. diſpoſed, [*L. C. II.* 4.
Diſtraughte, H. 2. 62. *Æ.* 454. 500. *E. II.* 53. *E. IV.* 34. 48. *diſtracted*
Diviniſtre, Æ. 141. a divine, C.
Doffed, P. 433. *put off*
Don, P. 183. *put on*
Donde, H. 1. 51. *put on, or finiſhed, qu.*
Dolce, Æ. 1186. ſoft, gentle, C.
Dulce, St. C. 103. *ſoft*
Dole, n. G. 137. lamentation, C. [*Æ.* 29. 267. 723. *E. III.* 88.
—— adj. C. H. 13. *doleful*
Doled, Æ. 503. *doleful*
Dole, Dolle, n. St. C. 117. *R. C.* 10. *ſhare*
Dolte, Ep. 17. fooliſh, C.
Dome, Æ. 245. 249. 534. 1094. *E. I.* 30. 51. *E. III.* 35. *H.* 2. 342. *fate*
Donore, H. 1. 5. This line ſhould probably be written thus:
"O ſea-o'erteeming Dovor!"
See the note on the paſſage
Dortoure, Ch. 25. a ſleeping-room, C. *P. Pa.*
Dote, St. C. 20. perhaps as dighte, *cloathed*
Doughtie, Æ. 20. 464. *St. C.* 19. *valiant, brave, powerful*
Doughtilie, T. 92. *valiantly, bravely*
Doughtremere, H. 2. 481. D'outre-mer, Fr. from beyond ſea
Draffs, Æ. 716. *the refuſe, or what is caſt away, P. Pa.*
Dreare, H. 2. 263. *dreary*
Dree, Æ. 982. 769. [*H.* 2. 664. 714. *draw, or drive*
Dreſte, Æ. 465. leaſt, C. *threats, qu.*
Drenche, Æ. 85. *Ch.* 30. *drink, or ſoak*
Drented, Ch. 45. *St. C.* 22. *ſoaked, drenched*
Drented, G. 91. drained, C.
Dreynted, Æ. 237. drowned, C.
Dribblett, E. II. 48. ſmall, inſignificant, C. [*Le.* 29. *Æ.* 1189. *M.* 7.
Drites, G. 65. rights, liberties, C.
Drocke, T. 40. drink, C. *rather, dry up*
Droke, Æ. 460. *dry*
Droorie, Ep. 47. See Chatterton's note. Druerie is courtſhip, gallantry, [*Æ.* 127. *modeſty*
Drooried, Æ. 127. courted
Dulce. See Dolce

Dureſſed, E. I. 39. hardened, C.
Dyd, H. 2. 9. ſhould probably be dight, cloathed. See Dight
Dygne, T. 89. worthy, C. [*Le.* 52. *Æ.* 1099. *See Adygne*
Dynefarre, H. 1. 132. *Dynevawr Caſtle, in Carmarthenſhire*
Dynne, n. Æ. 1064. *noiſe*
Dynns, v. T. 51. *ſounds*
Dynning, E. I. 25. ſounding, C.
Dyſperpelleſt, *Æ.* 414. ſcattereſt, C. *See Perpled*
Dyſporte, E. I. 28. pleaſure, C. [*M.* 54.
Dyſporteyinge, E. III. 9. *ſporting*
Dyſportiſment, *Æ.* 250. as dyſporte, *enjoyment*
Dyſregate, *Æ.* 541. *to break connection, or fellowſhip*

E.

Eeke, Æ. 462. *amplification, exaggeration*
Edraw, H. 2. 52. for ydraw, draw
Eft, E. II. 78. often, C. [*Æ.* 204. 476. *G.* 12. 99. *M.* 53. *Ep.* 8.
Eft, Æ. 449. *T.* 116. *afterwards*
Eftſoons, E. III. 54. quickly, C. [*H.* 1. 200. 414. *G.* 151. *T.* 76. *E. II.* 36. *ſpon*
Egedcringe, G. 122. *gathering, aſſembling*
Eke, E. I. 27. alſo, C.
Elate, Æ. 595. *L. C. II.* 16. *exalted, lofty*
Ele, M. 74. help, C.
Eletten, *Æ.* 447. enlighten, C. *or light upon*
Eletten, H. 1. 413. *light upon*
Elocation, Lad. 12. *elocution*
Elves, Ch. 27. *perſonages, people*
Emblanched, E. I. 36. whitened, C. [*M.* 10. *P. Pl.*
Embodyde, E. I. 33. thick, ſtout, C. *foreſt-trees*
Embollen, Æ. 595. *Ch.* 37. *P.* 435. *ſwelling*
Embowre, G. 134. lodge, C. *rather, inhabit, cultivate*
Emburled, E. II. 54. armed, C. *See Burled*
Emendals, P. 182. *a word uſed in Rowley's MSS. to ſignify his notes on Turgot's Hiſtory of Briſtol. It is an old word, ſtill uſed in the Accounts of the Middle Temple. See Cowell's Law Dictionary*
Emmate, *Æ.* 34. leſſen, decreaſe, C.
Emmers, G. R. 7. *coined money.*
Emmertleynge, M. 72. glittering, C. *circumambient*
Empriſe, n. H. 2. 187. 627. *Æ.* 449. *G.* 53. *undertaking*
Empriſe, v. M. 74. *undertake*
Enactynge, Æ. 44. *acting*
Enalſe, G. 159. embrace, C. *exalt*
Encaled, *Æ.* 917. frozen, cold, C. *cooled*
Enchafed, M. 60. heated, enraged, C. [*Æ.* 967. *See Chafe*
Enchafynge, E. II. 56. *heating*
Encheare, Æ. 754. *encourage*
Engarlanded, St. C. 7. *wearing a garland*
Engyne, v. *Æ.* 380. to torture
Engined, part. Æ. 1188. *tortured, P. Pa.*
Enheedynge, St. C. 105. *taking heed*
Enhele, Æ. 1140. *heal*
Enhepe, v. G. 113. *enheped, E. I.* 15. *to heap*
Enleme, H. 2. 586. *enlighten*
Enlefed, Æ. 164. *full of leaves*
Enlowed, *Æ.* 605. flamed, fired, C. *See Low*
Enrone, *Æ.* 660. *unſheath. Perhaps Enwryne, from* pneon, *to diſplay, draw out*
Enſeem, L. C. II. 15. *ſeem*
Enſeme, *Æ.* 970. to make ſeams in, qu. *or, to furrow*
Enſeeming, *Æ.* 745. as ſeeming
Enſhane, B. T. 263. *ſhewed*
Enſhoting, T. 174. ſhooting, darting, C.
Enſtrote, H. 2. 503. *deſerving puniſhment*
Enſwote, *Æ.* 1174. ſweeten, qu.

Enſwolters,

Enſwolters, Æ. 628. ſwallows, ſucks in, C.
Enſyrke, S. E. 10. encircle
Ent, E. III. 57. a purſe, or bag, C. [*G.* 149. 165. *St. C.* 122. *G. R.* 1.
Entendement, Æ. 261. underſtanding, [*H.* 2. 430. *comprehenſion*
Entendement, *H.* 1. 6. *intention, meaning*
Enthoghte, *v. H.* 1. 116. *thinking*
————, *H.* 2. 67. *thought of*
Enthoghten, *part. H.* 2. 366. *thought. See Bethoghte*
Enthoghteing, Æ. 703. *thinking*
Entremed, L. C. II. 4. *intermixed, P. Pa.*
Entrykeynge, Æ. 304. as tricking, [*Æ.* 326. *or intriguing, P. Pa.*
Entyn, P. G. 10. even, C. *or, in ſhort*
Enyronned, *T.* 50. *worked with iron*
Erſt, *Æ.* 99. *formerly*
Eſtande, H. 2. 271. for yſtande, ſtand
Eſtells, E. II. 16. a corruption of eſtoïle, Fr. a ſtar, C.
Eſtroughted, Æ. 918. *ſtretched out*
Ethe, *n. ſ. and adj.* E. III. 59. eaſe, C. *eaſy*, [*Æ.* 814. 819. *G.* 37. *T.* 99. 163.
Ethe, *v. Æ.* 945. *Ch.* 83. *to give eaſe, to relieve*
Ethie, St. C. 49. [85.] eaſy
Evalle, E. III. 38. equal, C.
Eve merk, *E. II.* 16. *dark evening*
Eve-ſpeckt, T. 56. marked with evening dew, C. *rather, with dark ſpots, qu.*
Everiche, *H.* 1. 42. *Æ.* 590. *H.* 2. 125. *every one*
Ewbrice, Æ. 1084. adultery, C.
Ewbricious, St. C. 60. laſcivious, *adulterous*
Eyne gears, St. C. 13. *objects of the eyes*
Eyne ſight, *St. C.* 141. *eye-ſight*

F.

Fage, Ep. 30. tale, jeſt, C.
Fay, *H.* 2. 144. *Æ.* 39. *P. G.* 3. *faith*
Faifully, T. 147, faithfully, C. *See Unfaiſull*
Faitour, Ch. 66. a beggar or vagabond, C. [*St. C.* 37. *rather, a drawer, P. Pa.*
Faldſtole, Æ. 61. a folding-ſtool, or ſeat. See Du Cange, in v. Faldiſtorium, *a kneeling ſtool*
Fayre, Æ. 1203. 1223. clear, innocent, *or, virtuous*
Feere, Æ. 964. fire
Feerie, E. II. 45. flaming, C. *fiery*
Fele, T. 27. feeble, C.
Fell, *G.* 119. *Ep.* 5. *cruel, bad*
Fellen, v. E. I. 10. part. ſing. qu. *fell*
Ferſelie, *H.* 2. 585. *fiercely*
Fetelie, G. 24. nobly, C. [*H.* 2. 413. 418. *finely, beautifully*
Feteliеſt, *H.* 1. 206. *moſt beautiful*
Fetive, Ent. 7. as feſtive, [*Æ.* 658. *Ch.* 13. *L. C. II.* 2. *St. C.* 143. *elegant, beautiful*
Fetivelie, Le. 42. elegantly, C.
Fetiveneſs, Æ. 399. as feſtiveneſs, *chearfulneſs*
Feygnes, E. III. 78. a corruption of feints, C.
Feygne, *adj. G.* 110. *willing*
Fhuir, G. 58. fury, C. [*H.* 2. 124. 130. 145. *Æ.* 519.
Fuired, *E. III.* 87. *furious*
Fie, T. 113. defy, C.
Flaiten, H. 1. 84. *horrible, or undulating*
Flaunched, H. 2. 242. [*St. C.* 90. *arched*
Fleme, *v. Æ.* 421. *to terrify. See Aſteme*
Flemynge, *Æ.* 1008. *terrifying*
Flemed, T. 56. frighted, C.
Flemie, St. C. 12. *frightfully*
Fleeting, *H.* 2. 87. 304. *flying, paſſing*
Flizze, G. 197. fly, C.
Floe, H. 2. 54. arrow, [*H.* 2. 164. 234. 240. 304. *T.* 48. 54. 66. 78. 83.
Flott, Ch. 33. fly, C. *or float*
Flotting, *H.* 2. 42. *floating, or undulating*
Foile, E. III. 78. battle, C.

Fons,

Fons, Fonnes, E. II. 14. devices, C. [*Æ.* 420. *T.* 4. *P. Pa.*
Fore, *Æ.* 244. *before*
Forefend, *H.* 1. 249. *forbid*, *B. T.* 141.
Forgard, *Æ.* 564. loſe, C. [*Æ.* 423. 564. *St. C.* 57. *loſt*
Forletten, E. IV. 19. forſaken, C.
Forloyne, *Æ.* 721. retreat, C.
Forrey-yng, T. 114. deſtroy-ing, C. [*H.* 2. 529.
Forſlege, v. *Æ.* 1105. ſlay, C. [*Æ.* 1077, *G.* 175.
Forſlagen, *Æ.* 1075. ſlain, C. [*Æ.* 1075. 1090. *T.* 53. 77. 83. *G.* 99.
Forſtraughte, St. C. 58. diſtracted, *confounded*
Forſtraughteyng, G. 34. diſtracting, C.
Forſwat, Ch. 30. ſun-burnt, C.
Forweltring, *Æ.* 617. blaſting, C. *or burning*
Forwyned, E. III. 36. dried, C. [*Ch.* 23. *withered*
Fraie, *n. T.* 124. *Combat*, *P. Pa.*
Fremde, *Æ.* 429. ſtrange, C. [*H.* 2. 147.
Fremded, *Æ.* 554. frighted, C. *ſtrange*, *unknown*
Freme, *Æ.* 267. *ſtrange*, *P. Pa.*
Fructile, *Æ.* 185. fruitful
Fujr, *Fuired*. *See Fhuir*

G.

Gaberdine, T. 88. a piece of armour, C. [*H.* 2. 718. *T.* 168. *Æ.* 251. *a coarſe cloak*
Gallard, Ch. 39. frighted, C.
Gare, Ep. 7. cauſe, C. [*Æ.* 632. 651. 809. 953. 1094. 1106. 1158. 1227. *G.* 63. 106. *Ep.* 7.
Gaſtneſs, *Æ.* 417. ghaſtlineſs, [*Ch.* 31. *terror*
Gauntlette, *n. T.* 88. 106. *glove*
———, *adj. S. E.* 7. *challenging*
———, *v. T.* 116. *to challenge*
Gayne, *Æ.* 821. to gayne, ſo gayne a prize. Gayne has probably been repeated by miſtake. *May it not ſtand for gainful, or for the oppoſite to ungayne, i. e. aukward?*
Geare, *Æ.* 299. apparel, accoutrements, [*Æ.* 285. *M.* 68.
Geaſon, Ent. 7. rare, C. G. 120. extraordinary, ſtrange, C.
Geer, H. 2. 274. as Gier
Geet, *Æ.* 735, as Gite, *qu. whether it means gate or cloathing*
Gelten, *E. III.* 25. *gilded*
Geylteynge. *Æ.* 179. *gilding.*
Gemot, *n. H.* 2. 388. *council*
Gemote, v. G. 94. aſſemble, C.
Gemoted, E. II. 38, united, aſſembled, C. [*M.* 58.
Gerd, M. 7. broke, rent, C. *ſtruck*
Gies, v. G. 207. guides, C.
Gye, *n. M.* 79. *a guide*
Gier, H. 1. 399, 527. turn or twiſt. See Geer
Gif, E. II. 39. if, C. [*Ep.* 36. *Le.* 21. 25. *E. III.* 3. 9. 10.
Gites, *Æ.* 2. robes, mantels, C. [*Æ.* 606. *G.* 32.
Gytelles, *Æ.* 437, *cloaths*, *mantles*
Glair, H. 2. 570. [*E. II.* 37. *ſhining, clear*, *P. Pa.*
Glairie, *Ch.* 69. *clear*, *ſhining*, *P. Pa.*
Gledes, *H.* 2. 217. *glides*
Gledeynge, M. 22. livid, C. *like a live coal or glede, or gliding, i. e. ſhooting, qu.*
Gleme, *v. H.* 2. 330. *Æ.* 926. *ſhine. See Agleme*
Gleſter, *M.* 104. *B. T.* 347. *to ſhine*
Glomb, G. 175, frown, C.
Glommed, Ch. 22. clouded, dejected, C.
Glowe, *S. E.* 40. *look earneſtly*, *ſtare*
Gloure, *Ch.* 90. *glory*
Glytted, H. 2. 272. *ſhone, or glided, qu.*
God-den, *P.* 185. *good evening*
Gore depycted, *Æ.* 762. *painted with blood*
Gore red, *E. II.* 16. *red as blood*
Gorne, E. I. 36. garden, C.

Gottes, Æ. [494.] 739. drops
Gouler, St. C. 76. [*G. R. Title—uſurer, P. Pa.*
Graiebarbes, Le. 25. greybeards, C.
Grange, E I. 34. liberty of paſture, C. *an arable farm*
Gratche, Æ. 115. apparel, C. [*Æ.* 594. *M.* 68. 80.
Grave, C. F. 2. chief magiſtrate, mayor, *qu. if not the epithet given to the aldermen*
Gravots, E. I. 24. groves, C.
Greaves, H. 2. 276. *a part of armour*
Grees, E. I. 44. grows, C. [*T.* 16. *E. III.* 34. *St. C.* 103.
Grete, T. 24. *greeted, ſaluted*
Groffile, Æ. 546. *groveling, mean*
Groffiſh, Æ 257. *uncivil, rude*
Groffynglie, Ep. 33. fooliſhly, C. *vulgarly, coarſely*
Gron, G. 90. a fen, moor, C.
Gronſer, Gronfyre, E. II. 45. a meteor, from Gron, a fen, and Fer, a corruption of fire, C. [*G.* 200. *Æ.* 460. 642.
Grore, H. 2. 27.
Groted, Æ. 337. ſwollen, C.
Gryne, H. 2. 706. *groin*
Gule depeyncted, E. II. 13. red painted, C.
Gule ſteyncł. G. 62. red ſtained, C.
Gye. See Gie
Gytes, Gytelles. See Gites

H.

Haile, Hailie, E. III. 60. [*Æ.* 33.] 148. 409. [*M.* 63.] happy, C.
Hallidom, H. 2. 148. 156. *holy reliques, or holy church, or holy judgment, qu.*
Hallie, T. 144. holy, [*Ep.* 9. 43. *Æ.* 388, *G.* 111. 139. 178. *T.* 144. *E. I.* 56.
Halline, Ch. 82. joy, C. *happineſs*
Hallie, Æ. 33. wholely, *a miſtake for Hailie*
Halcelld, M. 37. defeated, C. *or, haraſſed*
Hancelled, G. 49. cut off, deſtroyed, C. [*P.* 184.
Han, Æ. 733, hath, qu. *rather had*
Hane, G. 20. *Æ.* 1136. *has, qu.*
Han, Hanne, Æ. 408. had, particip. qu. Æ. 684. had, pa. t. ſing. qu. [*All the following inſtances are in the ſingular number, and ſtand for Had, H.* 1. 74. 182. 188. 207. 282. 319. 322. 337. 396. 429. 455. *H.* 2. 306 *N. B. Han and Had, in the ſame line, and in the ſame tenſe,* 703. *Æ.* 649. 733. *L. C. I.* 4. *C. F.* 1.
Hanne, ſing. number, Æ. 684. 1183. 1184. *M.* 61. *Lad.* 9. *had*
Hann, had, pl. Æ. 59.
Hand-ſword, H. 2. 702. *back ſword*
Hantoned, Æ. 1093. *accuſtomed. See Ihantend*
Harbergeon, H. 2. 346. *coat of mail*
Harried, M. 82. toſt, C [*Æ* 208.
Hart of Greece, H. 1. 494. *a ſtag*
Hatched, S. E. 25. *covered with hatchments*
Hatchments, H. 2. 488. *atchievements, coat armour. See Achments*
Haveth, E. I. 17. have, 1ſt perſon, qu.
Havoure, Æ. 714. *behaviour*
Heafod-s, E. II. 7. heads, C. [*Æ.* 495. *G.* 198.
Heavenwere, G. 146. heaven-ward, C. [*Æ.* 759. *M.* 97. *St. C.* 75.
Hecked, Æ. 393. wrapped, cloſely covered, C.
Heckled, M. 3. wrapped, C.
Heie, E. II. 15. they, C. [*Le.* 5. *Æ.* 563. 779. *G.* 174. *T.* 123.
Heiedeygnes, E. III. 77. a country dance, ſtill practiſed in the north, C. [*H.* 2. 16. *a romping country dance*
Hele, n. G. 127. help, C. [*Æ.* 1041. *G.* 127.
Hele, v. E. III. 16. to help, C. [*Æ.* 557. *G.* 139. 179. *See Enhele*
Hem, T. 24. a contraction of them, C. [*Le.* 24. *Æ.* 1065. *G.* 51. *E. III.* 4.
Hendie ſtroke, H. 1. 95. *hand ſtroke*
Hente, T. 175, graſp, hold, C.
Hentyll, Æ. 1160. *cuſtom*

Herebaughts,

Herehaughts, Herawde, T. 21. 151. *M.* 78. *herald*
Herehaughtrie, Le. 8. *heraldry*
Herſelle, Æ. 279. herſelf
Heſte, v. G. 138. *to command*
Heſte, *n.* Æ. 1181. [*H.* 2. 28. 188. *Æ.* 446. *a command,*
Hete, pa. t. St. C. 62. *promiſed*
Hight, L. C. I. 11. *M.* 110. *named, called*
Hilte, Hylte, v. Æ. 253. 437. 1058. *T.* 168. *Ep.* 2. *hide, hid*
Hilted, Hiltren, T. 47. 65. hidden, C. [*Æ.* 417. 807. *G.* 59. *hidden, ſecret*
Hiltring, Ch. 13. hiding, C.
Holtred, Æ. 293. } hidden, ſecret, C.
Hulſtred, M. 6. }
Hinde, H. 2. 12. *G.* 49. *Ep.* 20. *E. III.* 2. 7. *peaſant*
Hindlette, Æ. 774. 991. 1139. *peaſant*
Hoaſtrie, E. I. 26. inn, or public houſe, C. *P. Pl.*
Hoiſtes, H. 2. 305. *lifts up*
Hommagers, T. 46. *dependents, tenants*
Hommeur, Æ. 1189. *honour, humour, qu.*
Hondepoint, Æ. 273. *index of a clock, marking hour or minute*
Hopelen, Æ. 398. *hopeleſſneſs, or ſmall hope*
Horrowe, M. 2. unſeemly, diſagreeable, C.
Horſe-millanar, Ch. 56. *See the note on the paſſage*
Hove, H. 1. 431. *pa. t. of heave*
Houton, M. 92. hollow, C. [*R. C.* 6. *lofty, P. Pa.*
Huſcarles, Æ. 921. 1193. houſe-ſervants, [*H.* 2. 80.
Hygra, H. 2. 326. 691.
Hyger, Æ. 626. the flowing of the tide in the Severn was anciently called the Hygra, Gul. Malmeſ. de Pontif. Angl. L. iv.
Hylle fyre, Æ. 681. a beacon
Hylte. See Hilte, &c.
Hyght. See Hight

I

Jape, Ch. 74. a ſhort ſurplice, &c. C. *P. Pa.*
Jernie, H. 2. 217. *journey*
Jeſte, G. 195. hoiſted, raiſed, C.
Ifrete, G. 2. devour, deſtroy, C. *fret, haraſs*
Ihantend, E. I. 40. accuſtomed, C. *See Hantoned*
Jintle, H. 2. 82. for gentle
Impeſtering, E. I. 29. annoying, C.
Immenged, St. C. 90. *mixed, mingled*
Impleaſaunce, Æ. 285. *unpleaſantneſs*
Inhild, E. IV. 14. infuſe, C.
Joice, E. IV. 14. *juice*
Joicy, Æ. 186. *juicy*
Jouſted, T. 158. *juſted*
Iſhad, Le. 37. broken, C. *ſcattered, ſhed*
Ithink, H. 2. 153. *think*
Jubb, E. III. 71. a bottle, C. [*Æ.* 84.
Iwreene, C. H. 9. *diſcloſed. See ywreen*
Iwympled, H. 2. 528. *wrapped up. See Ywympled*
Iwys, E. II. 75. *certainly*
Jyned, Æ. 763. *joined*
Jyninge, E. II. 37. *joining*

K.

Ken, Kennes, Ep. 14. 28. Æ. 410. E. II. 6. E. III. 4. St. C. 76. ſees, diſcovers, knows, C.
Kepe, G. 133. *to take care of*
Keppend, Le. 44. *careful*
Kerveth, Æ. 417. *cutteth*
King Coppes, Æ. 112. *S. E.* 16. *E. I.* 31. *butter-flowers*
Kiſte, Ch. 25. coffin, C.
Kivercled, E. III. 63. the hidden, or ſecret part, C. *or covering, P. Pa.*
Kynde, E. III. 4. *nature*
Knite, T. 44. *joined, united*

Knopped, M. 14. faſtened, chained, congealed, C. *P. Pa.*
Knowlache, E. III. 8. *knowledge*
Knowlached, H. 1. 76. *known, diſtinguiſhed*
Knowlaching, part. H. 1. 283. *knowing*
Knowlacheynge, n. Ep. 15. *L. C. I.* 9. *knowledge*

L.

Ladden, H. 1. 206. *lay*
Larc, Lere, H. 2. 597. 676. *Æ.* 567. *ſkin, leather*
Lauds, Ep. 28. *praiſes*
Lave, H. 2. 397. *waſh*
Lavynge, M. 6. *waſhing*
Laverd, P. 183. *lord, Æ.* 155. *See Loverd*
Lea, H. 2. 364. *Æ.* 618. *M.* 103. *field, or paſture*
Leaſe, H. 2. 463. *loſe*
Leathel. See Lethal
Leeche, H. 2. 260.
Leechemanne, Æ. 31. } phyſician
Leckedſt, H. 2. 332. *moſt deſpicable*
Lecture, v. E. IV. 28. *St. C.* 68. *to relate, inſtruct*
Lecturn, Le. 46. ſubject, C. *or lecture, qu.*
Lecturnies, Æ. 109. lectures, C.
Leden, E. IV. 30. decreaſing, C. *or heavy, qu.*
Ledunne, Æ. 1142. *heavy, qu.*
Leege, G. 173. homage, obeiſance
Leegefolcke, G. 43. ſubjects, C. [*G.* 137. 147.
Leegefull, T. 89. 90. *lawful*
Leegemen, H. 1. 31. *ſubjects*
Lege, Ep. 3. law, C.
Leggen, v. M. 92. to leſſen, alloy, C.
Leggende, M. 33. alloyed, C.
Lemanne, Æ. 132. miſtreſs
Leme, Lemes, n. Æ. 42. lights rays, C. [*Æ.* 183. 929. 1010. 1014. 1017. 1127. *M.* 5. 107. *P. Pa.*
Lemed, v. E. IV. 7. gliſtened, C.—Æ. 605. lighted, C. [*Æ.* 914. *M.* 31. *E. IV.* 7. *P. Pa.*
Lere. See Lare
Leſſel, E. IV. 25. a buſh or hedge, C.
Lete, G. 60. ſtill, C.
Lethal, E. IV. 21. deadly, or death-boding, C. [*H.* 1. 557. *H.* 2. 295. 352. 519. *Æ.* 665. 1201. *G.* 58. *E. I.* 42. *E. IV.* 21. 49.
Lethlen, Æ. 272. ſtill, dead, C.
Letten, Æ. 927. church-yard, C.
Levynne, M. 104. lightning, C. [*Æ.* 242.
Levynde, E. IV. 18. blaſted, C. *ſtruck with lightning*
Levyn blaſted, E. IV. 43. *blaſted with lightning*
Levyn bronde, Æ. 413. *flaſh of lightning*
Levyn forreying, T. 114. *deſtroying lightning*
—— *furched, Æ.* 518. *forked*
—— *fyres, Æ.* 183. *flaſhes of lightning*
—— *plome, Æ.* 950. *feathered lightning*
—— *roddie, M.* 104. *red*
—— *rode-forweltring-bronde, red deſtructive darts of lightning, Æ.* 617.
Levyn mylted, Æ. 461. lightning melted, qu.
Liefe, Æ. 217. *choice.*
Liff, E. I. 7. leaf
Ligheth, Æ. 636. *lodges*
Likand, H. 2. 177. liking
Limed, limmed, E. II. 7. M. 90. glaſſy, reflecting, C. [*E. IV.* 37.
Lymmed, part. M. 33. poliſhed, C. *ſoftened*
Limitour, Ch. 75. *a licenced begging friar*
Linge, Æ. 376. ſtay, C. *linger*
Lyſſe, lyſſeth, v. M. 15. *T.* 2. *ſporteth, boundeth*
Liſſed, lyſſed, part. bounded, T. 97. C. [*Æ.* 53. *confined. See Unliſt*
Liſt, H. 1. 544. *attention, regard*
Lithie, Ep. 10. humble, C. *flexible, P. Pa.*
Loaſte, Æ. 455. loſs
Livelyhode, Æ. 961. *life*
Lode, H. 1. 386. *load*
Lode, H. 1. 33. *praiſe, honour*

Logges, E. 1. 55. cottages, C. [*E. III.* 2.
Lordinge, T. 57. ſtanding on their hind-legs, C. *rather, heavy, ſluggiſh, P. Pl.*
Lore, Ep. 13. *S. E.* 6. *St. C.* 79. 104. *learning*
Lote, H. 1. 256. *lot*
Loverd, E. III. 29. lords, C. [*H.* 2. 167. *Æ.* 155. 270. 276. 666. 839. 1175. *G.* 1. 104. 149. *G.* 152. *Ch.* 53. *E. III.* 29. *See Laverd.*
Loughe, Ep. 27. *laughter*
Louſty, Æ. 1170. *luſty*
Lowe, lowes, G. 50. T. 137. flame, flames, C. [*Æ.* 680. 745. *G.* 50. *P. Pa.*
Lowings, Ch. 36. flames, C.
Lurdanes, H. 1. 36. *lord Danes*
Lycheynge, E. III. 5. *an idea of likeneſs*
Lyene, H. 2. 407. *lye*
Lymmed. See Limed
Lynch, E. IV. 37. bank, C. [*Æ.* 931.
Lyoncel, E. II. 44. young lion, C.
Lyped, E. IV. 34. *linked, united, qu.*
Lyſſe, lyſſed. See Liſſe
Lyſtynge, St. C. 2. *liſtening*

M.

Magyſtrie, H. 2. 140.
Maſterie, Æ. 595.
Maſterſchyppe, Æ. 591.
} *maſtery, victory*
Mancas, G. 136. marks, C. [*G.* 174. 180. *mancuſes, the aureus, or gold coin of the Roman empire*
Marks, G. 163. *a money of account, in value two-thirds of a pound; but here erroneouſly made ſynonymous with the mancuſa*
Manchyn, H. 2. 222. a ſleeve, Fr.
Mate, H. 2. 137. *match*
Maugre, H. 1. 204. *notwithſtanding*
Maynt, meynt, E. II. 66. many, great numbers, C. [*Ep.* 40. *H.* 2. 559. *Æ.* 74. *T.* 13. 35. *M.* 77. 90. *St. C.* 86.

Mede, Le. 15. *Æ.* 62. *T.* 107. *reward. See Amede*
Meeded, *Æ.* 39. rewarded
Mee, mees, E. I. 31. meadows, C. [*Æ.* 92. *M.* 8. *Ch.* 2. *St. C.* 3.
Memuine, H. 2. 120. *maſnie-men, attendants, P. Pa.*
Menged, H. 2. 118. *mixed, the many, E. IV.* 42.
Meniced, St. C. 146. menaced, qu.
Mennys, Æ. 1109. *men*
Menſuredd, T. 2. *meaſured*
Mere, G. 58. lake, C.
Merke, T. 163. dark, gloomy, C. [*St. C.* 33.
Merkye, Æ. 1058. *P.* 433. *dark*
Merker, Æ. 1012. *darker*
Merkneſs, Æ. 1005. 1128. *darkneſs*
Merke plante, T. 176. nightſhade, C. *rather, ivy*
Meve, H. 1. 485. *move*
Mical, H. 1. 214. *much, mighty*
Myckle, Le. 16. *T.* 96. *much, H.* 1. 12. 14. *and T.* 102. *paſſim*
Miſel, *Æ.* 550. myſelf
Miſkynette, E. IV. 22. a ſmall bagpipe, C.
Miſt, Ch. 49. poor, needy, C. [*miſter, Ch.* 82. *needy, P. Pa.*
Mitches, E. IV. 20. ruins, C. *rather ſcraps, fragments*
Mittee, myghty, E. II. 28. mighty, C. [*H.* 1. 115.
Myrynge, Æ. 1217. *wallowing*
Mockler, St. C. 105. more, *greater, mightier*
Moke, Ep. 5. much, C. [*G.* 137. *E. IV.* 12.
Mokie, E. IV. 29. black, C. [*Æ.* 434. *G.* 47. *E. IV.* 29. *Le.* 2. 6.
Mokyng, H. 2. 584. *mocking*
Mole, Ch. 4. ſoft, C.
Mollock, G. 90. wet, moiſt, C.
Moreynge, P. 434. *rooting up*

Morglaien,

Morglaien, M. 20. the name of a ſword in ſome old romances, [*H.* 2. 600. 653. *M.* 20. *the name of Bevis's ſword*
Morthe, Æ. 307. *death, murder*
Morthynge, E. IV. 4. murdering, C.
Mote, E. I. 22. might, C. [*E. III.* 6.
Motte, H. 2. 194. word, or motto
Myckle. See Mical
Myghte ameine. See Amayne
Myndbruch, Æ. 400. [*St. C.* 74. 145. *firmneſs of mind, ſenſe of honour*
Mynemenne, H. 2. 435. *miners*
Mynſter, G. 75. monaſtery, C. [*B. T.* 305. *E. I.* 56. *or church, P. Pa.*
Mynſtrell, E. I. 1. *Æ.* 86. 841. *T.* 23. 41. *E. III.* 80.
Myſterk, M. 33. myſtic, C. *rather profeſſional*

N.

Ne, P. G. 6. not, C. [*H.* 1. 208. *Æ.* 1121. *St. C.* 50. 57. 58. 61.
Ne, [*St. C.* 42. 43. 44. *no, or none*
Nedere, Ep. II. adder, C. [*Æ.* 252. 513. 1034. 972. *water-nedders, P. Pa.*
Neete, St. C. 41. night, [*Æ.* 398.
Neſh, T. 16. weak, tender, C. [*H.* 2. 575. *Æ.* 163. *P. Pa.*
Nete, neete, Æ. 398. St. C. 41. night
Nete, T. 19. nothing, C. [*H.* 1. 92. *Le.* 2. *Æ.* 400. 530. 570. 1019. *T.* 18. *Ch.* 84. *E. III.* 10.
Nethe, Æ. 405. *beneath*
Nilling, Le. 16. unwilling, C.
Nome-depeyncted, E. II. 17. rebus'd ſhields, a herald term, when the charge of the ſhield implies the name of the bearer, C.
Norrurs, P. 435. *king of Norway*
Notte, Æ. 300. *knot, faſten*
Notte browne, St. C. 49. nut-brown
Noyance, Æ. 453. *annoyance*

O.

Oathed, Æ. 1104. *bound upon oath*
Obaie, E. I. 41. abide, C. [*E. II.* 26. *P. Pa.*
Offrendes, Æ. 51. preſents, offerings, C. [*Æ.* 430.
Olyphauntes, H. 2. 619. elephants
Onflemed, G. 192. *undiſmayed*
Onknowlachynge, E. II. 26. not knowing, C. [*G.* 171. *T.* 178.
Onlight, Æ. 677. *darken, qu.*
Onliſt, Le. 45. boundleſs, C.
Ontylle, Æ. 1036. *until*
Orreſts, G. 100. overſets, C.
Ore, H. 2. 125. *other*
Overeſt, Æ. 441. *uppermoſt*
Ouched, T. 80. See Chatterton's note. *adorned with a garland of flowers*
Ouphante, Æ. 887. 928. ouphen, elves
Ourt, H. 2. 578. *out, or open, qu.*
Ouzle, Æ. 104. blackbird, C.
Owndes, G. 91. waves, C. [*Æ.* 367. 457. *E. II.* 8. *flood*
Oundynge, Æ. 440. *ſwelling waves*

P.

Paizde, H. 2. 223. *poiſed*
Pall, Ch. 31. contraction from appall, to fright, C.
Paramente, Æ. 52. robes of ſcarlet, C. M. 36. a princely robe. [*St. C.* 45. *robes of ſtate*
Parker, E. I. 34. *bailiff, or overſeer*
Paſſent, T. 67. *paſſing*
Paves, pavyes, Æ. 432. ſhields, [*Æ.* 647.
Payred, L. C. II. 15. 16. *compared*
Peede, Ch. 5. pied, C.
Peene, Æ. 261. 483. *pain*
Pencte, Ch. 26. painted, C.

Peynctedd, Ep. 4.
Penne, Æ. 727. mountain, *eminence*
Penſmenne, P. G. 1. *writers*
Percaſe, Le. 21. perchance, C.
Perdie, H. 1. 147. *privately, or par Dieu, qu.*
Pere, E. I. 141. appear, C.
Peering, Æ. 96. *appearing*
Perforce, Æ. 635. *was forced, H.* 1. 353.
Perpled, St. C. 99. purple, qu. *ſcattered. See Diſperpled.* [*Æ.* 414.
Perſant, Æ. 560. piercing
Pete, Æ. 1000. *beat, or pluck*
Peyſan, P. 190. *peaſant*
Pheeres, Æ. 46. fellows, equals, C. [*Æ.* 202. 517.
Pheon, H. 2. 272. in heraldry, the barbed head of a dart, [473.
Pheryons, St. C. 147. qu.
Picte, E. III. 91. picture, C.
Pyghteth, Ep. 15. M. 73. plucks, or tortures
Pighte, pyghte, T. 38. pitched, or bent down, C. [*Æ.* 60. 608. 1084. 1187. *G.* 39. 76.
Pittie golphe, H. 1. 517. *hollow pit*
Pleaſaunce, Æ. 1240. *E. II.* 2. 12. 22. 32. 42. 52. 62. 72. *pleaſure, bleſſing*
Plonce, H. 2. 564. *plunge*
Pouche, Ch. 80. *purſe*
Poyntel, Le. 44. a pen, C. [*Æ.* 6. 682. 758. *P. Pa.*
Prevyd, Æ. 23. hardy, valorous, C. *well-tried*
Protoſleine, H. 2. 38. firſt ſlain
Prowe, H. 1. 108. [*H.* 2. 514. *forehead*
Puerilitie, H. 1. 67. *childhood*
Pynant, Le. 4. pining, meagre, *rather, poignant, or reliſhing. See the epithet given to Poeſie, in the preceding line*
Pyghte, pyghtethe. See Pight, &c.

Q.

Quaced, T. 94. vanquiſhed, C. *quaſhed, or beaten down. See Dequaced*
Quaintiſſed, T. 4. curiouſly deviſed, C. *P. Pa.*
Quanſed, Æ. 241. ſtilled, quenched, C.
Queede, Æ. 284. 427. the evil one, the devil, [*Æ.* 454. 986. *G. R.* 20. *P.* 183. *P. Pl.*
Quent, S. E. 28. *ſtrange*

R.

Ramping, Æ. 283. *T.* 6. *furious*
Receivure, G. 151. receipt, C.
Recer, H. 1. 87. for racer, *a horſe*
Recendize, Æ. 543. } for recreandice, cowardice, *P. Pl.*
Recrandize, Æ. 1192. } *See Creand*
Recreand, Æ. 507. coward, C. [*Æ.* 330. 342. 507.
Reddour, Æ. 30. violence, C. *P. Pa.*
Rede, Le. 18. wiſdom, C. [*H.* 2. 24. 107. 622. *Æ.* 268. 730. *G.* 138. 162. *counſel, advice*
Rede, Æ. 1119. *read, or learn*
Reded, G. 79. counſelled, C.
Redeynge, Æ. 227. advice, *conſideration, qu.*
Regrate, Le. 7. eſteem, C.—M. 70. eſteem, favour, C. [*Æ.* 1038.
Rele, n. Æ. 5. 29. wave, C. [*G.* 144. *M.* 11.
Reles, v. E. II. 63. waves, C.
Renome, T. 28. honour, glory, C. [*Æ.* 651. 830. 978.
Renteynge rolles, St. C. 128. } *an account of*
Rentrolle, Ch. 86. } *rents due*
Reſponſed, St. C. 4. *anſwered*

Reyne,

Reyne, reine, ryne, E. II. 25. run, C. [*Æ.* 254. *G.* 120. *T.* 27.
Reyning, E. II. 39. running, C. [*Æ.* 846.
Reytes, Æ. 899. water-flags, C. *or wreaths, qu.*
Ribaude, Ep. 9. rake, lewd perſon, C.
Ribbande geere, St. C. 44. ornaments of ribbands
Ribible, E. I. 25. *violin*
Riped, Æ. 181. *ripened*
Rodded, Ch. 3. reddened, C.
Rode, E. I. 59. complexion, C. [*Æ.* 851.
Rodeing, Æ. 324. riding, *or command*
Roder, Æ. 1064. rider, traveller
Roghling, T. 69. rolling, C.
Roin, Æ. 325. ruin
Roiend, Æ. 577. ruined
Royner, Æ. 325. ruiner, [*Æ.* 623. 1069.
Roſtling, E. I. 7. *ruſtling*
Rou, G. 10. horrid, grim, C. [*Æ.* 303. 526.
Rowncy, Le. 32. a cart-horſe, C. *a hackney-horſe*
Rynde, Æ. 1191. ruined, *torn away*

S.

Sabalus, E. I. 22. Zabalus, Æ. 427. the devil, C.
Sabbatons, P. 183. *boots*
Sabbatanners, Æ. 275. [583. *booted ſoldiers*
Sable, n. P. 434. *ſand. Æ.* 1009. *darkneſs*
Sable, v. E. II. 60. *to blacken*
Sable, adj. Æ. 1006. 1053. *black*
Saint Mary flower, E. I. 37. *marygold*
Saic, H. 1. 51. *military cloak*
Sanguen, E. IV. 10. *bloody*
Sarims plain, H. 1. 301. *Saliſbury plain*
Saunt, P. 184. *ſaunter*
Sayld, H. 2. 299. *aſſailed*
Scalle, Æ. 702. ſhall, C.
Scante, Æ. 1132. ſcarce, C.
Scantillie, Æ. 1009. ſcarcely, ſparingly, C. [*H.* 2. 525.
Scarpes, Æ. 52. ſcarfs, C.
Scarre, Æ. 981. *mark*
Scathe, Ch. 86. *ſcarce*
Scethe, Ep. 12. *T.* 96. *hurt, or damage*
Scaunce layd, C. H. 4. *uneven*
Scaunſing, St. C. 56. *glauncing, or looking obliquely*
Sceafted, H. 2. 542. *adorned with turrets*
Scille, E. III. 33. gather, C. *or cloſe up*
Scillye, G. 207. cloſely, C. *or with ſkill, qu.*
Scolles, Æ. 239. ſholes
Scond, H. 1. 20. for abſcond
Seck, H. 1. 461. for ſuck
Seeled, Ent. 11. cloſed, C.
Seere, Æ. 1163. ſearch, C.
Selyneſs, E. I. 55. happineſs, C. [*C. H.* 10. 14. *Æ.* 33. 81. 312. 317. 835. *E. IV.* 32.
Semblament, St. C. 10. *appearance*
Semblate, St. C. 67. *appearance*
Semmlykeed, Æ. 298. [*St. C.* 113. *countenance, P. Pa.*
Semlykeene, Æ. 9. countenance, C. G. 56. beauty, countenance, C. [*H.* 2. 568. *Æ.* 1145. *T.* 36. 117.
Sendaument, St. C. 126. *appearance*
Seme, E. III. 32. ſeed, C.
Semecope, Ch. 87. a ſhort under-cloak, C.
Sete, Æ. 1068. ſeat, *ſtability*
Shappe, T. 36. fate, C. [*Æ.* 34. 365. 656. 718. 904. 1238. *G.* 18.
Shapſcourged, Æ. 602. fate-ſcourged, C.
Sheene, n. Æ. 678. *T.* 3. *E. II.* 19. *luſtre, ſhine*
Shemres, Æ. 9. *E. II.* 37.
Shemring, E. II. 14. glimmering, C. [*Æ.* 738. *G.* 14. *T.* 3.
Shente, T. 157. broke, deſtroyed, C. [*Æ.* 1092.

Shepen,

Shepen, St. C. 97. *innocent*
Shepſtere, E. I. 6. ſhepherd, C.
Shetting, Ch. 69. *ſhooting*
Shoone-pykes, St. C. 44. ſhoes with piked toes. The length of the pikes was reſtrained to two inches, by 3 Ed. IV. c. 5.
Shotte out, Æ. 994. *ſhut out*
Shrove, H. 2. 432. *ſhrouded*
Skyne, ſkyen, H. 2. 405. 562. *ſky*
Sleath, ſlee, G. 68. *E. I.* 43. *ſlays*
Sleane, Æ. 678. *E. II.* 67. *ſlain*
Sleeve, H. I. 178. *clue of thread*
Sletre, Æ. 538. ſlaughter, [*Æ.* 799.
Slughornes, E. II. 9. a muſical inſtrument, not unlike a hautboy, C.—T. 31. a kind of clarion, C. [*H.* 2. 190. *Æ.* 690. 721. 1101. *T.* 31. *a military horn, or trumpet*
Smethe, T. 101. ſmoke, C. [*Æ.* 1100. *T.* 101. *Ch.* 30.
Smething, E. I. 1. ſmoking, C. [*Æ.* 501. 607. *T.* 161. *E. I.* 1.
Smore, H. 1. 412. *beſmeared*
Smothe, Ch. 36. ſteam, or vapours, C.
Snett, T. 45. rent, C. *ſnatched up*
Sockeynge, Æ. 442. *ſucking*
Sorfeeted, Æ. 604. *ſurfeited*
Solle, R. C. 9. *ſoul*
In ſothe, Æ. 39. 227. *in truth*
Sothen, Æ. 127. ſooth, qu.
Soughlys, E. III. 63. *ſouls*
Souten, H. 1. 252. for ſought, pa. t. ſing. qu.
Sparre, H. 1. 26. a wooden bar, *or incloſure*
Spedde, H. 2. 525. *ſpied, or attained, qu.*
Spencer, T. 11. diſpenſer, C.
Spere, Æ. 69. *allow*
Sphere, Æ. 488. *ſpear*
Sprenges, ſprenged, Æ. 161. 723. *ſcatters, ſprinkles. See Reſprenge*
Spyryng, Æ. 706. towering, *ſpiry, lofty*
Staie, H. 1. 198. *faſtening*
Starks, T. 73. ſtalks
Stedneſs, G. 169 *ſteadineſs*
Steeked, Æ. 1187. *a miſtake for ſtealed*
Steemie, H. 1. 386. *ſteaming*
Steeres, S. E. 40. ſtairs, [*Æ.* 565. *the hold of the caſtle*
Stente, T. 134. ſtained, C.
Steynced, Æ. 189. *alloyed, or ſtained, qu.*
Stints, H. 2. 639. *ſtops*
Steeke, H. 2. 516. } *ſtuck*
Stoke, H. 1. 511. }
Storthe, G. R. 10. *death*
Storven, Æ. 607. dead, C. *P. Pa.*
Straught, Æ. 59. ſtretched, C. [*H.* 2. 687. *Æ.* 59. *T.* 143. *See Eſtroughted*
Long-ſtraughte, Æ. 1116. *far-ſtretched*
Stree, v. H. 2. 454. *ſtrew, or did ſtrow*
Stre, n. H. 2. 712. *ſtraw*
Stret, Æ. 158. ſtretch, C.
Strev, Æ. 358. ſtrive
Stringe, G. 10. ſtrong, C. [*Æ.* 504. 1074. *E. I.* 35.
Stronge, E. III. 25. *ſtringed*
Strynge batauut. See Bataunt
Suffycyl, Æ. 62. 980. ſufficient
Super hallie, G. 78. *too holy*
Surcote, E. I. 5. *cloak, or mantle*
Swarthe, Æ. 165. *ghoſt*
Swartheing, Æ. 295. *expiring*
Swarthleſs, H. 2. 563. *dead, expired*
Sweſte-kervd, E. II. 20. ſhort-lived, C. *quick-made*
Sweltrie, T. 61. *E. III.* 31. *ſultry*
Swoleyng, G. 91. *ſwelling*
Swoltering, Æ. 443. *overwhelming*
Swote, E. I. 23. *E. III.* 37. *ſweet, P. Pa.*
Swotie, E. II. 9. ſweet, C. [*H.* 2. 583. *Æ.* 842. *M.* 52.
Swotelie, T. 169. *ſweetly*
Swythe, ſwythen, ſwythyn, quickly, C. [*Æ.* 117. 206. 223. 430. 433. 1196. *G.* 86. *T.* 12. 32. 117.
Syke, E. II. 6. ſuch, ſo, C. [*Le.* 13. *Æ.* 12. 66. *G.* 123. *T.* 20. *E. III.* 57. 91.
Sythe, ſythence, Æ. 470. 1055. *S. E.* 1. *ſince*

T. Takelle,

T.

Takelle, T. 72. arrow, C. [*H.* 2. 625. *Æ.* 278. 509. *T.* 72.
Talbots, *H.* 2. 89. *a ſpecies of dogs*
Teeming donore, *H.* 1. 5. *prolific benefactreſs*
Teint, H. 1. 462. for tent, *rather tincture*
Tempeſt chaft, *E. III.* 92. *tempeſt beaten*
Tende, T. 113. attend, or wait, C. [*Æ.* 1124.
Tene, *Æ.* 366. ſorrow
Tentyſlie, E. III. 48. carefully, C. *attentively*
Tere, *Æ.* 46. health, C. *conſtitution*
Thighte, St. C. 104. [*H.* 2. 578. *conſolidated*
Thilk, *H.* 1. 81. 193. *that, or ſuch*
Thyk, *G.* 28. *ſuch*
Thoughten, *Æ.* 172. 1135. for thought, pa. t. ſing. qu.
Thraſtarke, *H.* 2. 487. *lark, or thruſh, qu.*
Thyſſen, E. II. 87. theſe, or thoſe, qu.
Throſtle, *Æ.* 857. *thruſh*
Tide, *Æ.* 86. *for betide*
Tochelod, *Æ.* 205. *tackled, or joined*
Tore, *Æ.* 1019. torch, C. [*Æ.* 964.
Toſte, *Æ.* 458. *for toſs*
Trechit, H. 2. 93. for treget, deceit, *P. Pa.*
Treynted, *Æ.* 453. *ſcattered. See Betreinted*
Trothe, *E. III.* 60. *truth*
Twyghte, E. II. 78. plucked, pulled, C.
Twytte, v. E. I. 2. pluck, or pull, C.
Tynge, tyngue, tongue, [*Æ.* 422. 522. 545. 771. 857.
Tynge of the morning, *M.* 49. *the tinge or bluſh of the morning*
Tytend, *H.* 1. 488. *drawn tight*

V.

Val, T. 138. helm, C. *qu.*
Venge, *n. H.* 1. 119. *vengeance, revenge*
Vengeouſlie, *H.* 1. 347. *revengefully*
Vengeynge, *H.* 2. 54. *revenging*
Vernage, H. 2. 11. vernaccia, Ital. a ſort of rich wine
Verte, *T.* 81. *green branches, and leaves*
Ugſome, adj. E. II. 55. terribly, C.—*Æ.* 303. terrible, C. [*H.* 2. 692. *Æ.* 594. 978. *G.* 10.
Ugſomeneſs, *Æ.* 506. terror, C.
Ugſomelie, *Æ.* 555. *terribly*
Virgyne, *Ch.* 1. *the ſign of Virgo*
Unaknelld, H. 1. 288. without any knell rung for them, qu. [*H.* 2. 556.
Unburled, *Æ.* 1185. unarmed, C.
Uncothe, *H.* 2. 290. *ſtrange, unknown*
Uncted, M. 30. anointed, C.
Undeiievre, G. 27. inactive, C.
Undevyſe, *Æ.* 448. *explain*
Unenhantend, *Æ.* 635. unaccuſtomed, C.
Uneſpryte, G. 27. unſpirited, C.
Unfaifull, *P.* 184. *unfaithful*
Ungentle, *Ch.* 18. *beggarly, ſordid*
———, *P. G.* 1. *uncivil*
Unhailie, Ch. 85. unhappy, C.
Unkend, *G.* 59. *unknown*
Unknelld. See Unaknelld
Unliart, P. G. 4. unforgiving, C. *inflexible*
Unliſt, E. III. 86. unbounded, C.
Unlored, Ep. 25. unlearned, C.
Unlydgefull, *Æ.* 536. *rebellious, diſobedient*
Unplayte, G. 86. unplyte, *Æ.* 1237. explain, C.
Unquaced, E. III. 90. unhurt, C. *not cruſhed*
Unſprytes, *Æ.* 1211. unſouls, C. *unmans*
Untentyff, G. 79. uncareful, neglected, C. *inattentive*

Unthewes,

Unthewes, M. 32. *bad qualities*
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ADDITION TO PAGE 191.

TO obviate any doubt which may ariſe concerning the explanation of the date on Sir Theobald or Sir Tybbot Gorges' monument, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that though the inſcription and the date, communicated by Mr. Barrett, are moſt accurately copied, yet I find by an inſpection, ſubſequent to the printing of theſe ſheets, that this ſtone and inſcription are, by a century at leaſt, more modern than the known period of Sir Theobald's death, and were probably ſubſtituted on the decay of the original memorial to Sir Theobald, when the ſculptor might have been eaſily miſtaken in copying the imperfect remains of figures, the meaning of which he did not underſtand: it is certain, however, that this inſcription and date can relate only to Sir Theobald Gorges here alluded to, who died in the ninth year of Edward IV.;—his father Thomas died anno 1404, in the fifth year of Henry the IVth;—and his grandfather, Sir Theobald, in 1381, in the fourth year of Richard the IId.

See Hutchins' Dorſetſh. Vol. I. *page* 279.